

MENOPAUSAL SHAKESPEARE AND THE ANXIOUS WOMB

by

VICTORIA LOUISE McMAHON

A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

The Shakespeare Institute
College of Arts and Law
University of Birmingham
September 2020

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

THESIS ABSTRACT

Although 'menopause' was not defined as a medical, physiological or socio-cultural event for the early moderns, I argue that such a medical and cultural transition can, in fact, be identified by sub-textual clues distinguished by various embodied anxieties. This thesis will explore several ageing women of the Shakespearean tragedies as they transition through this liminal menopausal period. Theoretically underscored by humoral theory, my analysis is metonymically centred upon the womb as the seat of menopausal anxiety. These menopausal undercurrents, not only permeate the dramatic action of each play, but also emanate outward to reflect the medical, physiological, cultural, social, and religious concerns generated by the ageing woman of the early modern period at large. Drawing upon diverse theories and methodologies, I explore how these menopausal anxieties are embodied by some of the ageing female characters of Shakespeare's major tragedies: Gertrude, Tamora, Volumnia, Lady Macbeth, and Cleopatra. While Shakespeare creates the dramatic conditions to explore menopause, the fears and anxieties of the ageing body cannot ultimately be suppressed. The only consistency of Shakespeare's project is that each of the female characters is ultimately 'silenced', often in violent ways, by each of their respective play's conclusion.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the following people who never lost faith and gave me the strength to pursue a dream that should have been out of the reach of a person such as myself. Love and gratitude to my family, especially Michel and Verity Eve, Olive and Maurice Fontaine (Rest in Peace), Constance Morgan, Sara St. Godard, Catherine Roberts, Chris Laoutaris. Those inspiring teachers at the Heart of England High School in Balsall Common who taught me so much in the early '80's. All of the students I have taught over the years who have educated me in turn. The two Williams who saved my life: Shakespeare and Blake. Titus. Betty May McMahon. Peter Jackson. The sacred hand of the White Lady: *tasa alora foren Ashtaroth*. And finally, the man who imparted my work ethic and taught me the value of persistence, bravery, the value and worth of all people, and – above all – love, my father Colin George Raynor McMahon (1932-1984): this one's for you Dad.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My gratitude and thanks are extended to the following people and institutions that supported me throughout this journey: everyone at the Shakespeare Institute, especially Dr Catherine Alexander who gave me the faith and encouragement to complete my Masters and carry on with my studies. All who work in the Shakespeare Institute Library. The University of Winnipeg Library. Dr Abigail Rokison-Woodall and Dr Ewan Fernie. The Royal Shakespeare Company who mesmerized me and got me hooked on theatre and Shakespeare at a tender age. The teachers who have afforded me an excellent education without which I would still be struggling with poverty and indifference: *Qodesh la-Ashtaroth Karnaim*. All of the students that I have taught for twenty-five years far away from my homeland but who never ceased to inspire me and give me the energy and excitement to carry on as a life-long student myself. My youngest daughter Verity, who had to suffer sharing her mother with a dead poet for all of her formative years, and turned 18 the month before I finished this thesis. And finally, my sincerest gratitude is reserved for my supervisor, Dr Chris Laoutaris. Without Chris' support, encouragement and cheerleading, I can honestly say that I might have abandoned this project long ago. Chris' knowledge, intelligence, good humour, and strength of character, not only made me rigorously challenge my ideas and research, but also endowed me with the self-confidence to forge ahead. Chris has been an integral part of my journey and has become a wonderful friend and mentor in the process.

TABLE of CONTENTS

Introduction: Pages 1-38

Chapter 1: Gertrude and the Petrified Womb... Pages 39-84

Chapter 2: Volumnia and the Animal Womb... Pages 85-129

Chapter 3: Tamora and the Vegetable Womb... Pages 130-178

Chapter 4: Lady Macbeth and the Envious Womb... Pages 179-225

Chapter 5: Cleopatra and the Cyborg Womb... Pages 226-275

Conclusion: Pages 276-279

Illustrations: Pages 280-325

List of Illustrations: 326-330

Bibliography: Pages 331-383

INTRODUCTION

In Shakespeare's *King John* (1594-96), upon discovering that her son is to be imprisoned, "ambitious" Constance (1.1.32), the widow of Geoffrey and mother to the rightful heir Arthur, performs a spectacular outpouring of grief in front of the two most powerful men in England and France. Her display contains all the elements of what was said to constitute the ageing 'unruly' woman of the early modern period: unrestrained and immoderate speech, lack of respect or decorum in the presence of men, and the refusal to be shamed as a wife and mother. Constance's appearance and passions are grotesque in their extravagance: refusing to pin up her Fury-like hair, the widow calls down death (3.3.30-1), defying "all counsel, all redress" (3.3.23). Constance longs to become "a carrion monster" (3.3.23), but with her unrestrained tongue, overflowing body, and her self-referencing to womanhood as experienced through the reproductive body, she is already part of a tradition that labels her as 'monster'. Simultaneously Constance embodies "Bedlam" (2.1.87), the "monstrous slanderer" (2.1.77), and "unadvised scold" (2.1.199) all within the *corpus* of an ageing, possibly post-reproductive woman. With her streaming hair and virulent "madness" (3.3.44), Constance has 'come undone' or, to perpetuate the metaphor of breakdown, she has become unhinged, shattered, loosed, a mere "grave unto a soul" (3.3.17). Although her "mother's womb" (2.2.44) has produced a beautiful boy bestowed with the best "of Nature's gifts" (2.2.53), without the promise of her son's ascension, Constance's reason for existence has been extinguished. The powerful men who surround Constance are threatened because an ageing woman has forced them to acknowledge that the seat of all patrilinear power finds its site of origin

within the female body, a body that emanates disruptive ripples of anxiety that permeate the very body politic itself. In an era where women were primarily valued only for their ability to reproduce, even though Constance and Elinor might be past their reproductive prime, these characters are uncomfortable reminders that an ageing, menopausal woman remains a mother for the entirety of her natural life. But Constance, as with so many of Shakespeare's tragic middle-aged women, simply vanishes or is silenced long before her respective play's actions are resolved.

In their various guises as ageing women, Constance and Elinor appear throughout the Shakespearean canon, especially within the major tragedies. The pattern here is remarkable: Shakespeare creates powerful women who, by early modern standards, are close to or past their childbearing years, grants them charisma and agency, and then 'silences' them in some capacity. The menopausal characters of Gertrude, Volumnia, Tamora, Lady Macbeth, and Cleopatra cannot be said to be mere foils or devices used to further the tragic action of their respective narratives, nor can they be said to be one-dimensional mouth-pieces propping up the male hero. And yet how does one account for their sudden 'silencing'? I shall argue that the correlation between advancing age and the sudden, sometimes brutal, vanishing of these women cannot be coincidental. The menopausal body becomes a text inscribed with fears and anxieties that cannot easily be rationalised through dramatic convention alone.

Although 'menopause' as a medical or physiological condition did not technically exist for the early modern woman, nonetheless, my thesis argues that by exploring certain undercurrents of tension and anxiety in the Shakespearean tragedies under consideration, and correlating these concerns with medical, literary, mythological,

artistic and other classical and Renaissance sociocultural disciplines, it is possible to argue that menopause *does exist* as a complex psychosocial phenomena in the early modern era. It is my contention that Shakespeare creates these wonderfully formidable menopausal women but then ultimately does not know what to do with them. Indeed, this confusion, this hesitancy to continue to extend agency and power through to old age and beyond is indicative of the early moderns' anxiety about how to handle the menopausal woman: essentially, an ageing woman lost her value once she lost her reproductive facilities, yet she was remained an intrinsic member of the community. Shakespeare, like many other writers of this era, solved the 'problem' of the aged woman's visibility by artistically rendering her suddenly 'invisible', and yet, her persona continued to generate ripples of anxiety that resonated outwards to encompass many early modern institutions.

Methodology and Critical Field

The old woman of the early modern period exists in a liminal space within academic study; her experiences and status remain relatively unexplored:

Little, in fact, has been written specifically about the lives of aged women. What it meant to be a woman, indeed what it meant to be a biological female, changed as she aged. While over the past several decades, scholars of women and gender have revealed much of the richness of the female experience in premodern Europe, we know little of the texture of life past middle age. By leaving old women and the ageing process out of much of the

discussion of sex and gender we are left with only a truncated understanding of early modern woman (Lynn Botelho 2006 237).

Scholar Kathleen Woodward has argued that the body has become the locus of academic and artistic research for many years, “but the older female body has been significant only in its absence” (2006 162). Woodward goes on to advocate for the inclusion of the ageing body within current academic discourse: “We must add age to recent debates on difference, which have been linked to desire and have resulted in some of the most important criticism in the last few decades in the areas of sexual difference, colonialism, ethnicity, race and cultural difference” (1988 127). In identifying with the schism between woman-as-representation, and woman as a gendered, cultural construction demarcated by the cross-hatchings of power and ideology, this tension invariably highlights the negotiation for power and agency within any patriarchal system. The place of the disorderly woman was a “preoccupation” within Renaissance culture where the unruly woman became “the means of the interrogation...of the series of boundaries induced by dominant paradigms” (Loomba 1989 95). Such boundaries, as Valerie Traub has identified them, include women’s social position “within hierarchies of the patriarchal” and the “negotiation and cultural meaning of femininity” (2001 132). It is the interrogation of boundaries such as social power and agency, cultural worth, and sociocultural and physiological transition during moments such as motherhood and ageing, that I find fruitful for exploring liminal agency, especially for ageing women everywhere, of all times and places, including today.

Menopausal women have always been ‘silenced’, and in the Shakespearean tragedies, the ageing woman who assumes political and social power is always problematic. As the Queen of the Goths, Tamora’s governance is quickly subsumed by vengeful desire culminating in the horrifying consumption of the sons she has given birth to; similarly, Volumnia’s prized oratorical skills and political acumen may seemingly be celebrated for saving Rome from destruction but it comes at the price of her only child’s brutal death. Lady Macbeth’s ambitious desire for power is no less than that of her “partner of greatness” (1.5.10), but it plunges her into a world of insanity, diabolical malevolence, and suicide. The literary tracteries of such anxieties transferred themselves, or were reflective of, myriad similar concerns of the early moderns. Little has changed. The position of women today in political, spiritual, and economic leadership remains problematic: less than 26.7% of women are board members of FTSE 350 company boards (*U.K. Gender Equality Monitor* 2017/18 15), and globally women still earn considerably less than their male peers (Ortiz-Ospina et al. 2019). As the so-called ‘sandwich generation’, women of menopausal age are still expected to assume the bulk of child-rearing responsibilities, care for elderly parents, keep a full-time job, and be mostly responsible for housekeeping (*U.K. Gender Equality Monitor* 2017/18 13). As with Lady Macbeth’s and Lady Constance’s ‘melancholia’, depression in women rises steeply over the age of forty-five (E.W. Freeman et al. 2004 90). As of this thesis’ completion, the world is experiencing a global pandemic: the economic and social fall-out from Covid-19 quarantine and resultant job losses, and how they will specifically affect the lives of women are yet to be known (cf. Hinsliff *The Guardian* 17 Ap. 2020). Will this be simply another form of social, cultural, and economic ‘silencing’ of the older woman?

It is clear that there is a dearth of information about the lives of menopausal women in early modern studies. Joan Kelly posed the question, “Did women have a Renaissance?” (Ed. Hutson 1999) in her seminal 1977 essay, querying why, when historical research regarding the lives of females in the early modern period was so very necessary, it remained remarkably non-existent. While Kelly used a useful criteria to assess the lives of bourgeois Italian women, including exploring how the literature, art, and philosophy of a society yield both “direct” and “indirect” knowledge of the attitudes of the dominant sector of society (22), she neglected to address age as a factor in any of “the quality of their historical experience” (22). A contemporary of Kelly’s, Marjorie Feinson, put the question more succinctly by publishing an article entitled, “Where are all the Women in the History of Aging?” (1985), and concluded that “despite [the] proliferation of feminist scholarship, the historical experiences of *aging women* [have] not been examined systematically” even as she attempted to look for the “shards of evidence available for piecing together the social aging process” (436). The only ‘shard’ of evidence that Feinson identifies as being pertinent to the early modern era is that of women who were victims of the witch craze in Europe (437). In 1999, Ian Maclean undertook to explore the lives of early modern women through an anatomical and physiological lens where Aristotelian and Hippocratic notions of generation and reproduction, as well as humoral differentiation featured heavily in his analysis. Maclean identified Renaissance doctors’ “struggle” to “harmonise received texts” about female physiology “with a growing body of fresh knowledge” (130) but ultimately concluded that such synthesis could only ultimately lead to the conclusion that in sociocultural matters “woman [is] considered to be inferior to man” (147). The early modern project to

harmonize disparate elements of classical doctrine about female reproductivity with new empirical evidence was bound to generate anxieties and ambiguities about female embodiment: such cognitive dissonance radiates throughout my own research discoveries. It is precisely that dissonance that I feel describes the physiological, social, and cultural status of the ageing body in particular. The menopausal woman's liminality begins and ends within her body.

The work of Gail Kern Paster in the area of the social discourses associated with the humoral female body has been particularly instrumental to my studies. In *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (1993), Paster has theorized a connection between the history of the outer body – physical and social – and how knowable that body was through a “reciprocal function of sensation and language” (10). Paster acknowledges that the language of the humoral body “constructs a bodily self-experience that is often tumultuous and dramatic even when function is normal” (10). It is Paster's work in theorising the humoral body that has encouraged me to use the womb as the metonymic, symbolic, and pathological organ from which to use as a starting base for my exploration of early modern menopause. I am also indebted to the work of Patricia Crawford, Lynn Botelho, and Pat Thane who have been instrumental in exploring early modern attitudes to menstruation, reproduction (1981), and the state of the old woman in Europe (2001). Botelho has explored the conditions of menopause, albeit for a limited sample group of rural women in early modern Suffolk, that was included in hers and Pat Thane's 2001 *Women and Ageing in British Society since 1500*. Many social historians' studies continue, though, to lack a depth of analysis of menopause arguing that, with the dearth of commentary about this

life-stage from both women and men of the era, it must have been a result of either feminine shame, or the woman's social irrelevance once she was deemed incapable of childbearing (Crawford 1981; Poska and McIver 2012; Dean-Jones 1996; Botelho 2013). Sara Mendleson and Patricia Crawford's lack of in-depth analysis of the menopause seems to pivot upon their argument that the deficit of historical research in this area stems from women's silence on this matter, conjecturing that this lack of record must have meant that women "were not interested in the menopause" or that its arrival could also have signalled "a taboo or trauma" (*Women in Early Modern England 1550-1720* 49). Certainly whilst there is a deficit of women's own documented response to this particular stage of ageing, I have found no evidence that this might have been due to a lack of interest, a sudden psychic trauma or socio-cultural prohibition – indeed, given the myriad concerns surrounding the ageing female that percolate throughout both literary and medical writings of the time, the findings of this thesis argue to the contrary of Crawford's and Mendleson's particular contention.

In researching notions of ageing female embodiment, humoral theory – particularly when it touches upon menstruation and childbirth – features heavily within early modern studies as well as in my own work. The symbolic and ethnocultural power of menstrual blood and other bodily fluids, central to arguments regarding humoral theory, have been extensively explored within the work of Julia Kristeva (1941-) and Mikhail Bakhtin (1895-1975). Kristeva and Bakhtin's work takes into account humoral fluids as defining what has been known respectively as the "abject" maternal body and the "grotesque" or "carnavalesque" body (Trans. Iswolsky 1984). Kristeva's work is useful in exploring the aspects of the deep psychological fears and revulsions generated by the M/Other's body

and the Freudian desire to return to it even as one must be cast away from the maternal site of origin in order to enter the social order as a complete individual (*Powers of Horror* 1982 64). The ‘Abject Mother’ lives on the borders: in the “in-between”, “the ambiguous”, and is terrifying because of her “generative power” (1982 4; 77). Kristeva’s interpretation of this ‘Archaic Mother’, particularly as an expression of ‘Nature’ (102), resonates with Her pre-Freudian presence as the “devouring maternal” (102), the monstrous maternal that enters the work of Shakespeare via superstition, the occult, and Ovidian and Hesiodic classical mythology. The classical allusions to the pre-Christian Archaic Mother are ever-present in the Shakespearean tragedies of which I write. Her ageless, cruel and dangerously erotic power is present in many mythological references, especially to physically monstrous creatures: the Gorgon, the Fury, the crone and the hag. The Devouring Mother’s power is metamorphosed into organic and inorganic forms as embodied in personae such as Niobe or Hecuba, as well as Revenge, *Invidia*, Fortune, and Nature. The connections between Mother-as-Other, her liminal position within the ambiguities of reproduction, the monstrous power of her desire, and the various forms of her bodily metaphorization within the tragedies form a crucial part of this project.

As a contrary position to that of Kristeva’s, Bakhtin is useful because his argument is that Nature, as an expression of the form of the mother’s body, can never be harmful (1984 240; 92; 240), and that processes associated with the human body, particularly cycles of birth, elimination and defecation from the “lower bodily stratum” (184), are to be celebrated as sociological and anthropological expressions of communal Medieval unity and joviality (49). Bakhtin’s work conceives of the ageing body’s ‘ugliness’ as a paradigmatic expression to be re-framed and reconsidered as it is one that honours the

natural cycle of birth-death-regeneration, and embraces the totality of the plant, animal, and human world (Russo 1994 8): “The earthly element of terror is the womb, the bodily grave, but it flowers with delight and a new life” (1984 92). In this, I see a great correlation between the fluid taxonomies of being in early modern natural philosophy that allow me to reconsider the menopausal body as existing as part of a multi-species, multi-dimensional continuum that rejects post-Linnaean and post-Cartesian absolutes. Although I believe that there is great beauty to be found in the ageing female body, a body that partakes of the animal, plant, and mineral world, this is a position that Shakespeare himself rejects. Such tropes of ugliness and abject revulsion of the old woman continue to circulate today.

Janet Adelman’s impactful work *Suffocating Mothers: Fantasies of Maternal Origin in Shakespeare’s Plays, Hamlet to the Tempest* (1992), although based in psychoanalytical theory, is congruent with my own thesis in that Adelman argues that Shakespeare’s characters struggle to break free from the maternal matrix, the “suffocating” site of psychic origins (2), the womb that is the “embodiment of hell and death” (26). Adelman’s central thesis resonates with my research in that I believe that this struggle to thwart the terrible power of the mother’s “loathsome” body (17) is an integral part of the ‘ripples of anxiety’ that I have defined as being the indicative sign of the ‘invisible’ condition of menopause in Shakespearean tragedies. In arguing that (mostly) male characters strive to liberate themselves from the site of maternal origin, Adelman chooses not to define and deeply analyse the historical, medical, and biosocial nature of the matrix outside of Freud. In concurring with Adelman that the maternal matrix in Shakespeare is one that characters need to be “enfranchised” from (TA.4.2.124-5), I argue

that the ‘invisibility’ of menopause in the early modern era is the impetus, not only to deny its existence and therefore its liminal power, but also becomes the creative catalyst to ‘think through’ the myriad ontologies that might constitute that very matrix. Abjection and the liminality of the ageing female body need to be explored within their historical context if we are to understand its invisibility, complexity, and ambiguity. I agree with Harvey J. Graff who argues that literary and interdisciplinary studies “can be better understood with more attention to a longer chronological span of intellectual and socio-cultural development” (2008 282).

Shakespearean motherhood as it transitions into its reproductive post-prime is analogous to liminality, a psychosocial state described by ethnographer Victor Turner (1920-1983) that “lies...at the midpoint in the transition between one social status and another” (Viljoen 2007 21). I argue that the ageing female body is a liminal figure that can manipulate and transgress various boundaries and thresholds, sometimes being contained by, and occasionally thwarting, phallogentric, patriarchal cultural anxieties: these masculine anxieties are written on the ageing body in such a way that the state of female *age itself* becomes a liminal space. As I argue for an interdisciplinary approach to my analysis of Shakespeare’s older women in the tragedies, one of the apertures I wish to employ is a hermeneutical model that is theoretically consonant with the anthropological model of the *limen*. First proposed as a model for various rites of passage by Arnold van Gennep (1873-1957), the *limen* is the second of three stages in which the initiate is physically and symbolically separated from their community. Gennep’s work, further developed by Victor Turner in 1960, explained that this stage involved a marginalised

figure crossing into the *limen*, the transitional state, “where the social fabric they are used to is allowed to unravel” (qtd. in Viljoen 2007 11):

They enter a different space and time that is radically different from the ordinary in that it cannot be expressed in ordinary language, but has to be expressed in metaphors or states of the in-between, like death...(*ibid*).

If, in this liminal space, “between and betwixt worlds”, ordinary language fails, and “metaphors of death” (Turner 2008 254) are needed to express the inexpressible of the borderland, then such congruence, both in terms of embodied phenomenology and language, is the state of menopause that this thesis explores. As Turner argued of *liminal personae*: “they elude or slip through the network of classifications that normally locate states and positions in cultural space” (1969 95). Menopausal women are these “threshold people” (1969 95).

At the heart of the Shakespearean embodied female, whether defined through metaphor, mythology, or medical doctrine, is *fear*. The menopausal woman of the early modern period was sexually volatile, dangerous, verbally and physically unbound, a liminal monster but Shakespeare’s ageing women embody a wonderful irony: the push/pull of the twin polarities of ‘invisibility’ and ever-present fear generate a psychic space of ambiguity where the ageing body is at once negated, at the same time that it looms with nightmarish potentiality. That same psychic dissonance resonates today. Writer Mariana Benjamin argues that her own experience of menopause has been liminal, a process she describes as being “how you perceive things and intuit connections when you are in the middle of casting aside old ways of being in the world...but are still

desperately unsure of what you are groping towards” (2016 97). As Jane Ussher argues, menopause positions a woman’s subjectivity between perceptions of biological change and various discursive constructions such as “social, political and cultural practices and traditions”(1997 199). But those various social and historical constructions remain opaque: discursive construction is hard to gauge about a past era where women’s voices regarding their own ageing bodies have been silenced. Today, many menopausal women speak of the liberation and power that comes with choosing to cast off the societal and cultural burdens of the pressures to look beautiful and the demands associated with childbearing and rearing (cf. Segal 2018). Many speak of, at last, finding their ‘voices’ in society (cf. Benjamin 2016). The social and political ‘silencing’ of women finds its origins in both classical and Renaissance tropes of the ‘unruly woman’ whose outspoken loquacity turned her into a scold at best, and, at worse, a harridan facing the accusation of being a witch. Contemporary biocultural studies argue that menopausal women might experience more detrimental and debilitating symptoms of menopause if they are denied the validity and value of their collective voices, especially within cultures that are youth-oriented (Freeman et al. 2004). If women are “urged to take control” of their ageing process, and “become active participants in addressing the challenges of symptoms”, then that might help with the onset of depression, a condition that increases during the menopausal transition (Harlow et al. 2013 379; 374).

The ageing female of the Shakespearean tragedy becomes ‘invisible’ through a creative impetus that will eventually see her written out of the story, perhaps echoing a larger collective psychosocial desire to expulse the ageing woman from the community. In the cultural story of the early modern era, the drive to deny, ignore, or shun the ageing

woman's presence seemed merely to engender more anxieties, ones that inevitably metamorphosed into the superstitious, the bizarre, the grotesque. As Edward Bever has noted, the vast majority of those accused of being witches in England were of menopausal age (Ed. Stearns 1982 181). These discursive and disruptive reverberations ensure that the early modern project to render the menopausal woman completely silent and invisible cannot ultimately be said to be entirely successful. Shakespeare is well-aware of this dissonance: his writing is such that he creatively experiments with the various seen and unseen influences of the embodied menopausal woman only to find that her complexities are too difficult to resolve: the weight of cultural and social anxiety is simply too heavy to shift in order to grant total agency to his middle-aged female characters. It is no different today. The menopausal woman of the early modern period lost her value as a commodity once she couldn't bear children: in the early twenty-first century, the menopausal woman is rendered invisible once she loses her sexual attractiveness to males (and females) in the greater society. As Lynne Segal opines, "we are all too aware of our growing erotic invisibility" (2013 26).

Certainly one of my approaches is feminist in that I want to validate and re-claim women's experience of menopause then and now, even as the voices of ageing women of the early modern era have been 'silenced' by omission or cultural 'invisibility'. In tracing the cultural connections between the way that beliefs, practices, and institutions legitimate patriarchal thinking about the menopausal woman, it is useful to consider a feminist approach in cultural materialist terms. As Jonathan Dollimore writes: "A materialist feminism, rather than simply co-opting or writing off Shakespeare, follows the unstable constructions of, for example, gender and patriarchy back to the contradictions

of their historical moment. Only thus can the authority of the patriarchal bard be understood and effectively challenged” (1985 11). Kathleen McLuskie’s feminist materialist approach has long since argued that in paying particular attention to “the narrative, poetic and theatrical strategies” that construct a play’s meanings and then challenging the frequent textual contradictions that they generate, will afford “pleasures” (1985 106). Eventually, such recognition of the sources of a play’s dominant ideology has the potential to “assert the power of resistance, subverting rather than co-opting the domination of the patriarchal Bard” (106). Again, the “pleasure” of potential subversion is useful when thinking of the ageing body: rather than simply replicating and reinscribing the myriad cultural anxieties under scrutiny, it allows one the ability to “reframe” discourse to allow for desire in the monstrous, joy in the uncanny, and attraction in the grotesque (perhaps a project for later consideration). According to Jonathan Dollimore, the cultural materialist mandate additionally places the study of each play within a specific, identifiable cultural field (1985 *viii*). In honouring Dollimore’s approach, I want to conceive of a theorization of the Shakespearean menopausal female as being a fluid and protean cultural construction whose multifaceted influence might ripple between distinct cultural arenas and eras. In looking at the construction of female entities, I will be mostly indebted to the particular definition of “feminist” afforded by Elin Diamond: “Yet perhaps all theories that call themselves “feminist” share ...the passionate analysis of gender in material social relations and in discursive and representational structures...which involve pleasures and the body” (1988 83). I support the idea of a kind of feminism rooted in *embodied* discourse but I particularly like the idea of a critical analysis that underscores the “pleasures” and aesthetics of the ageing

body. This approach perhaps works ‘against the grain’ of the way in which I have defined ‘menopause’ as articulated by Shakespeare as a kind of undercurrent of fear or even revulsion, yet I do believe there is an embodied beauty in the menopausal body. This project, therefore, looks forward towards anticipating a kind of feminist discourse that embraces and celebrates the ageing female body at the same time that it attempts to deconstruct those masculine cultural anxieties encoded upon its frame.

Ultimately, the plurality of my approach in embracing tenets of various Critical Studies and Literary Theory, coupled with drawing evidence from a number of various disciplines, perhaps define my methodology best as being ‘interdisciplinary’. Although not identified as a Critical Theory or School *per se*, academic scholars have written of such a heterogeneous approach as ‘interdisciplinarity’, a term that is problematic in itself. Jan C. Schmidt has noted that “the term is quite misty, foggy, fringed, and shadowy” (2008 20) and that “This vagueness challenges philosophy” (41). As far back as 1977, George Gusdorf wrote of interdisciplinarity that, “even those who advocate this new image of knowledge would find it hard to define” (580). In terms, then, of placing my own work within this ‘shadowy’ philosophy, I embrace both Schmidt’s position that, as a methodological approach, interdisciplinarity “organise[s] the transfer between disciplines” (2008 41), and Harvey J. Graff’s assertion that interdisciplinary and literary studies:

...can be better understood with more attention to a larger
chronological span of intellectual and socio-cultural
development and a broader, more dynamic focus on its

place and play among a wide array of disciplines and institutional locations (Ed. Foshay 2011 282).

I am drawn to Lynette Hunter's reminder that any interdisciplinary approach to scholarship is rooted in the etymology of the word itself: 'inter' meaning 'between' or 'among' and '*discere*', to 'see' by 'separating, *dis/capere*' (2015 3):

The work of interdisciplinarity is to base knowing in not-knowing. Its concern is with what is left out or not re-presented by representation and/or discourse...[it] nurtures practices that are continually changing in process to sustain the non-knowing of the material of the world (4).

Hunter argues that any interdisciplinary approach is "vital" for it illuminates "lives [that] are often obscured, evaded, hidden, erased, or invisible to dominant hegemonic norms and assumptions" (6). These "conversations" are essentially a "phenomenological experience" because they call upon processes that are "sensory, somatic and affective events" (6). It is Hunter's emphasis on the phenomenological, especially the embodied, somatic experiences of "obscured" lives that focuses and directs my own methodological approach. For to look for those common embodied experiences of history's ageing women, I must return to the liminal, an engagement with the shadowy margins: the clues are hidden in such varied historical, literary, and socio-cultural 'texts' – both mundane and esoteric – as gardening manuals, treatises on animal husbandry, documented witch trials, medieval medical tracts, sex toys, and mechanical dolls. The ontological and phenomenological experience of menopause can also be found in complex sequences of allegories, myths, metaphors, jokes, songs, poems, and gossips' tales. Interdisciplinarity, therefore, precisely because it resists

and evades a stable theoretical and polemic underpinning and is free to explore the liminal and marginal, makes it the perfect *non*-methodology with which to explore the menopausal woman. Thus I argue that my methodological approach, given the nature of my subject, coalesces with said subject and comes together to compliment one other through a sameness, an innate kinship where the “anatomiz[ed]” body of interdisciplinarity (cf. Hunter 2015 3) takes apart the body of the ageing woman in order to reassemble it with new understandings, new knowledge. *Menopause, by its very nature, is interdisciplinary.*

Diseases of the Womb and Cultural Codification

Within this thesis, I am fully aware of the anachronistic challenges here of even employing the term ‘menopause’ because, as a medical or cultural condition, it was not clearly identified and thus it did not exist in the Classical or Renaissance period: as a life stage it was ‘invisible’, just like the middle-aged woman who experienced it. The only changes to a woman’s ageing process were noted tangentially in terms of changes in the homeostatic humoral body, in particular, the reproductive changes as reflected in the metonymic organ of womanhood itself – the uterus, or ‘matrix’. This sensibility is inherent in the fact that the uterus was frequently referred to as ‘the Mother’. When the astronomer and physician Simon Forman (1552-1611) wrote that the “womb is a world unto itself” (*Matrix and the Pain Thereof* in Traister 1991 420), he was speaking not only of how the womb regulated life itself within its bounds, but that the organ also dictated the cultural value of a woman within both the mundane and spiritual world. It is for this reason that most of my analysis of menopause as it effects the women of Shakespeare’s great tragedies is womb-centred or uterocentric: the uterus not only becomes the singular

organ that metonymically stands for the woman, but it also becomes the *locus* of all cultural anxiety surrounding the ageing and unruly woman of the early modern period. Fears of the matrix undoubtedly had their origins in classical doctrine that conceived of the organ as becoming like an untamed beast roaming the body proper according to its own irrational drives and proclivities. For Plato, the essential bestial nature of the female womb was first noted in his *Timaeus* where he wrote that it was:

...like an animal disobedient to reason, and maddened
with the sting of lust, seeks to gain absolute sway, and the
same is the case with the so-called womb or matrix of
women (2007 249).

Rooted in Platonic philosophy, this uterine pathology was still exerting its influence on Renaissance physicians at the time of Shakespeare's writing and beyond. This uterine "disobedien[ce] to reason" also had implications for the moral and spiritual health of the woman: a woman's weak intellect housed in an inferior body made her naturally susceptible to bestial lusts, an idea developed at length by such physicians as Helkiah Crooke (1576-1635) who argued that, "the wombs of women are the causes of all diseases" (*Mikrokosmographia* 1615). The ultimate expression of the menopausal womb as being an "unruly" organ that was said to "wander" can be found in Hippocrates' *Diseases of Women* (1.2.18). Leaving its appointed anatomical seat to travel the length and breadth of the female corpus, the womb settled like a nesting viper, next to the spleen, liver, heart or brain. Like a poisonous animal it would "sting" or "bite", infecting the body proper with noxious emissions. Like a beast, though, it could be "frightened" back into its rightful lair before its ultimate killing stroke of hysteria (*Diseases of Women*

2.137). The Hippocratic text *De morbis mulierum* (1542) noted that this displacement of the womb occurred more frequently in older women around the cessation of their menses (Rocheus 1542 310). *Hysterio Passio*, or ‘fits of the Mother’ as this hysterical displacement of the womb was known in the early modern period, had a complex pathological effect on ageing women: its pernicious side-effects and subsequent fears that this menopausal condition generated feature heavily in my analysis.

The metaphorization of the menopausal womb is inextricable from how one is led to consider the status and nature of menopause itself in the early modern imagination. Thus, it is at the juncture of the symptomology and the metaphorization of the womb that menopause can actually be identified and explored. In *Richard III* (1593), the ageing Queen Margaret imagines Richard as a “hell hound” birthed from “the kennel of [thy] womb”(4.4.49-50). That Margaret imagines the conception and birth of a monstrous and deformed child in terms of a maternity commensurate with that of a dog speaks not only to the fears surrounding generation, reproduction, and inheritable traits, but also that the very site of conception itself could become an inhuman locus of animality and filth at the heart of the woman’s body. Gail Kern Paster has argued that the “operations of ideology” may be harder to detect upon the body than those that operate upon emerging subjectivity “because we experience our bodies as natural and because we experience them as belonging to us” (1993 5). Paster’s ideas allow one to imagine that the woman of the early modern period, precluded from the privilege of participating in any ideology that would construct her subjectivity, could still find a kind of identity by being entirely *present within her own body*. How that embodied ‘ideology’ and ‘identity’ might have been perceived, and how it might have defined a woman’s sense of existence within the

world as well as her body is, of course, almost entirely unknown: that maternity, menstruation and menopause were considered symptomatic of “six hundred diseases” finding their genesis in the uterus (Democritus qtd. in Stolberg 289) means that the male medical community, at least, had already cast women’s physiology as pathology. Although Shakespeare does not explicitly write about the female experience of menopause, I believe that one can still trace the anxieties and ambiguities of this state through his repeated reference to the embodied, material experience of the ageing woman, anxieties that trace their felt presence through his use of complex relational metaphors. Shakespeare’s use of metaphor and metonymy become the literary tools through which the ageing female body can be considered, not just in an intellectualized way, but also with an embodied, material sensibility. The uterus can become, then, not just conceptualised as a ‘beast’, but also enters Shakespeare’s literary discourse becoming a scorpion, an invasive plant, a basilisk, or an alembic. As we shall see in the Chapters that follow, all uncertainty, misogyny, and fear of the menopausal woman manifests itself nascently within the womb, and rippling outwards, such fear encompasses complex and multifarious cultural elements as religion and mythology, medical and surgical knowledge, natural philosophy, the occult, and mechanical theory.

The flow, fluxes, stoppages, and leakages of the early modern woman defined her identity from menarche through to childbirth and beyond. All fluids, ‘humours’, especially milk and blood, were material indicators of everything from general health, to fertility, to temperament, and moral sensibility (Siraisi 1990 106). Humoral theory, especially as Galen (b. AD 129) proposed it, was responsible for differentiating between the female and the male body: men were thought to have a drier level of humours;

women were naturally colder and moister. It was because of her humoral composition being so cold and moist that fluids such as blood, tears, menstrual blood and milk were most associated as properties of the female body. As Valerie Traub notes, the “open, protuberant, and never-quite sealed off” body of the female during the physical processes of menstruation, pregnancy, childbearing and lactation “metonymically instantiate the maternal body as ‘grotesque’ in Bakhtian terms” (1992 57). Such scrutiny of the humoral body began with the process of menstruation, one of the many biological markers viewed with ambivalence during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (cf. Crawford 1981). Generally the process was viewed as a necessary means to purify the female body by removing excesses of the humoral blood from the body; Hippocrates, for instance, argued that women menstruated to rid their bodies of impurities that might cause disease (*Nature of Man. Regimen 1-3*). But although thought medically necessary, the process itself was also bound to the notion of biological, spiritual, and moral defilement (Dawson 469). Menstrual blood as often referred to as “excrement”, and the process itself as a “monthly flux of Excrementitious and Unprofitable Blood” (Jacob Ruëff *The Expert Midwife* 2). Anthropologist Mary Douglas (1921-2007) described menstrual blood as an example of “matter out of place” – a substance conceived of as being a pollutant because it has escaped its natural boundaries as “marginal stuff” (1966 150). It is because of its status as a polluting, impure substance that blood became a symbol for anything immoral or defiled in the early modern period (Dawson 469). This fear of the contaminating womb as the poisonous site of moral and physical blight is a trope that echoes throughout my study. Menstrual blood, first milk or colostrum (considered a toxin), retained female ‘sperm’, and superfluous menses were all considered to be fluid that “defile[d]” both

body and macrocosm (Kristeva 1980 102). The shameful, defiling nature of female leakage is echoed by Hamlet's horror of the "incestuous sheets" of his mother's marital bed soaked in the "rank sweat of an enseamed bed", a "nasty sty", "stewed in corruption" (*Ham.*3.4.85-7). Noted midwife Jane Sharp (fl.1621) expressed it as: "when the seed and the courses are mingled with ill humours, and degenerate into a venomous nature, [they] are little better than poison" (*The Compleat Midwife's Companion* Ch.1). Albertus Magnus (1193-1280) had earlier argued that the lack of menstruation would engender "many evil humours", especially in old women as, "these women are more venomous than others" (*The Secrets of Women* 1992 37). Retained humours were believed to generate toxins that could, in turn, cause "inordinate passions" (cf. Thomas Wright) to detrimentally affect the mind. One of the most harmful of these passions that had particularly fearful consequences for the ageing female was that of melancholy. Thomas Wright (1561-1624) argued that melancholic spirit could overpower the body proper, engendering an increase in both desiccation and the failure of natural heat, leading to death (*The passions of the minde in general* 1604 63). The drying effects of melancholy, so similar to those of menopause, were exacerbated by the fact that such spirits would "ascend into the imagination" causing feelings of "disgrace, fears, affrightments, ill surcease and such like" (65). Melancholy was particularly life-threatening in the "clymactericall" years (4). Wright asserted that not only could the passions affect the humoral constitution of an individual body and *vice versa*, but that such a body could also exert material influence upon the body and soul of another. This idea is linked to the ageing woman's ability to 'fascinate' others through the emanation of poisonous eye beams. Such phantasies "cannot only change their own body but can also transcend so as

to work upon another body” (145), sending forth “health or sickness” (146). Wright singled out old women as being most adept and malign in this ability, particularly witches (146).

The menstrual body was also a sexualized body; framed by sexual activity and open to scrutiny by all, it could suggest “inconstancy, unpredictability or promiscuous sexuality” (Gowing 469). Hamlet’s revulsion of Gertrude’s sexualised body might have been even more pronounced if he considered it as still being catamenial as the accepted medical treatment for any menstrual disorder was the prescription of vigorous sex (cf. Sharp 325). Hippocrates himself advocated sexual intercourse for widows in order to regulate any problems arising from menstrual flux (*Nature of Man*. Regimen 1-3. 3-4). As the woman aged and her humours became naturally dryer, her bestial womb was said to wander more often (*Diseases of Women* 1.A.7.33). Like an animal, the womb was believed to crave regular deposits of semen as if it was “food”, a sweet treat to subdue it and keep it in its rightful lair. This apparent insatiability of the womb in its quest for male seed, whether or not the owner had the benefit of the ‘marriage comfort’, would give rise to misogynistic sexual fantasies of diabolical possession: “There are three things that are never satisfied... that is, the mouth of the womb” (Kramer and Sprenger *The Malleus Maleficarum* 45A, 170). It is in this imagining, that the alliance between a woman’s two ‘mouths’ emerges. Thus the continued need for sex and the metonymisation of the womb as another ‘hungry’ and garrulous mouth that needed constant surveillance and restraint (Boose 64), inevitably connected the menopausal woman to the diabolical and its attendant cultural anxieties.

The lack of menstruation, *per se*, was not the sole marker of what we today would deem as menopause: older women of the early modern era were still believed perfectly capable of conception and lactation. So the exact point at which a woman was considered too old to preclude the possibility of medically ‘re-starting’ menstruation is unknown. It is difficult to pinpoint, therefore, how the menopausal body with its “complete cessation of flowers” (cf. Ruëff) ceased to be considered a menstrual, sexual, and reproductive body and then transitioned into ‘old age’ proper – a life stage in humoral theory that was marked by the extreme drying, thickening, and cooling of humours. It is the emphasis upon this ‘drying out’ of the body together with the absence of regular menstruation that is, I argue, a significant part of the semiology, symptomology, mythology and fearful pathology of the menopausal body of the early modern era. Thus menopause enters the dialogue of the early modern body through the humoral changes brought about by the metaphorical “drying out” of a woman’s “flowers” (Jacob Ruëff *The Expert Midwife* 1637). Even as it was understood by later theorists such as Vesalius (1514-1564) and Bernard de Gordon (1270-1330), the Galenic tradition of humours held that ageing was a decline of “innate heat” and drying out of “radical moisture” (Gilleard 2015 501). This catalogue of changes is completely commensurate with the early moderns’ belief about how female ageing signalled a natural drying, thickening, and slight warming of the body, a process that made Jacob Ruëff (1505-1558) conclude that an old woman’s body became that of an old man’s (*The Expert Midwife* Ch.1 1637). Ambroise Paré (1510-90) similarly argued that ageing caused “women to degenerate into men” (*On Monsters and Marvels* Ch.7 32), and Agrippa von Nettersheim (1486? -1535) recorded Pliny’s examples of women becoming men (1651ed. Bk.1 142). Such varied humoral phenomena

were well-recognised by the Hippocratics, Galen, and Paracelsus, and occupy a salient position in my own analysis of the myriad archetypes generated by the ageing body.

I want to suggest, though, that as important as the humoral female body is, that is not the complete story. It would be a massive over-simplification to argue that, as ageing was predicated on the drying of humours, once a woman's humours were either dried, depleted, or thickened into poisonous effluvia, this was the end of her life's journey. Indeed, it is precisely this state of ambiguity that a non-menstruous body occupied, a state where the historical and medical record seems to have been abruptly suspended, that made it just as potent and mysterious as the much-documented youthful female body. Whilst humoral theory gives us an overriding insight into the female (and male) physiology of the early moderns, it is by no means the sole criteria through which to consider the ageing female body. Lesley Dean-Jones and Patricia Crawford have argued that the lack of written record about the ageing female is perhaps to do with the fact that once a woman's reproductive years were over, she became useless and therefore unremarkable to her society, hence her diminishment in socio-cultural and anatomical speculation (1994 108; 1981 65). I argue, however, that this 'invisibility' is actually born out of a cultural wish-fulfilment that longed for an ageing woman's erasure *precisely because* her body was now even more unknowable and thus more frightening than ever before.

In the wake of a woman's supposed bodily decline, other pathologies crept in to augment or even supersede the place of humoral theory. Born out of a body that was suspect yet still highly indebted to 'Nature', often these pathologies extended beyond humoralism to consider the realms of the supernatural and occult, natural philosophy's

treatment of the plant and animal world, an incorporation of Ovidian transformation, as well as classical notions of temporality and moral justice. As we shall discover, fears and anxieties of this kind of body ranged from superstitious beliefs in witchcraft, parthenogenesis or spontaneous generation, unrestrained speech acts, poisonous bodily emanations, and fear of the menopausal woman's pleasure and *jouissance* in the sex act. The real terror, though, lay in the fact that it was believed that the ageing womb could still conceive, generate, and birth the miraculous and the monstrous. The womb exacted an influence like a loadstone – malevolent sympathies and antipathies that could affect everything from the weather to the potency of the male member.

Defining 'Menopause' and Its Onset and Duration

Because the concept of menopause did not exist in the early modern era as a definitive state, the only practical way to explore its physiological and psycho-social influence in the major tragedies that I have identified, is to explore the corollary state of 'ageing' or 'old age' as it was then defined. This is not an exact lining-up of ontologies or material phenomenologies, however, for the woman of this era was in possession of a body whose conceptualization would be completely alien to contemporary medical science. Not only was the early modern body ruled by humoral fluctuations of fluids in various stages of heating and cooling, thinning and thickening, but it was also a body that was part of a biological and spiritual continuum that included the animal and the vegetal. The added challenge is that today, as a pseudo-medicalized condition, 'menopause' is defined purely through measures of chronological time and its effect on menstruation and reproduction (Harlow et al. 2013 371), but this was clearly not the case with the early moderns. The

life cycle of both men and women was conceptualised more as a person having reached certain ‘stages’ or ‘ages’ and thus also did not always conform to linear, chronological or ‘calendar’ time (Woodward 1988-9 121). If the catamenial, reproductive years of a female were regulated and charted according to temporal units, such as the case with Helkiah Crooke (1576-1635) who measured female life stages in units of seven years, by the time a woman had attained “seauenth seuen, that is at 49”, all biological and physiological time seemed to enter a period of liminal stasis until death, a stage Levinus Lemnius (1505-1568) argued happened at “sixty three, or sixty five yeeres of age: “For then Age hasteneth on apace, and draweth toward his long home, and then beginneth the body to be cold and dry, being the first enterance and step into Old Age” (*The Touchstone of Complexions* 47). So for the early moderns, the ‘ages of man’ were not measured according to the passing of years, nor was there an inextricable correlation between biological senescence and the calendar. Shakespeare, for instance, rarely identifies the actual age of his characters, but like Jaques, marks life’s transition from the “mewling and puking” infant, through to the body’s oblivion “sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything” (*AYL* 2.7.138-165). Some chronological identification of the age of characters is possible but it is limited and involves logical supposition. In *Romeo and Juliet* (1597), Lady Capulet asserts that she was Juliet’s mother “... much upon these years / That you are now a maid” (1.3.74-75). Since we are told that it is a “fortnight or odd” until Juliet’s fourteenth birthday, that would make Lady Capulet between twenty-six and twenty-eight years of age. Similarly, if the Nurse lost her “maidenhead at twelve years old” (1.3.2) and her daughter Susan was the same age as Juliet (1.3.20-1), that would place the Nurse within the same age range (if not younger) than her mistress. We

know from the Gravedigger's account that he came to his profession on the day that Hamlet was born (5.1.140) thirty years previously (5.1.152-30). This would seem to indicate that Hamlet is thirty years old during the play's action. The historical record indicates that in Shakespeare's era, the mean age of women marrying for the first time was twenty-five or twenty-six years of age (Rampone 2011 37). In Stratford between the years 1570 and 1630, the greatest number of marriages took place for men at age twenty-four (Wells 2010 69). The minimum legal age at which women could marry was twelve (Wells 153). Many brides approached the altar already pregnant: some twenty to thirty percent of them bore their first child within the first eight months of marriage (Rampone 2011 37). If the Player King's marriage of thirty years (3.2.145) is commensurate with that of Gertrude's first union, and Hamlet was Gertrude's first child, her age could be anything from forty-two to fifty-six. But such clues in the tragedies remain negligible. Given that life expectancy was much lower on average during this period, this creates even more of a relative problem in defining 'young' versus 'old'. Edward Bever argues that old age for women during this period of history began at forty (1982 37). Patricia Crawford notes that "the cessation of flowers" was the biological marker that signalled the onset of old age for women of the early modern period (1999 67). By the eighteenth century, menopause became known as "that critical change" (Crawford 1999 56), or more commonly as the 'climacteric', a term whose Greek origins meant 'of a dangerous period in life' (Sievert 2006 5). By the nineteenth century, physicians came to see menopause as "the crisis" that led to invariable disease (Ottaway 2001 37). This line of reasoning is perhaps what led to the twentieth-century view that menopause signalled a "breakdown of a system" where female functions "fail and falter" (Martin 1997 27). Lynn Botelho has

argued that the symptoms of menopause would have shown themselves visibly in women, who, after a lifetime of heavy labour and poor diet, would suddenly manifest decreased bone density, excess hair and tooth loss (Poska et al. 2013 301). Laura Gowing has argued that these bodily experiences would have been contingent upon the specific social and economic conditions that accompanied old age (2003 79). Gowing has also posited that menopausal women enjoyed more authority in their roles of caretaking, nursing and medical activities but Crawford admits that we still need to know much more about the social position of old women before any generalizations can be reached about a theoretical increase of their power and influence (1999 71).

For the purposes of this thesis, I am identifying the female characters studied as being ‘old’/‘menopausal’ by the following criteria: they talk of themselves as being marked by age, for instance, Cleopatra talks of being “wrinkled deep in time”(1.5.28-9); if they are identified as older by other characters, for instance Hamlet speaks of his mother as one that should be sexually “tame” at her age (3.4.77); or if the characters are old enough to have grown children or might still be capable of childbearing. Tamora is perhaps unique to this study as I argue that she is an embodied being outside of chronological time and, therefore, straddles the vegetal/human divide where ‘propagation’ of her ‘species’ might transpire beyond the limits of human biology.

The ambiguity of what it meant to be ‘old’ then and now is reflected by the lack of clear terminology in medical and social spheres and by on-going debates about the correct designate with which to label a stage that lasts ten to fifteen per cent of a woman’s life-span (Utian 2004 133). Described by Wulf Utian as a veritable “Tower of Babel”, since the first International Menopause Conference in France in 1976, the research

community has struggled to find a universality in terminology so that clinicians might be able “to speak the same language” when conducting medical care (2004 133; 135).

Although originally coined in 1821 (Greer 2018 213), it has now been agreed upon that the term ‘menopause’ refers to the “permanent cessation of menstruation resulting from loss of ovarian follicular activity...following 12 months of amenorrhea” (Harlow et al. 2013 371), and that the term ‘perimenopause’ “describe(s) the transitional period from reproductive to post-reproductive life... as well as the first year following menopause” (Utian 2004 137). In an interesting parallel to how Shakespeare might have conceived of old age, the Stages of Reproductive Aging Conference in Utah in 2001 decided that there are five stages prior to a woman’s FMP (Final Menstrual Period) and two stages after that (Utian 137). Many chronological, biological, environmental, and psychosocial conceptual models are married to our contemporary understanding of the female lifecycle (cf. Harlow et al. 2013). This multifaceted contemporary approach to defining menopause, one that expands outwards to consider more than just the medical model, seems to me to be entirely congruent to my own approach to the study of early modern menopause. In order avoid confusion in this thesis, drawing upon this idea of inclusivity, I conflate the terms ‘ageing’ and ‘old’ with the terms ‘perimenopausal’ or ‘menopausal’, and frequently use them interchangeably with the full knowledge of the unarticulated, inconsistent, and unidentified condition of menopause in the early modern era.

Structural Rationale

I have approached the subject of menopause by using the metaphorical discourse of the early modern era found in medical, religious, cultural, literary, and mythological tracts to

think through the various articulations of fear as radiating outwards from their seat of origin in the maternal matrix. Based in metaphor and metonymy but interpreted phenomenologically as embodied events, these humoral, uterocentric conceptions offer clues about the menopausal woman's life. Thus the multiple lenses I apply address aspects of how the 'human' and 'female' was defined in Natural Philosophy and beyond. Additionally, my final Chapter addresses how these received definitions of the human body were to change with the arrival of Mechanical Theory: suddenly the Galenic humoral body was to become radically re-configured as a machine, a transformation that held significant consequence for the female. Each lens allows me to focus a particular question, always expressed as an anxiety, about a particular aspect of the ageing body, a state that I am arguing defines early modern menopause.

The first Chapter explores the implications of a drying womb and its corollary influence upon the female sex drive in *Hamlet* (1609). Hamlet's mission of revenge, therefore, is not only connected about ridding Denmark of the "foul and unnatural" (1.5.25) murderer Claudius, but also to remove the "taint" (1.5.84) of the mother's flesh, the heart of which, Hamlet hopes, is still "penetrable stuff" (3.4.34). *Hamlet's* mythological allusions articulate anxieties regarding the unnatural transmission of the poisons of the desiccated womb, as well as the pre-Oedipal 'Devouring Mother' who utilises the ocular as a means to strike fear and terror into the infant. As 'eye' stands metonymically for 'womb' as the site of such fearful menopausal power, I believe the poisonous 'eye' functions as a metonymic analogy to the notion of the menopausal 'stone womb'. The terrifying power of both womb and eye to petrify others from *without*, as well as their apparent ability to desiccate and ossify life *within*, becomes most apparent in

Hamlet when linked to the Prince's fears of his mother's on-going sexual desire. I wish to suggest, however, that the power of *Hamlet* as the 'moral mirror' refracting the menopausal mother's poison back to the site of origin is, in the final analysis, unsuccessful. The stony womb is too powerful, it cannot be triumphed over: petrification becomes fear of the menopausal woman's power to transform living flesh into something alien, the end process of extreme desiccation where humoral blood, skin, and tissue become like stone, devoid of vital heat and impulse.

The second Chapter focuses on how menopause was experienced through the affliction known as 'the wandering womb' and its metaphorical connection to the bestial as revealed through the myriad animal images in *Coriolanus* (1609). This Chapter explores the anxieties generated by the wandering womb as one of the many transgressive organs of the ageing woman through a corollary lens of animal metaphorization. I argue that Shakespeare uses animal imagery to explore the menopausal condition in such a way as to offer an alternative line of thinking to a purely pathological structure: in other words, Shakespeare *thinks through* the menopausal woman *with animals*. My argument, in part, centres on the notion of humoral 'sympathies' between animal and woman and the hereditary notion of blood as a transmitter and sign system that helps shape beliefs about animal and maternal instinct. This animalistic blood kinship reveals not only how Martius is inextricably linked to his mother Volumnia by animal instinct, but also how his body, through virtue of those ties, becomes an extension of hers. That the ageing womb must be 'tamed' in its rages through plethoric purging, allows one to consider how Martius' body, and its eventual violent rendering, can be seen as Volumnia's *body-by-proxy*. The social anxiety of unrestrained female speech, coupled with the need for medicalized plethoric

release, coalesce to give new meaning to understanding the ageing woman through the animal body, where all bodily ‘mouths’ needs must be silenced. The anxiety caused by the menopausal woman in *Coriolanus* demands, I believe, a public bloodletting that resembles the *polis*’ desire for violent sacrificial murder. It is my contention that once Martius is sacrificed like an animal scapegoat, the connection between the animal and the human is severed: the wandering womb with all its ‘mouths’, expressed in *Coriolanus* through the relationship between animal and woman, is finally ‘tamed’ through an abject and violent silencing.

Identifying the character of Tamora from *Titus Andronicus* (1594) as ‘menopausal’ might be a controversial choice, but for the purposes of Chapter Three’s argument, Tamora allows me the flexibility to identify her as such because she exists outside of *chronological time*, and, therefore, is not strictly tied down to the timetables of human reproductive physiology. As this Chapter makes clear, Tamora’s reproductive capabilities align her with early modern notions of the vegetable as a ‘species’. Her ontological ambiguity makes Tamora a sister to the cadre of women that I have identified as ‘menopausal’ in this thesis because she, like them, causes ripples of embodied anxiety that circulate throughout many of Shakespeare’s tragedies. For the first part of the play, Tamora is pregnant with Aaron’s baby and yet it is a fact not acknowledged by anyone, including her lover and new husband. That Tamora’s pregnancy is all but ‘invisible’ posits an argument that her last child’s conception is ‘wondrous’ in the sense of having engendered a life form that appears to be born within an accelerated timeframe. Tamora’s menopausal body lies at the juncture between the complexities of Nature and Time and as such, her body’s reproductive rhythms do not conform to what we would understand as strict species or biological

categories. I argue that in order to explain Tamora's strange accelerated and invisible pregnancy, one might consider botanical life and its relationship to the human as part of a 'natural' continuum as understood by the early moderns. This Chapter will argue that in *Titus Andronicus*, Shakespeare explores anxieties connected with the menopausal womb by associating its 'timeless' generative qualities to the various classical and Renaissance conceptions of Time and Justice as *lived through plants*. The intricacies of botanical growth and its relation to the human is further complicated by early modern conceptions of 'Time' – a concept that was yet to have established a uniform, consistent definition. This Chapter will show how Tamora's pregnancy can be explained by early modern notions of botanical Nature refracted through several classical and Renaissance definitions of Time. That Tamora in her emblematic guises of Nature, Fortune, and Revenge might be able to bend, arrest, or accelerate Time, perpetuates a very genuine fear about the mysteries of the ageing woman's body.

I believe that Lady Macbeth is unique in the tragic canon because Shakespeare presents us with a remarkable description of the somatic and physiological changes of a body in the throes of menopause. This unique 'template' of the characteristics of menopause is traced in the fourth Chapter through the following apprehensions regarding the menopausal body: the effects of the build-up of unreleased poisonous menses to the body proper as well as to those bodies in immediate proximity; the ageing female's affinity with diabolical forces; and the means of using humoral fluids as tradable commodities. The fears and ambiguities associated with the female body past its reproductive prime coalesce in Lady Macbeth's remarkable soliloquy in Act 1, Scene 5 of *Macbeth* (1606) where she willingly 'calls down' the menopausal state upon herself.

Lady Macbeth's "illness" (1.5.19) is one born out of certain 'passions' that were said to rock the humoral *corpus* when it underwent significant internal changes, altering the homeostatic temperament of mind and body. The focus of this Chapter is to look at the humoral passion of *Envy*, or *Invidia* as the ancients and early moderns knew it, as a means to consider the somatic and psychic experience of Lady Macbeth as she moves through the humoral changes associated with menopause. Lady Macbeth's summoning of the somatic processes that will initiate menopause begin a chain reaction whereby her body and her "mind diseased" (5.3.39) become the source of the infectious disease of *Invidia* that plagues both her husband and the "sickly weal" (5.2.28; 5.4.50) of Scotland itself. In this sense, *Invidia* becomes both a kind of psychosocial embodied fear of the ageing female, as well as a personalised physiological event. *Invidia* could be combatted by the power of 'reason', but as reason was seen as antithetical to the female, there is no theoretical way for Lady Macbeth to conquer its insidious power. As she is overcome with menopausal *Invidia*, Lady Macbeth's political power and physical self are diminished whilst Macbeth's presence grows, thus Lady Macbeth's fate is to inhabit a toxic *corpus* wracked by madness, somnambulism, and eventual suicide.

For the final Chapter of this thesis, I turn to a menopausal character that, for a brief moment in the Shakespearean canon, offers the potential to celebrate the ageing female body through emergent anatomical systems married to new movements within existing physical science. Focusing concern about the agency of female reproductive health, it is the clitoris' 're-discovery' as a new organ that I want to frame as forming an interesting parallel to the rise of pre-Cartesian Mechanical Theory. In tracing these unusual parallels, I propose that these emergent anxieties reveal themselves in *Antony and Cleopatra*

(1607) through the metaphor of the machine. Shakespeare's Cleopatra occupies a kind of transitional period, one that looks backwards to Galenic medicine but one that also anticipates the coming of Descartes. Cleopatra is a "wonderful piece of work" (1.2.153-4) who embodies an exuberant *jouissance*. For the trajectory of *Antony and Cleopatra*, Cleopatra's body reflects the genesis of Mechanical Theory, a transitional, liminal moment that I am terming the 'proto-Cartesian', by assuming the transitional figure of the cyborg – an entity neither flesh nor machine but a hybrid combination of both. For this postmodern and posthuman incarnation, I turn to the cyborg as a creation of Donna Haraway as defined in her seminal tract "A manifesto for cyborgs: Science, technology, and socialist feminism in the 1980s"(1985). This cybernetic body, the Cyborg Mother, offers Cleopatra a way to transcend phallogentric notions of power and containment by utilising a variety of prosthetic 'tools' to heal, strengthen, and ameliorate the physical changes that come to an ageing female body. The Cyborg Mother lives for sexual pleasure: orgasm becomes the mechanical means through which She sustains her health and potency. The cyborg's clitoral orgasm transpires through one of her many "becomings" (1.3.96), a process made manifest through many 'tools' of the 'loving phallus'. As the 'Egyptian cyborg', she stands in complete opposition to what I am terming the 'Roman automaton': the automaton anticipates the coming Cartesian age, where, unlike the cyborg, flesh is divorced from machine. The Roman world, with its desire to measure and quantify boundaries in order to conquer and materially possess, already anticipates the spirit of full-blown Cartesian doctrine. When his identity is not fixed, Antony 'dissolves', and 'dislimns' thus hastening the death of the Cyborg Mother and the vision for a menopause marked by sexual *jouissance*. The tragedy of *Antony and*

Cleopatra is the tragedy of our post-Cartesian age where all menopausal cyborgs have, in the manner of Cleopatra, been transformed into the fleshless, sexless, impotent automaton with “nothing” of life within it (5.2.239).

By examining how the social, cultural, and medical anxieties that still surround menopause find their origins in the early modern world of such literary giants as Shakespeare, we can understand and work to ameliorate and eradicate current fears and prejudices about the ageing female body. The subtext of my thesis ultimately reveals, I hope, my belief that menopause is a natural process that needs to be embraced and celebrated by society, not hidden away in shame, silence, or invisibility.

CHAPTER 1: GERTRUDE AND THE PETRIFIED WOMB

Introduction: Columba Chatry and the Womb of Stone

In a quest to interpret the visions of Nostradamus (1503-1566), the early seventeenth-century commentator Dr. Theophilus Garencières (1610-1680) attempted to explain one of Nostradamus' quatrains (XXIII) through relating the "great Riddle" of a miraculous birth that transpired in 1613. Columba Chatry, a "taylor's wife" from the town of Sens, had gone into labour shortly after her marriage. But Chatry's birth pangs were all for naught: no baby was actually born. Garencières reported that Chatry then subsequently kept to her bed for three years "complaining of a hard swelling and a griping" in her womb (1672 17). When twenty-eight years later Chatry died of apparent natural causes, her husband then engaged "two prominent chirurgeons to make an autopsy" on his wife's body:

Within the womb was a child, perfectly formed and partly petrified, its skull shining like a horn. The wrist was broken in removing the child...which was so grown to the mother...The little body was perfectly developed and of such hardness that to this day that the little body defieth all kinds of corruption (18).

The petrified foetus was then kept as a macabre souvenir by a surgeon named Medill "who kindly showed it to all strangers who came from far and near to see it" (18). Garencières later reported that the fame of the stone infant was so great that Charles I offered to buy it.

According to Garencières' tale, his story of Chatry provided the reader with two "observable wonders":

One, that the Child dying in the womb, did not corrupt,
and so cause the death of its Mother. The other, by what
virtue or power of the body this Child was petrified,
feeling that the Womb is a hot and moist place, and
therefore more subject to putrification (18).

Garencières believed that this incident justified and explained what Nostradamus had intimated in a particular quatrain: "That which shall live and shall have no sense" (18), a prognostication that seemed to refer directly to the petrified child. Additionally, Garencières seemed to be suggesting that the 'birth' of the ossified baby sympathetically influenced the very atmosphere of the town itself, for the year that the foetus was surgically removed Sens suffered "Much damage by Hail and Ice" (18).

Columba Chatry's tale was still being written about as late as 1774; Nathaniel Wanley (1634-1680) was to elaborate upon the story in his *The Wonders of the Little World* by arguing that, "The slimy matter of the child's body", was "hardened" by "the extraordinary heat of the matrix" (Ch.11 546). Wanley justified the 'strangeness' of the phenomena of petrified children by arguing that "Nature", as "God's hand-maid", "by secret ways of operation, brings to pass things so strange and uncouth to human reason and expectation" (546). To illustrate his thesis, Wanley then followed with the fable of Niobe, the "Statue-Wife" who turned to stone through grief at the loss of her children, as told by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses*:

Her tongue within her harden'd mouth upseal'd,

Her veins did cease to move, her neck congeal'd;

Her arms all motionless, her foot can't go,

And her bowels into hard stone grow (546).

Chatry, argued Wanley, literally embodied “the verity of this last verse” (546). Chatry’s tale illustrates the fears of the terrible “wonders” of the unseen “secret ways” of gestation, traceable only by signs of the “strange and uncouth”. Both Garencières and Wanley wondered at the Chatry infant’s petrification: the matrix *should not* yield stone when its interior is understood to be a “hot and moist” place of “slimy matter”. The early modern desire to open up the womb to dissection in an effort to explore its mysteries (explored in Chapter 2) generated corollary anxieties when its contents challenged all understood notions of humoral microclimates.

Chatry’s medical condition is, in fact, a documented syndrome known as ‘lithopaedia’. A ‘lithopedion’, or ‘stone baby’, is believed to be the result of a non-viable pregnancy whereby the ova is fertilised in the fallopian tubes or in the placental or stomach cavities (Lachman et al. 2001 52). It is a pathology usually discovered in post-menopausal women with a mean age of fifty-five (Miranda 2017). It is a rare phenomenon. Daniel Ramos-Andrade notes that there have only ever been three hundred cases discovered worldwide since the first documented incident by the tenth-century Spanish Muslim physician Abulcasis (936-1013) (2014 60). The open display of Columba Chatry’s menopausal womb offered the means to view the “secret ways” of nature, but its unnatural stony contents anxiously generated corollary questions about the menopausal womb, a revelation, certainly in Chatry’s case, that could only be made manifest through a violent and invasive penetration. The focal point within illustrations of Chatry’s opened

womb highlight the petrified infant still enjoined in the dead body of its mother; it is the lithopedion's physical attachment to the maternal matrix that most arouses interest for the artist. It is this same binding to the maternal body that Hamlet simultaneously desires and is repulsed by: a return by the child to the mother as an alternate vision of the "one flesh" that binds husband and wife (4.3.50). Janet Adelman argues that the turn "to the woman's body" in *Hamlet* (1601), "is always felt as a turn to the devouring maternal womb", with not just the potential for "incestuous nightmare", but also for the "total annihilation implied by that return" (1992 28). I am concerned less with the implications for incestuous fantasies of maternal reunification, but I do agree with Adelman that the death-drive implicit in Hamlet's desire is overwhelming, the "consummation / Devoutly to be wished" (3.1.62-3). Hamlet's return to the maternal body is annihilation: it is one that finds that the essential nature of female flesh has changed in its humoral disposition to become a bounded space of 'stony' gestation where the child is still petrified and clinging to the site of origin. Such a place precludes the threat of being born, for to be born of his mother's flesh torments Hamlet with the knowledge that his ageing, widowed mother is still sexually active, a thought that obsesses and disgusts him in equal measure. Hamlet, in fact, longs to be that lithopedion. In his drive to change the mother's flesh resides Hamlet's own death-drive to see his own "solid" or "sullied" flesh similarly transformed in the "dew" of alien matter (1.2.129). To embody the 'unborn' lithopedion baby would be to achieve an impossible stasis; one denying life, vitality, the erotic impulse, "the thousand natural shocks / That flesh is heir to" (3.1.68-9). Hamlet's "dream" is "to sleep" in the maternal stony womb without acknowledging the "d[ying]", orgasmic body (2.1.70-1). Hamlet's mission of revenge, therefore, is not only connected to ridding Denmark of the

“foul and unnatural” (1.5.25) murderer Claudius, but also to remove the “taint” (1.5.84) of the ageing mother’s flesh, the heart of which, Hamlet hopes, is still “penetrable stuff” (3.4.34).

As the early modern woman aged, her humours, those bodily fluids that determined everything from health, to reproductive capacity, to moral temperament (Siraisi 1990 106), were believed by Hippocratic and Galenic physicians to dry out. Indeed, as Galen argued, desiccation or ‘marasmus’ was one of the defining qualities that marked the entrance into old age (Gilleard 492). How might such drying affect the ageing female libido, which in turn might affect her overall constitution? For the ageing female, regular sexual intercourse, even after menopause or widowhood, remained vital for her particular health concerns – concerns that were frequently at odds with social and religious custom. The same cultural contradictions are implicit in *Hamlet*: if Hamlet wants his mother to “tame” her widow’s sex drive “in the blood” (3.4.77), she must purposefully choose, in both a moral and religious sense, to avoid intercourse with her new “bloat king” (3.4.181), but to do so would mean that the subsequent drying of Gertrude’s body would have fatal consequences for both her and others within her circle. Because male sperm was believed to have a moistening effect on the womb, as the womb dried, it continued to need this emollition to fend off such physiological conditions as ‘rage of the womb’ or uterine strangulation, sometimes known as ‘fits of the Mother’ (Hippocrates *Nature of Women* 3: 197-98). Many aspects of this disease in the menopausal body are explored further in Chapters 2 and 4, but for the purposes of this Chapter, I want to explore the specific implications of a drying womb and its corollary influence upon the female sex

drive, the pathology of which caused the desiccating body to emanate various petrifying toxins.

The impenetrable stuff of Columba Chatry's petrified womb aligns her, as Manley suggests, to the mythological mother Niobe. Niobe (1.2.149) is the first female figure in a chain of embodied mythological allusions in *Hamlet* that connects Gertrude's persona to that of Hecuba, and, indirectly, to the Gorgon, the Basilisk, and the Cockatrice. All these classical figures are associated either with stone itself, or with the ability to petrify others. The particular allusions to these creatures articulate anxieties regarding the monstrous and unnatural womb, as well as the pre-Oedipal 'Devouring Mother' who utilises the ocular as a means to strike fear and terror into the infant. The lithopedion is ocular proof – an icon – of the mother's unnatural sexual activity. That's why it was kept as a freak souvenir, a fetish object: the lithopedion is the Medusa eye turned inwards, the hungry womb denied male sperm, forced to feed upon its own juices, its own foetus. The Gorgon myth, replete with Perseus' usage of the mirrored shield, lends an additional dimension to the power of this malefic scopic sight: when these emanations are refracted, that is, bounced back to the surveyor, then she, too, might become victim to such petrification. Petrification was the ultimate state of *fascination*, the ability to turn others into stone, or change their humoral constitutions through poisonous eye emanations. The poisonous eye beams, then, are a way of extending the trope of the 'greedy womb' (Botelho 310) as an organ that consumes, for the eye was also said to imbibe the fluids of others in an almost parasitic, vampiric way. When Hamlet speaks of his dreams of sleep and death, he talks about a "consummation / Devoutly to be wished" (3.1.69-70). The word 'consummation' is interesting for, not only does it suggest the sex act itself, it also denotes being

consumed as food, sustenance, hence the eye itself in *Hamlet* synecdochally becomes the extension of the Devouring Mother.

The 'eye' in *Hamlet* is not just a sexual one – it is also a deadly one. As 'eye' stands metonymically for 'womb' as the site of such fearful menopausal power, I believe the poisonous 'eye' functions as an analogy to the notion of the menopausal 'stone womb'. The terrifying power of both womb and eye to petrify others from *without*, as well as their apparent ability to desiccate and ossify life *within*, becomes most apparent in *Hamlet* when linked to the Prince's fears of his mother's on-going sexual desire. For in Hamlet's mind, the key to denying or eradicating the female sex drive is to restrain it within a dried menopausal, stony body. The petrified womb is a sexless womb. By contrast, the feminine sex drive makes men into monsters in image of themselves: "...for wise men know / Well enough what monsters you make of them" (3.1.143-4). The mythological allusions in *Hamlet* also offer the theoretical means by which to defeat the monstrous feminine. Gazing with a Nero-like voyeurism onto the "celestial bed" (1.5.56) of his origins, now transformed into a "nasty sty" (3.4.92) of "garbage" (1.5.57), Hamlet eventually combats the threat of the maternal body by becoming a kind of "glass" (3.4.18) reflecting the metonymic eye/womb of Gertrude *back upon herself* in an attempt to stymie her lustful power. The preponderance of references to mirrors in *Hamlet* indicate that in a pre-Freudian, pre-Lacanian sense, the mirror becomes the means by which the terrible eye beams of the menopausal mother can be deflected and potentially turned back upon the surveyor thus petrifying the womb/eye in the manner of Columba Chatry. I believe that with the medical, teratological, and mythological concepts of

petrification, Shakespeare gives us a whole new way to consider to “what base uses” the *female* body “may return” (5.1.192).

The Drying and Heating of the Menopausal Womb: Pathology and Morality

Levinus Lemnius (1505-1568) viewed ageing as a natural continuum where the ultimate matter of the female body moved from fecund moistness towards a desiccated state heralding death: “the extinction of nature, that is to say, of the natural heat, and natural humour” where “beginneth the body to be cold and dry, being the first enterance [sic] and step into Old Age” (*The Touchstone of Complexions* 1576 44; 47). The apotheosis, therefore, of the menopausal woman would be when her flesh becomes a kind of “[im]penetrable stuff” (3.4.34), cold and dry, comprised of matter more akin to that of stone than flesh. Galenic and Hippocratic theory held that as a woman aged, her humours dried out, making her desiccated body like that of a man’s. As Poska and McIver have noted, this model dried females out, “turning old women into old men” (2012 299). This is a belief recorded by Jacob Ruëff in his 1554 *The Expert Midwife*:

And for the same cause the Germans do name this
Purgation, Flowers... so also every woman deprived of
these Flowers, I say, of this purging in her due season by
the cause of Nature, can neither conceive nor ingender,
being like unto an unfruitfull and a barren man... (1637 ed.
Ch.I.11).

Ambroise Paré (1510? -1590) recorded in his *On Monsters and Prodigies* (1573) about women “degenerating into men” because of a heating of the body that came with ageing (Ch.

VII. 2011 32). But as Lesley Dean-Jones has argued, although the Hippocratics offered, “empirical evidence that a woman’s body had become physiologically like a man”, they offered no “gynecology, [and] no reason to explain how this sort of body worked” (1994 107). The transformation of the ageing female humoral body into that resembling a male’s is explored thoroughly in Chapter 4, but what is most pertinent to this Chapter is that this transformative drying, heating, and humoral desiccation of the ageing female body is primarily articulated in *Hamlet* as a question of menopausal sexuality, expressed in Hamlet’s paramount supposition that the “heyday in the blood” in his mother’s body “*should be tame*” (3.4.68 *italics mine*). The play’s obsession with the moral ‘health’ of the body politic makes Gertrude’s own metonymised womb the perfect receptacle of these sexual anxieties.

In Shakespeare’s time Galenic and Hippocratic humoralism underscored the believed inferiority of a woman’s moist, cold nature which invariably corresponded to her perceived passive and inferior moral character (Paster 2004 99). The poisonous site of moral and physical blight situated in the womb is a trope amplified in Claude Quillet’s (1602-1661) “Callipaedia: or, The Art of Getting Beautiful Children. A Poem”:

The flowing Womb with foul Pollution stains...
 And with th’ impurer Dross of Nature mix,
 What a detested, miscreated Thing...
 Foul Leprous Spots shall with his Birth begin,
 Spread o’er his Body and encrust his Skin;
 For that same poison which that Steam contains,
 Transfer’d affects the forming Infant’s Veins

(Bk. II 3rd ed. 1733 54).

Gertrude's "dross of nature" – her nascent sexuality – causes the "leprous spots" that manifest as the poisonous eruptions that "bark[ed]" about Hamlet Senior's flesh with a "vile and loathsome crust" (1.5.76-7). Thus, the "pollut[ed]" inner workings of Gertrude's body are mirrored by, indeed may even engender, the "rank" (3.3.39) offense of Claudius' fratricide, the macrocosmic "rotten[ness]" (1.5.72) of the state. This maternal taint is expressed in *Hamlet* in terms of various poisonous toxins that have their origins in the contaminating menopausal womb. Hamlet's misogyny is thus humorally expressed as the penultimate: "Frailty, thy name is woman!" (1.2.146). The moral dimension of humoral theory sees Hamlet believing that the means to his mother's salvation is through the alteration of her humoral make-up: Gertrude's threat can be removed if the cold, moist humours that dictate her still-youthful sex drive are forced into an accelerated desiccation by her willing choice to refrain from sexual intercourse. This inter-connectedness of physiology with morality means that Hamlet's demand that Gertrude cease to be tempted into sex by Claudius' "paddling" (3.4.184) accents his belief that such restraint could actually transform her humoral constitution: "For use almost can change the stamp of nature" (3.4.166). This abstinence would also result in the eventual cooling of Gertrude's own sexual desires: "But go not to my uncle's bed: / Assume a virtue, if you have it not? Refrain tonight, / And then it shall lend a kind of easiness / To the next abstinence" (3.4.165-69). Hamlet implies that feigning sexual disinterest coupled with foregoing the sex act itself, will allow Gertrude's body to work in conjunction with her mind to eventually eradicate the sex drive altogether. This is a remarkable expression of contemporary psychosomatic connectedness but conceptually one may trace its roots in early modern thought. The humours were understood to form a

synchronous bond with the ‘passions’: “Passions ingender Humors, and humors breed Passions” was an accepted phenomenon documented by various philosophers such as Robert Burton (1577-1640) and will be explored more thoroughly in Chapter 4. But humoral doctrine also had an important, inextricable connection to the overall health of the menopausal female, for if ageing women, particularly widows, could not purge menses through coition, then the resulting pathologies suggested that she might be driven mad by the trapped heat of such fluids. Such retained fluids could cause serious, if not fatal, conditions such as ‘Strangulation of the Womb’ (explored at length in Chapters 2, and 4), and ‘Rage of the Womb’. The midwife Jane Sharp (1641-1671) elaborated upon this noxious transmutation when she wrote, “when the seed and the courses are mingled with ill humours, and degenerate into a venomous nature, [they] are little better than poison” (*The Expert Midwife* Chap.1). Hamlet proposes that menopause *should* render his mother’s drive more “tame” in the “blood” (3.4.70), thus suggesting that sexual heat might be naturally subject to a further cooling, and coupled with the complete stoppage of sexual activity, Gertrude’s womb would end up becoming as ‘safe’ and inert as lifeless stone, a “sterile promontory” (2.2.301). Just as Robert Burton had argued that “venery...infrigidates and dries up the body...” (*The Anatomy of Melancholy* 206), then Gertrude’s cold, dry womb, transformed into the “worser part” (3.4.163) of the heart of her being, and “cleft in twain” (3.4.162), might simply be “thrown away” (3.4.163).

The properties of male semen were believed, in the Hippocratic tradition, to act as a necessary and natural much-needed lubricant, especially for elderly and childless women: “...if she abstains from the moistening activity of sexual intercourse. In such a woman, the dry and light womb may suddenly turn around and move up in search of moisture”

(Hippocrates *Nature of Man Regime* 1-3 4). Jane Sharp noted that vigorous sex was needed to help combat diseases in the older woman that would make her grow “mad with carnal desire” (*The Expert Midwife* Ch.13). This biological imperative forced a woman to either re-marry or stay single and risk disease. Hippocrates argued that the only way to counter the “wandering” of a woman’s uterus was for her to have regular intercourse, even if she were a widow or “advanced in age” (*Nature of Man. Regimen* 1-3 3; 4). The continued moistening of the womb, therefore, was essential for on-going health. Even etymologically, Nancy Caciola sources the Latin word for ‘woman’, ‘mulier’, to be derived from the source ‘mollier’, meaning ‘moist’ or ‘malleable’ (Jose 2008 157). The health and longevity of the ageing woman was completely dependent upon continued sexual intercourse in the wake of menopause (Crawford 1981 56). There is a direct conflict here between the societal expectations placed upon the menopausal woman, especially if she happened to be a widow, and the medical and therapeutic need for continued sexual activity if a woman was to keep her uterus emollient. Post-menopausal sexuality, therefore, was cause for anxiety because in the absence of any telling pregnancy, it could not be policed (Crawford 1981 56). In choosing to remarry, especially to satiate her own sexual urges, Gertrude has undertaken “Such an act / That blurs the grace and blush of modesty, / Calls virtue hypocrite” (3.4.42-4). Gertrude’s “lust[y]” (1.5.60) fluid attributes are inscribed upon her flesh as the “blister” of the harlot’s brand (3.4.46). Hamlet’s fantasy is that the darker, corrupt and feminine half of a woman’s corporeal heart, the seat of lust, might be “cast away” leaving the remaining de-sexualized flesh as “purer” (3.4.154). Physician Edward Jorden (1569-1633) drew such a parallel between uterine pathology, moral sensibility, and the health of the entire body

proper, by writing that if a womb appeared to be “depraved”, the “*offense* is communicated from thence to the rest of the body” (*A briefe discourse...* 1603 Cap. 2, *italics mine*). Hence the “depravation” of Gertrude’s ageing womb sympathetically engenders the “offense” that Hamlet tells Horatio is acknowledged in the speech of the “honest ghost” (1.5.136-9). Through a kind of sympathetic connection to the body politic, microcosmic uterine dysfunction is capable of shaping macrocosmic disorder, the “rank” “gross[ness]” of things gone to seed in an “unweeded garden” (1.2.135-6).

The uterus continued to be the seat and source of many mysterious internal changes in the female body, sympathies and atmospheric influences that would spill out into the environment (*Malleus Maleficarum* 53). This is what made the uterus the most prized anatomical organ in the dissecting theatre (Floyd-Wilson 2013 16). “Nero-like”, Chris Laoutaris argues, Hamlet indulges in an “anatomical investigation of his mother” where he ultimately seeks “evidence of his mother’s crime in the vivisection of her body” (2008 73). Thus to focus medical and spiritual scrutiny upon the womb was to “pluck out” the “heart” of a woman’s “mystery” (3.2.357) in an effort, not solely to explain her fundamental anatomical difference to man, but also to account for certain behavioural and moral differences, including a ‘natural’ proclivity towards sin, and ‘sin’ in this equation was nearly always identified as lust, a belief endorsed by Hamlet’s father (1.5.58-62). In the early fourteenth century, Albertus Magnus (1193-1280) wrote in the *Secretis Mulierum* that, “the womb of a female is like a sewer situated in the middle of a town where all the waste materials run together...” (Trans. Lémay 1992 133-4), and the Elizabethan physician Simon Forman (1552-1611) identified the womb as the seat of all disease because “Eve harkened to the serpent” (Kassell 2005 44). Traces of this moral

panic can still be outlined in *Hamlet*, where Gertrude's womb becomes the sinful macrocosmic locus of the "foul and pestilent congregation of vapours" (2.2.296) befouling the body politic, revelling in its "corruption" (3.4.93). On a microcosmic level, this image suggests trapped and poisonous menstrual vapours circulating in the menopausal womb. The menopausal body and its connection to disease rendered it a body overflowing with stagnating and poisonous humours, a body already destined for the grave: "the retention of menses engenders many evil humours. The women being old have almost no natural heat left to consume and control this matter... These women are more venomous than others" (Albertus Magnus 1992 90). Hippocrates argued that if this material were not released, it would lead to sickness and eventual death after the sixth month (*Generation of the Child X* 486.4.39-40). In *Hamlet*, the womb is imagined as the grave, the mouth of "hell" that "breathes out contagion to this world" (3.2.369-70). Even when it was at its most fertile or when it was inscribed by old age, the womb was the natural repository of danger and disease: "The place from whence comes life, is also the breeder of most deadly poison" (Daniel Sennert *Practical Physick* 1664 202). The menopausal uterus's retained poisonous menses, in the dearth of sexual intercourse, were believed to escape the body proper through the older woman's eyes and breath, a pathology that in the medical and literary tomes of the early modern period metamorphosed her into the fearful Cockatrice, Basilisk, and Gorgon, all mythological creatures connected with physical petrification.

The Cockatrice and Basilisk Gaze

The nature of the menopausal woman's comparison to the Basilisk and Cockatrice in the literature of this era seems to be pseudo-medical in nature so, like the ambiguity surrounding the notion of the 'wandering womb', it is sometimes unclear as to how much of this analogy is purely metaphorical in scope, and how much is actually based on an understood physiological pathology: do the poisons that emanate from a menopausal body render the subject *like* a Cockatrice, or, is the early modern ageing woman understood *to be* a human embodiment of such teratology? Certainly Shakespeare himself connected the figure of the Basilisk and the Cockatrice to the female body. In *Richard III* (1593), the Duchess of York, perhaps alluding to the Biblical "cockatrice's den" (Isaiah 11:8), likens her own womb to the "miser[able]" nest of a Cockatrice, which has "hatched" the monster that is her own son:

O my accursed womb, the bed of death,
A cockatrice thou hast hatched to the world,
Whose unavowed eye is murderous
(4.1.49-51).

Enunciating the common Elizabethan trope for sudden love-sickness, Richard maintains that Lady Anne has "infected" his eyes; Anne counters with the furious wish that, as for her own eyes, "Would they were basilisks to strike thee dead" (1.2.145-8). Paracelsus argued that a woman's uterine *menstruum*, filtered through the eyes, could be projected into the heavens causing plague (Newman 2020 40). It is highly relevant that in these examples, both the 'womb' and the 'eyes' become synonymous as the organs of poisonous transmission and infection.

The figure of the Cockatrice is mentioned numerous times in the Bible, and seems to have been perceived as a creature that resembled a winged snake (cf. Isaiah 11:8; 59:5). Edward Topsell (1572-1625) mentions a “creature of Africk” named the “Catablepon” who, he surmises, must have resembled the “Cockatrice...[that] killeth by seeing, then by the breath of his mouth” (1607 667). The Cockatrice was also an entity associated with heraldry and alchemy where its notorious mythology reached its apex at the end of the twelfth-century but whose prominence had died towards the end of the seventeenth-century, a “victim”, Laurence A. Breiner writes, “of the new science” (1979 30). Breiner theorises that the decline of the Cockatrice was due to its lack of clear taxonomy of species (30). The Cockatrice, it seems, was always a liminal creature – not wholly reptile, mammal, bird, or imagined monster. To add to its ambiguity, the Cockatrice was also confused with the Basilisk, originally a venomous serpent described by Pliny as a creature known to kill at a distance by its sight and breath (*Naturalis historia* VIII 38.78).

In alchemical terms, the Basilisk and the Cockatrice were both associated with stone. Guido Magnus de Montanor (fl.1400) wrote, “This liquid will coagulate into visible stone, which Raymond [Lully] calls his Basilisk. For just as the Basilisk kills a man by its mere glance, so too this Stone kills Mercury, solidifying and fixing it into perfect silver without using fire” (qtd. in Breiner 36). The Basilisk became a valuable elixir, part of a mystical transmutation where, “If you hold a mirror to it, it kills itself” (*Aurora consurgens* qtd. in Roob 301). The terms ‘Basilisk’ and ‘Cockatrice’ were connected with the final stages of the Great Work, the extraction of the ‘quintessence’ from the fabled Philosopher’s Stone (Newman 2020 35). In biological terms, however,

the identity of both the Basilisk and the Cockatrice in the early modern period seemed to transcend the mere metaphorical and mystical to assume a real, embodied threat, housed, not within the confines of an alembic, but within the body proper of the menopausal woman, the apotheosis of “this quintessence of dust” (2.2.310).

As Luke Demaitre argues, the Basilisk, even as a mythological creature, “kindled curiosity about actual puzzles, including death from a sudden and unseen cause, contagion through a medium, the nature of infection, and the role of poisoned air (miasma)” (2013 74). Underscoring the Basilisk’s singular relationship to the female, William R. Newman has recently argued that in the works of Paracelsus, the Basilisk serves as “a product of unnatural generation... and as an exemplar [of the] feminine imagination run wild” (2020 31). In his *Practica seu Lilium medicine* (1542), Bernard de Gordon recorded the pervasiveness of the Basilisk’s contagion that could “corrupt” the very air, and “kill over a great distance” (Demaitre 74). The vapours that rose from the Basilisk’s body, according to Niccoló Bertruccio in 1509, poisoned the very air surrounding its lair: “There is absolutely no cure. If you see a person perish suddenly, without evident cause...you should know that this is due to a basilisk” (qtd. in Demaitre 74). The Pseudo-Paracelsus argued that the Basilisk’s birth made it “against the order of nature”, and that it was responsible for “the greatest slaughter of humans, such as has never come to be, or existed” (qtd. in Newman 39). In his *Compendium medicine* (1510), Gilbertus Anglicus placed the Basilisk’s poisonous capabilities within its eyes and thereby made a direct comparison between its power and that of a menstruating woman who “infects a mirror and whatever she looks at...by the infecting spirits of the eyes and

through the infection of the air” (qtd. in Demaitre 177). In Spenser’s *Faerie Queene* (1596), a fearful Rider is said to emit “two fiery Beams” from his eyes:

Like as the Basilisk, of Serpent’s Seed,
From powerful Eyes close Venom doth convey
Into the Looker’s Heart, and killeth far away

(Bk. IV Canto VIII).

The eyes, then, become the means of concentrating and refracting a mortal poison, a deadly emanation that can target victims over vast distances. As William R. Newman argues, Paracelsus equated the crystalline vitreous humour of the eye’s lens with the womb of the catamenial woman: “in basilisks [it is] fantasy born from the menstrual poison which lies in the eyes, that is, the matrix and crystalline are one thing” (2020 36). The poison, received in turn through the victims’ eyes, targeted the heart, thus allowing its venom to course through the entire body. This is a perverse inversion of the heart of Hamlet, the sun/son (1.2.67), being flooded, not with heavenly rays of “golden fire” (2.2.303) from his father Hyperion (1.2.140), but the dark mother, spouse of the Satyr, piercing the “brave o’erhanging firmament” with “a foul and pestilent congregation of vapours” (2.2.268-9). Even though there is nothing left in woman to delight him (2.2.275), the Petrifying Mother has taught Hamlet her powers. Hamlet turns his own Evil Eye upon the “sponges” (4.2.11; 13; 19) of his treacherous schoolmates: the “eye that he shall have” of them (2.2.256) results in their own Gorgonian decapitations (5.2.24).

The Basilisk’s fascination was closely aligned to the same purported spiritual and physiological malevolence levelled by the ancient hag and her ‘Evil Eye’. According to

Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), the Evil Eye was the source of *all* fascination, and he linked it to the strong imagination that manifested itself through the eyes of all malicious old women (Gregory 1952 146). The Evil Eye's malefic intent was rooted in envy of the looked-upon, usually a child, younger woman, pregnant woman, fertile crops or cattle (explored in Chapter 4). The Evil Eye affected its malicious power through the ability to desiccate – literally evaporate – moist fluids from the entity it gazed upon. This notion goes back to the ancient belief that warm and fluid entities were replete with a vital life force, whereas cold and dry bodies were those that were closest to death (Dundes 1992 21). The purveyor of the Evil Eye, then, craved the fluids of that which it envied. This is surely the same logic that underlay the Hippocratic and early modern belief that the menopausal womb, when denied the emolliating fluid remedies of menstrual blood and semen, 'wandered' about the body in search of moist organs, such as the liver and heart, to 'feed' upon (see Chapter 2). As the "bloat king" (3.4.180), swollen and "stewed" (3.4.91) with the juices of unbridled lust, wine, and sweat, Claudius now stands in perfect place to supply the fluids required by Gertrude's drying womb. As the Satyr (1.2.140), Claudius becomes an analogous figure to the mythological god Priapus who, as a "prodigiously juicy" entity, complained to his followers that he had no sexual need of any "sapless" lover, "like crumbling, holey pumice" (*Carmina Priapea* 32.7). Pauline Ripat notes that the classical Mime figure of the old woman 'Petreia' ('Stony'), who walked in Roman processions, was a hag who sought moisture through excessive alcohol consumption and was named after her body's dryness, "the blight of the field, the stones" (2016 121). The act of malefic fascination, then, whether exercised by the Basilisk or Cockatrice and linked to the vehicular transmission of an older woman's eye, had the

ability to transform the body's fluid humoral constitution. Invariably the victim's healthy, clean, and flowing liquids, were poisoned, blocked, stagnated, or completely petrified in the manner of stone.

As already shown, most early modern physicians wrote that 'excrementitious' menstrual poisons, before they could reach a critical mass and escape through the eyes, originated within the womb. Giambattista Della Porta (1535-1615) argued that, analogous to spontaneous generation where the "heat of the sun" brought forth "all kinds of living Creatures" from "putrified stuff", red toads, frogs, and lizards could be also generated from "womens (*sic*) putrified flowers" (*Natural Magic* Ch.1). Della Porta, however, refuted Paracelsus' claim that a woman's menstrual fluid could "generate a Basilisk, that all shall die which look upon him" (*ibid.*). Della Porta's belief that all menstrual blood was "corrupted" furthered his own theory that "the efflux of beams out of the eyes" of an "unclean women" (*sic*) could produce spirits that would "strike through the eyes of those they meet", and attack the heart, whereupon a "contagion" would "infect" the entire victim (*ibid.*). Della Porta argued that he was intimately aware of this process given that he, himself, had been victim to such a foul act of infection:

I suffered from such an accident myself: for the eye
infecteth the air, which being infected, infecteth another:
carrying along with it self the vapors of the corrupted
blood, by the contagion of which, the eyes of the
beholders are overcast...So the Wolf maketh a man
dumb; so the cockatrice killeth, who poysoneth with
looking on... (*ibid.*).

Because of the innate connection between this form of “poysoning” and unclean menstrual fluid, it was obvious, argued Della Porta, why more women were witches than men (*ibid.*). In addition, such “Fascination” was “found more often in old women” (*ibid.*). The cessation of menstruation, therefore, did not seem to diminish this power: indeed, old women could use this power to “wast” the bodies of those they envied – “especially the beautiful” – and those who were of a “cholerick or sanguine complexion” were most at risk owing to the fact that the disease “most easily fed” when “the pores are open, and the humours thin” (*ibid.*). Della Porta, then, makes the connection between the power of the envious old woman’s eye and the greedy mouth – the vapours emitted seek ‘to feed’ upon the victim’s fluids.

Reginald Scot’s (1538-1599) explanation of the scope and sequence of malefic eye beams is remarkably similar to that of Della Porta’s. Scot claimed that it was believed that the desire of the witch to capture the “sweet and subtil bloud” of “a child, or a young man” meant that her eye was the ultimate vehicle for the “expulsion of the Spirits” that might “infect...the heart of the bewitched”:

For the poison and disease in the eye infecteth the air next
unto it, ... carrying with it the vapour and infection of the
corrupted bloud...whereof, the eyes of the beholders are most
apt to be infected. By this same means, it is thought that the
cockatrice depriveth the life... (*A Discovery of Witchcraft*
Bk.16. Ch. IX. 1584 350).

Again, as with Della Porta, Scot argued that old women were particularly adept at this kind of diabolical fascination:

Old women, in whom the ordinary course of nature faileth in
 the office of purging their naturall monthly humours ...they
 leave in a looking glasse a certain froth, by means of the grosse
 vapours proceeding out of their eyes... but the beams ... from
 the eies of one body to another, do pierce to the inward parts
 and there breed infection...[they]... infeebleth the rest of his
 body and maketh him sick ... (350).

Scot advocated for the immediate execution of any old woman caught fascinating in this manner (Ch. III 15). As a means of capturing these deathly emanations, the mirror and its symbolic connection to the ageing woman's poisonous eyes, will be explored later in this Chapter, for the mirror also connects the eyes and their ability to transform the bodies of the surveyed to that of the figure of the Gorgon Medusa.

It seems appropriate, given the *mythos* surrounding the ageing woman that the organ of the eye and the faculty of sight should be the vehicle of the counter-measures needed to thwart the threat of the menopausal body's power: for if the eye can 'devour' and petrify like the womb, then the means to stymie this power is to turn it back upon itself in a manner similar to the fates that befell both Niobe and Hecuba. Della Porta acknowledged that a refractive defensive technique could be enacted with "unclean" women in order to thwart their malefic power: "[Like the Basilisk] giveth venomous wounds with the beams of his eyes: which being reflexed upon himself by a looking glass kill the Author of them" (*Natural Magic* Ch.1). The Evil Eye refracted inwards, blocks, stagnates, and dries out all scant humoral fluidity into its own type of "bung" (5.1.194), the "clay" and "loam"(5.1.199-200) of total desiccated life-in-death. It is necessary,

therefore, to explore the connections between the ‘eyes’, ‘womb’, and petrified matter as the apotheosis of the poisonous female humoral body, and how that might relate to the characters of Niobe, Hecuba, and Medusa as they appear in *Hamlet*.

Niobe: Setting the Stage for Fear of the Humoral Body

There is a scene in the *Iliad* where Achilles, still grieving the loss of his lover Patroclus, consoles King Priam who is in mourning for the loss of his son Hector, by reminding him that “even Niobe” whose “twelve children were destroyed” “remembered to eat” before she was turned “into stone still” (*Iliad* 24 601-17). In classical mythology, Niobe was a Theban princess who boasted that she was superior to the mother of Apollo and Artemis because she had born fourteen children whilst Leto had only born two. To punish her for her indolence, Leto sent her Divine Twins to strike all of Niobe’s children dead.

Surrounded by the bodies of her slaughtered children, Niobe’s ceaseless tears aroused pity in the gods who petrified her into a stone that fountained water (cf. Graves 258-60).

In speaking of his grief, Achilles likens the transformative effects of his own emotions to the same processes that petrified Niobe’s grief-filled body. In Ovid’s re-telling, Niobe’s grief causes a petrification whereby she is trapped in a stony body, the terrifying life-in-death of “a likeness without life”, with eyes “star[ing] fixed and hard”, her innards “congeal[s]”: “so too inside” (*Metamorphoses* Bk.VI. 285-316). In John Donne’s moving epigram “Niobe”, the poet envisages the repetitive cycle of paternal grief from the perspective of the humoral female where the awareness of his bodily “dry[ing]” gives him an innate embodied sympathy of being trapped in his body’s stony sepulchre: “By childrens (sic) births, and death, I am become / So dry, that I am now mine owne sad

tombe” (Ed. Herbert J.C. Grierson 2012). A similar humoral transformation was envisaged by Barnabe Barnes (1569? -1609) who added an alchemical dimension to the desiccating actions of the ‘alembic’ of his heart in prayer: “From my loves lymbeck still still’d teares, oh teares! / Quench mine heate, or with your soveraintie / Like Niobe conuert mine hart to marble: / Or with fast-flowing pyne my body drye...” (*Parthenophil and Parthenophe Sonnettes* 1593). Niobe is a liminal creature – neither wholly fluid, nor stone, animate or inanimate: “All within is stone. / Yet still she weeps” (Ovid 312-13). Niobe’s petrification is given the added cruelty of complete inertia; unlike other transformed Ovidian women, she is denied the agency to at least re-integrate into nature as a tree, bird, or beast: “Fastened there / Upon a mountain peak” (Ovid 314-15). This image of intractable fixation is echoed in Hamlet’s memory of Gertrude “hang[ing]” off Hamlet Senior almost like a rocky outcrop or promontory attempting to bind the king’s body to her own: “Why, she should hang on him / As if increase of appetite had grown / By what it fed on”(1.2.143-45). The image here is one where the embodied source of Gertrude’s humoral tears, her “galled eyes” (1.2.155), ‘feed’ upon Hamlet Senior in a double-sense: she leeches the life-force from the king at the same time that she attempts to incorporate him into her own body through a kind of petrification where false “flushing” tears dry to “salt” (1.2.153-55). Hamlet is clear in his intimation that, although Gertrude followed his father’s body in the funeral procession, “Like Niobe, all tears” (1.2.149), unlike the mythical Niobe, Gertrude’s grief is a sham. Like the mythical vampiric Lamia or one of the Empusae (Graves 205; 189), once Gertrude has leeched out Hamlet Senior’s life force, his body becomes an obscene humoral bag of posseted, curdled, leprous, and thinned blood (1.5.73-8), the dregs of a body not fit for re-

integration into the environs of the earth's womb, for his "canonized bones" have "burst their cerements" (1.4.47-8) and have been vomited out from the grave (1.4.48-51). The "forms, moods, shows of grief" (1.2.82) that Hamlet experiences, far from indicating as Claudius suggests a sentiment that is "unmanly" (1.2.94), is one that he hopes will bind him to the fidelity of Niobe in a manner that his mother only mimics. As Gertrude opines, Hamlet "still seek[s] for [his] noble father in the dust" (1.2.70), an act of filial constancy that gives Hamlet far more of a common connection to Hecuba than his mother. Niobe stands as the anti-Gertrude. Niobe's devotion to her family is celebrated in *Hamlet*: her stony transformation makes her a laudable antidote to the poisonous and unfaithful menopausal womb.

The elderly Hecuba, wife of Priam of Troy, is the ultimate embodiment of the idealised menopausal woman in *Hamlet*: her stony, bestial transformation mark her, not as an ageing figure of fear and dread, but as the ideal maternal contrast to Gertrude. The mythological Hecuba was a figure held up as the ideal of womanhood in the literature of the early modern period. As a tragic figure, Tanya Pollard notes that Hecuba enjoyed a "remarkable popularity" (2012 1064). As Sarah Carter argues, "Hecuba is both a victim and avenger, and her myth encompasses great sorrow, violent revenge, madness and bestial transformation..." (2012 45). During Hecuba's transformational journey that ends with her assuming the form of a bitch and then a rocky promontory, she is also metaphorically compared to a 'moral mirror' and its magical power to reflect truth and integrity. In the first English translation of Seneca's *Troas* (1559), Jasper Heywood added the following lines:

Hecuba that wayleth now in care,

That was so late, of high estate a queene
 A Mirrour is, to teache you what you are,
 Your wavering welth, O princes, here is seene

(qtd. in Winston 41).

Heywood seems to be suggesting that Hecuba functions as a sort of reflective *vanitas*, a corporeal warning to rulers about the transient nature of temporal influence and wealth. Similarly, in Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville's *Gorboduc* (1561), Hecuba is described as "the woefullest wretch / That ever lived to make a myrour of" (qtd. in Pollard 1065). As Ivan Lupić argues, "the tragic dramatists of the Renaissance were haunted by Hecuba" (2018 55). In crafting the 'Murder of Gonzago', the means to "catch the conscience of the king" (3.1.591), it is clear that Hamlet has been highly inspired by the Player King's impersonation of Hecuba's fidelity to her murdered husband, a moving performance that "would have made milch the eyes of heaven" (2.2.507). The play as a moral "trap" (3.2.224) works because of its ability to reflect the conscience, the means to "hold as 'twere a mirror up to Nature" (3.2.20). This is why, I believe, that Hamlet chooses *to become* Hecuba, or at least assume her virtuous powers as a 'mirror', as a tactical means to refract his mother's sin back through her own eyes and into her body during the decisive 'closet scene': for as much as the mirror can "show virtue her own feature" (3.2.21), it can also force Gertrude to "see the inmost part" of herself (3.4.24). By becoming the mirror of Hecuba, like the polished shield of Perseus (explored later), Hamlet employs an active means to make the "rank corruption" (3.4.154) of the maternal body confront itself. By looking to the myths of Niobe, Hecuba, and the monstrous

Basilisk and its kin, Hamlet is afforded the means by which this confrontation will unfold by employing the metonymic organs of the menopausal woman's anatomy – the eyes.

Revenge and Anger: The Humoral Catalysts of Menopausal Poison

But there is a shadow-side to Hecuba, one where her devotional love is quickly metamorphosed into a violent rage when her family is threatened: unlike Hamlet, Hecuba is not slow to enact revenge in the name of both father and son, certainly not “pigeon-livered, lack[ing] gall” (2.2.563). For Ovid, Hecuba becomes like a wild Fury whose sole motivation is revenge for the sacrilegious treatment of her son Polydorus' corpse. But it is interesting that in enacting maternal vengeance in her “motive and cue for passion” (2.2.546) the organs that Hecuba penetrates are the eyes of King Polymestor. Rather than direct her own poisonous eye beams onto her victim in order to petrify him in the manner of a pseudo-Gorgon or Basilisk, Hecuba blinds the King of Thrace through an analogous act of rapacious savagery. Such maternal violence, however, does not escape apparent divine punishment: her body pays the price through a complex sequence of corporeal transformations. “Wild with rage”, “like a rock / Of granite, stood rigid”, Hecuba:

... attacked

The king and dug her fingers in his eyes

His treacherous eyes, and gouged his eyeballs out

(Rage gave her strength) and plunging in her hands,

Scooped out, all filthy with the felon's blood,

Not eyes (for they were gone) but eye-sockets.

Incensed to see their king's calamity
 The Thracians started to attack the queen
 With sticks and stones, but she snapped at the stones,
 Snarling, and when her lips were set to frame
 Words and she tried to speak, she barked

(*Metamorphoses* XIII 529-60).

The Thracian crowd responded to Hecuba's blinding of their king by attacking her with "stones". Hecuba's body, galvanized from an inert state "like a rock" by her rage, discovers that, whilst her violent strength is now concentrated in her fingers, her mouth remains incapacitated and fixed; all human speech falls away from her until the only corporeal shape she embodies is that of a dog. The metaphor of the petrified body is extended in Euripides' *Hecuba*: before she blinds him, Polymestor levels a prophecy at Hecuba that she shall become a "dog with fiery eyes" (1265) and that her tomb will be a promontory known as Cynosemma or the "tomb of the bitch". As a visual sign, Hecuba's tomb, a rocky extension of her own body, continued to symbolise her canine fidelity because the promontory's function was to act as a landmark guiding ships to safety (Dué 2006 118).

Although for most writers Hecuba's maternal qualities were lauded and her transformation pitied, occasionally she was mocked for these very passions. As Sarah Carter notes, both Niobe and Hecuba seem to exemplify a tradition that both ridicules women for their age and the excesses that mark them "as implicitly less attractive" (2010 77). Certainly in Martial's (AD 40-AD 104) translated "Epigram 32", the old woman Matrinia is mocked for asking if the narrator might wed her: "Even *Niobe* I could take, /

And Mother *Hecuba* a Mistress make: / But then before they were transform'd so fur
(sic), / One to a Stone, the other to a Cur" (Trans. Henry Killigrew 1695). Martial's
narrator suggests a continuum of female degradation where transformative passions are
only marginally more monstrous in a woman than the embodied state of being old. For
Francis Rous (1579-1659), Hecuba-as-bitch's apoplectic barking elaborates upon the
common misogynistic trope whereby the female tongue transmits 'poison' to the
(presumably male) hearer: "As one whom raving Hecuba hath bit / Whose blood
corrupted with her venom'd tung" (*Thule, or Vertues Historie* Bk. II. Canto I.1598. Sig.
K3v.159-60). In penetrating the eyes of her enemy, Hecuba's fierce wrath is refracted
back onto her own body, the orifice now paying the price for her unnatural rage is her
oral cavity: she is literally made to 'eat' her own poisonous anger.

The humoral effect on an ageing female body like Hecuba's with its "lank and o'er
teemèd loins" (2.2.498), driven to passionate excesses such as rage and lust, would have
the effect of heating it. Ovid notes that in the presence of Polymestor, Hecuba "eyed him
savagely and rage, / Her seething rage, boiled over" (Bk. XIII 558-9). Hecuba's anger is
reflective of the symptomology recorded by Hippocrates who wrote that in the case of
blocked menses:

...the woman rages, from the putrefaction she becomes
murderous... they are desirous of throttling themselves... She
names strange and frightful things, and these urge the women
to take a leap and to throw themselves down wells, or to hang
themselves...(Diseases of Women 1 105).

As Robert Burton argued, humoral changes in the body had a directly proportionate influence upon the passions themselves and *vice versa*, thus causing an ever-greater combustion of choler or wrath (*Anatomy* 1, 2, 3, 1: 248). For Thomas Wright (fl.1604), old age was “infect[ed]” by the “poysons” of “pettish rage” (1604 40). Jane Sharp argued that the power of a frustrated sex drive was ferocious, driving females “mad with carnal desire” making them stop at nothing to “entice men to lie with [them]” (*The expert midwife* Chap.13). Whilst it is true that female anger of the early modern period was not treated with the same seriousness as male anger, which was deemed to be more righteous and less petty (Kennedy 2000 7), men could nevertheless purge their choler through the heavy sweating that came with manual labour and activity, an image that Hamlet conjures of the necessity of having to “grunt and sweat under a weary life” (3.1.83).

As with most Galenic and Hippocratic thought of the early modern era, it was believed that the excesses of such humoral ‘passions’ as wrath and grief could be purged out of the body thus restoring a temperamental equilibrium. But, as already noted, the stopping of menses that came with menopause eliminated all but a few ways of purging fluid excesses (see Chapters 3, 4, 5). In this sense, anger, grief and lust, because they indicated an “excess of Passions” (Wright 4) were interchangeable, having the similar humoral effect of drying and heating on “women...whose passions are most vehement and mutable...” (Wright 3), a state that the Player Queen confirms, “For women’s fear and love holds quantity, / In either aught, or in extremity” (3.2.156-7). Hecuba and Niobe, then, whilst given to different passionate excesses, form an embodied sisterhood with Gertrude: all meet violent ends. The drying and heating that would accompany the

ageing female body given to these “extreme” (3.2.157) passions *should* logically be released partially through sweating, especially during sex, “honeying and making love” in “the rank sweat of an enseamed bed” (3. 4. 93-4). I can find no documented evidence in the early modern treatises of sweating as a physiological symptom of menopause; in fact, all Hippocratic indications pointed to the fact that women hardly sweated at all given that the retention of fluids in the moist body were needed for the growth of the foetus and the subsequent production of milk (Maclean 1980 334). Yet even Hamlet wonders why his mother’s cheeks aren’t heated to blush by shame (3.4.81) and his several references to lust as cogitating heat in the female body (3.4.83-7) means that he evidently is aware of the ageing body as a *heating* body, yet most treatises argue the opposite: the humoral changes afforded by extreme passions were the result of the moist and cold female body (Maclean 1999 134). This evident ambiguity is unusual given that one of the most common physiological signs of the onset of menopause is the sudden “hot flash” or “hot flush” (vasodilatation). Contemporary medical theory postulates that as the hormone oestrogen fluctuates and eventually diminishes altogether, the endocrine system responds by sending ‘signals’ to the body that are comprised of the sudden, uncontrollable onset of over-heating, copious sweating, and ‘irrational’ mood swings, anger most noticeably apparent (Northrup 1998 526-8). Emily Martin surmises that the embarrassment connected with experiencing hot flashes is because it is “an outward public sign of an inner bodily process associated with the uterus and ovaries, which are supposed to be kept private and concealed” (168). Often the shame and embarrassment menopausal women experience with these sudden “hot flashes” are to do with the change in their appearance. The sudden heating and drenching of the body are such that, as

Emily Martin has documented, many women fail to recognise themselves in the mirror: “I rushed to the mirror...It was my face but...it started to disappear and in a minute it was all gone” (167 2001). What ‘face’ might the symptoms reflect? Some women have noted that their faces appear to be transformed into monsters; Martin connects this to feelings of “fear and anger” that menopausal women experience (167; 169). It is interesting that the snaky-haired Furies and Gorgons of myth were inevitably connected to the frightening and furious passions of the female. If the poisonous eye beams of the early modern woman are just another form of purging trapped fluids without sexual coition, I would like to suggest that these heated and wrathful beams are indeed a misplaced, misidentified signifier of what today we would recognise as the “hot flash”. The fact that many women report the “hot flash” as beginning as a physical manifestation in the head, particularly the face, draws attention to the proximity of the eyes themselves (Martin 169). The same overheating that accompanies this event is perhaps recognised by Hamlet himself when he is shocked by the heat of the menopausal lust of the “matron” to be strong enough to melt the “wax” of youthful ardour as well as the assumed “frost” that should encase the ageing woman’s sex drive (3.4.82-7). The passionate woman was a feared woman, a threat to others and herself, breaking all corporeal and social boundaries in both actions and words, the symptomology of which was revealed with noxious humours leaking or bursting out of the body proper. The ultimate punishment for such a body in the literature and mythology of the era was embodied transformation as a precursor to total annihilation. Ovidian transformation to the unnatural flesh of a beast or stone offers no liberation or agency for the maternal body in *Hamlet*: instead it is a body to be fought against, controlled, and ultimately destroyed. Could the Basilisk’s and

Cockatrice's baleful and petrifying stare, like that of the Medusa, just be another manifestation of the woman who is crazed and momentarily 'struck' by a menopausal "hot flash"? Indeed, Paracelsus argued that Basilisks were formed from *menstruum* because such fluid imparted women with such an obsessive and powerful imagination that they could alter the macrocosm itself, for they "are *hotter* in revenge, with greater jealousy and hate" (qtd. in Newman 35, *italics mine*). If so, then together with the menopausal woman's physiological connection to petrifying mythological personae, this would pave the way for Hamlet to consider the possibility of forcibly altering his mother's humoral constitution by refracting her petrifying gaze back upon herself. A stony female body is, as I have argued, one that is divested of any sex drive and, therefore, in Hamlet's mind, is a safe, non-sexualised one.

"Have you Eyes?": Reflecting Sexual Vanitas and the Glass

As a material object, the mirror held much symbolic significance for the early moderns. It was often associated with the allegory of *Vanitas*, a kind of *memento mori* that warned women of the brevity of life and of the futility of the pursuit of beauty, especially the flattery of cosmetic arts (Dolan 1993 229). As an icon, *Vanitas* is often shown as a middle-aged woman riding a bear, thus emphasising the all-consuming nature of the vice itself, as well as being suggestive of the devouring, furious maw of the womb. *Vanitas* is also shown carrying a mirror (Goscilo 2010 293). In a number of engravings, *Vanitas* and her sister *Luxuria* (Lust), are shown flying pennants on which a Basilisk is depicted: thus the extended metaphor of the hungry womb is not only connected to the monstrous, but

also incorporates the petrifying eye. Eventually the traditional allegory of *Vanitas* was often fused with carnality (Goscilo 294).

As a material object, the mirror also served to ridicule the old woman's pursuit of youth. In Bernardo Strozzi's (c. 1581–1644) painting "Old Woman Before a Mirror", an elderly noblewoman looks intently at her reflected image as her two young handmaids finish the ritual of her toilette. While her maids smirk, perhaps mocking this fading aristocrat with her denuded breasts and wrinkled skin, the lady herself is completely self-absorbed. Although undoubtedly painted to satirize the ageing woman, the subject's singular state is remarkably self-aware: the onlooker's judging gaze is clearly neither wanted nor needed. It is this self-absorbed, self-petrified gaze that Hamlet fervently hopes he can make his mother assume in the glass: forced to face her own morality and vanity, Gertrude might then purge her own sin through sexual abstinence. In his 1596 *Lively Anatomie of Death*, preacher John More (d.1592) used the analogy of the looking glass to indicate the "anatomical" revelation of God's truth shown as a reflection that could not obfuscate the lies and deceits of the "rotten tabernacle" of the body:

I shew you some Anatomie, in which you may see (as in a
glasse) the original of Death...The conscience is lyke a
Chrystall Glasse, wherein ... wee may lyuely viewe our
selues. It will shewe euerything that is amisse in soule and
body. Let vs therefore take our spundg in hand, to clense
our spots...(STC 2nd ed. 1807 3).

More's implication is that the qualities of sin and shame can hide under a duplicitous mask, but that with the right kind of "mirror", they might be forced to reveal the moral

and spiritual truth of their nature; like the tainted “black and grievous spots” (3.4.90) and “thorns” (1.5.87) of Gertrude’s conscience. Such ‘spots’ are also a reminder that the power of a menstruating woman was believed to ruin the surface integrity of mirrors (cf. Pliny *Natural History* Bk. VII). In the ‘closet scene’ of Act 3, Scene 4, Hamlet insists that his mother must be compelled to confront her transgressions within such a “Chrystall Glasse”:

Come, come, and sit you down. You shall not budge.

You go not till I set you up a glass

Where you may see the inmost part of you (3.4.17-19).

As a catalyst, Hamlet believes both the metaphorical and physical mirror might provoke the necessary changes within Gertrude’s conscience whereby he might “wring her heart” (3.4.33) to face an “act” that “plucks / The very soul from the marriage contract” (3.4.43-4), rendering even Heaven “thought-sick” (3.4.48) at such infidelity. Hamlet’s ‘mirror’, not only functions as a means to generate feelings of guilt and shame, but its power also appears to wreak bodily changes as physical indicators of spiritual and psychological turmoil that no “unction” will salve (3.4.151). Gertrude’s sex act “takes off the rose / from the fair forehead” (3.4.40-1) and “sets a blister there” (3.4.42): the harlot’s brand disfigures the skin, reminiscent of the guilt of Claudius who compares his “most painted word” (3.1.52) to the “harlot’s cheek beautified with plastering art” (3.1.50). Even if the skin’s corruption could be covered cosmetically, its rot works its way into the “pith and marrow” (1.4.24) of the tainted maternal body: “It will but skin and film the ulcerous place / Whiles rank corruption mining all within / Infects unseen” (3.4.145-7).

The tainted maternal body is not just disfigured through sin but it is also imagined as a voracious beast with an insatiable appetite. Like a ruminant, Hamlet questions why Gertrude would leave off “feed[ing]” (3.4.64) on the “fair mountain” (3.4.64) that was his father “to batten on” the “moor” that is Claudius (3.4.65). To ‘batten’ is a verb that means ‘to feed, as in an animal’, but also ‘to feed gluttonously on; to glut oneself’ (*Oxford English Dictionary*). Having replenished her depleted uterine fluids from feeding upon Hamlet Senior, Gertrude now turns to glut her greedy womb by “prey[ing] on garbage” (1.5.57). Like a surgeon with precision cutting, Hamlet must excise the tumorous growth, the “ulcerous place” (3.4.153) of the hardened heart of sin from the maternal body: he must “set” the bones of a dislocated body that is “out of joint” (1.5.206; 1.2.20). In Hamlet’s imagination, Gertrude’s “sickly” (3.4.74) body has been “cozened” by malign forces forcing a break-down, a “mutin[y] in a matron’s bones” (3.4.81), where the entire female corpus is frozen in a prison of ossified matter.

The ‘mirror’, then, that Hamlet sets up in front of Gertrude traces sexual shame and spiritual turmoil primarily as signs inscribed upon and within the maternal body. Those signs, though, are monstrous. The humoral menstrual flesh that engenders boils, ulcers, toads, and lizards, “like the owner of a foul disease” (3.4.229), becomes no less repulsive when its matter hardens and petrifies, where words become “daggers” (3.4.92) penetrating the “heart” (3.4.154) and “soul” (3.4.88) of the menopausal mother. Hamlet deftly wields the ‘glass’ as a means to deflect Gertrude’s Gorgonian gaze, to confront her “inmost part” (3.4.19):

... let me wring your heart. For I shall

If it be made of penetrable stuff,

If damned custom have not brazed it so

That it be proof and bulwark against sense (3.4.32-6).

Hamlet fears that his ‘mirror’ will only be effectual for this purpose if Gertrude’s flesh is still emollient enough to be receptive and not already completely hardened like brass or armour (“proof”). The fatal flaw of man and woman, the “particular fault” (1.4.40-1) of Eve’s sin where the marriage “dowry” becomes a “plague” (3.1.134), is envisioned by Hamlet as “a vicious mole in nature” (1.4.29) “stamp[ed]” (1.4.31) upon the malleable soul at birth. This “corruption” (1.4.35), this “mole”, is suggestive of the menopausal ‘molar pregnancy’ where tainted seed or retained menses could create non-viable foetuses, some in the form of “stones as large as duck’s eggs (sic)” (Jane Sharp *The Expert Midwife*. Bk.VI. 335). James Macmath (1648-1696) argued that “Lustful Cogitations” in “Lascivious Widows”, “especially with a Suppressions of Courses” and the “Heat of the Womb”, would produce Moles, “yea hardned like a Stone” (*The expert mid-wife* 1694 ed. 47). Jane Sharp wrote that, “There are many other things bred in the womb besides these moles...” (Bk. II.110), and then went on to relate her own version of the story of Chatry’s child that “was turned into a stone”: “...Cold and heat, and drieness might keep the child from corrupting, but there was also *a petrifying humour mixt with the seed and blood*, or it could never have turned into a Stone...” (110 *italics mine*). The significance here is that Sharp speculates about the existence of a mysterious “petrifying humour”. Sharp does not go on to identify this humour, but it is an important discovery as it suggests that this singular humour could permeate the fluid matter of semen and blood to affect an actual – not metaphorical – physical transformation of flesh into stony matter. In his role as heaven’s “scourge and minister” (3.4.173), in order to confront this dreadful

maternal body, Hamlet assumes the mythological persona of a pseudo-Perseus wielding his mirrored shield to deflect Medusa's gaze in order to annihilate her. In a sequence that traces the metamorphosis of fertile menstrual flesh into stony menopausal flesh, the Gorgon is the ultimate monstrous incarnation of the Devouring Mother, the final destination of Niobe and Hecuba.

The Medusa Gaze: "Destroy your sight with a new Gorgon"

Like her cousins the Cockatrice and the Basilisk, the Gorgon is a mythological monster that is frequently aligned with the powers of the menopausal woman. According to the scholar Miriam Robbins Dexter, the Gorgons, sisters to the grey-haired but youthful Graeae who shared one eye and one tooth (Hesiod *Theogony* 270), were ambiguous creatures said to be simultaneously beautiful yet ugly, old yet young. According to the Pseudo-Hyginus (2nd century BC), before decapitating Medusa, Perseus blinded the Graeae by throwing their single eye away so that they were unable to protect the Gorgons from his onslaught (*Astronomica* 2.12). It was Apollodorus (2nd century BC) who first recorded the Gorgons' ability to turn men and beasts into stone if their bodies were gazed upon or if the Gorgons looked directly at a victim (*The Library*. Vol. II. 157). The only means to deflect the petrifying power of Medusa's eyes was to gaze upon her face's reflected image (Graves 239). In the myth, Perseus used a mirrored shield gifted to him by Athena to avoid looking directly into Medusa's eyes. Linking menstrual blood to the same poisonous eye emanations of Gorgon and Basilisk, in his *De natura rerum*, the Pseudo-Paracelsus specified that the alchemist working with the *menstruum* needed to manifest the chemical Basilisk should never attempt such an undertaking without first

“donning a protective suit of mirrors” (Newman 32). Medusa’s blood was particularly potent matter, akin to the menstrual blood Pliny suggested be applied to a rabid dog bite (qtd. in Floyd-Wilson 15); it could be used as a bodily poison so powerful that a mere drop of it engendered snakes and scorpions (Ovid *Metamorphoses* 4.617-20). But the fluid humour that coursed through the Gorgons’ veins was also a powerful *pharmakon* used to treat and cure many mortal illnesses (Euripides *Ion*. 1003-5). Even as a severed trophy, Medusa’s head still had the power to turn all living things to stone. In Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, the sea nymphs are delighted to find that when Perseus places Medusa’s head by the side of the shore, the “living spongy cells” of the “fresh seaweed” absorbed the Gorgon’s blood to create fronds “stiff and strange” and “turn[ed] to stone” – the first coral of the deep (IV.740-5). The Gorgons’ bodies – old yet young– are remarkably comparable to that of the feared menopausal woman, even down to the “black poison” of their blood that could “rot flesh” (Apollonius *Argonautica* 4. 1505).

As Alan B. Rothenberg points out, the Gorgon or Medusa is referred to far less frequently in Shakespeare than the Basilisk or Cockatrice: a total of two times in all, compared to fourteen allusions to the others (1973 533). Nonetheless, the Gorgon’s influence, I believe, still resonates strongly through *Hamlet* as a means to confront the petrifying horror of the menopausal body. In *Macbeth* (1606), the Gorgon is strangely aligned with the corpse of Duncan, a terrifying embodiment that still possesses the ability to petrify the onlooker: “Approach the chamber, and destroy your sight / With a new Gorgon...” (2.3.74-5). The “horror” (2.3.66) of this “great doom’s image” (2.3.80) paralyses the surveyors: “Tongue nor heart cannot conceive, nor name thee” (2.3.67). Apocalyptic and more primal than *logos*, Duncan-as-Gorgon perverts the very

reproductive processes where, not only is 'conception' aborted, but also the male body is twisted into a parody of the female's, where the 'gash' has been forcefully yet fruitlessly penetrated by phallic wounding: "And his gashed stabs looked like a breach in nature / For ruin's wasteful entrance" (2.3.114-5). The "breach", an orifice that invites "ruin" to commit an unnatural rape, also suggests the miscegenation of both a failed conception as well as a breach-birth. Like Lear's suggestion of all women being "Centaur's" "down from the waist" (*KL* 4.6.125-6), the Gorgon is a maternal nightmare because her means of birthing children does not conform to that of the natural female: released through the bloody phallic trauma of decapitation, the offspring of Medusa were 'born' from the mock-vaginal orifice of the neck (Graves 239). It is the same violent and otherworldly birth that Hamlet sadistically fantasizes about when he surmises that Gertrude shouldn't have birthed him in a natural way: "... I could accuse me of such things that it were better my mother had not borne me" (3.1.121). Recognising he could "do such bitter business" (3.2.371), Hamlet seeks to open up the maternal body to espy the site of origin, yet needs to force himself not to be overcome by the "unnatural" "soul of Nero" (3.2.384-5). Instead, Hamlet seeks to cast himself along more mythically heroic lines as "heaven's scourge and minister" (3.4.173). But although Hamlet is prompted by the Ghost only to allow the metaphorical weapons of "thorns" to "prick and sting" his mother's "bosom" (1.5.87-8), it is clear that Gertrude believes that her son is prepared to use real weapons to penetrate the maternal body (3.4.20-2). The Perseus and Medusa allusion perpetuates the notion that the mother's body must be violently penetrated in some way to control and diminish her power. At the same time, the Gorgon *mythos* strengthens the physiological fear of the menopausal eye/womb and its ability to petrify matter. Eventually abandoning

the phallic weapon, Hamlet embodies the polished shield-as-glass as a means to penetrate his mother's "inmost part" (3.4.19).

Ocular Fascination and Refraction

If Hamlet's mission is to stymie the dreadful power of Gertrude's eye/womb, it remains to be discussed *how* he becomes Gertrude's mirror, especially when the understood power of the petrifying gaze logically *should* rest with Gertrude as the Medusa-like onlooker.

The key here is to understand some of the counter-logic associated with the beliefs surrounding ocular fascination. Firstly, it was argued that the gazer could become so replete with the poisonous vital spirits that would eventually escape from their eyes, that, indeed, their own body could turn against itself: thus the fascinator might be fascinated by their own selves. Plutarch (AD 45-127) recorded this phenomenon of 'autofascination' (cf. Fenichel 1937 8) in his *Quaestiones Convivales* (circa. AD 100):

...the most active stream of such emanations is that
which passes out through the eyes...being reflected from
sheets of water or other mirror-like surfaces, rising like
vapour, and returning to the beholders, so that they
themselves are injured by the same means by which they
harm others (namely noxious emissions from the eye)
(680F-681A; 5.7.2).

Secondly, the victim of such a fascinating attack might survive the initial onslaught, but their own body, in turn, could become so suffused with these poisons, that their chemistry might change: thus the fascinated went on to become fascinator. Alexander of

Aphrodisias (circa. AD 198-211) wrote that envy could actually enter a body like “a poisonous destructive beam”, transforming the very humoral disposition of the victim’s body:

When it penetrates the envied person through the eyes, it
changes soul and nature into an insalubrious mixture,
decomposes the bodily fluids, and leads the bodies of
these persons to illness (*Problemata physica* 2.53 qtd. in
Dundes 1981).

The fascinating eye beam could be refracted or repelled through the use of amulets in accordance to the homeopathic principal that “like repels like” (Berger 2012 1101). Thus it seems that Hamlet is able to use the metaphorical ‘mirror’ of his own body as a kind of reflective apotropaic amulet where the poisonous eye beams of his mother are turned back into her own body:

Oh Hamlet speak no more.
Thou turn’st my very eyes into my soul
And there I see such black and grieved spots
As will leave there their tinct (3.4. 87-90).

Hamlet’s refraction of the poisonous powers of the mother’s body seem to both ‘blind’ her as well as turn her own poisons inwards, thus changing her own physiology. Hamlet remarks that Gertrude is not only “cozened” in the manner of a grotesque parlour game of “hoodman-blind”, an act that auto-fascinates her in an apparent “thrall” (3.4.75), but also that her “sense is apoplexed” (3.4.70-1). I wish to suggest, however, that the power of Hamlet as the ‘moral mirror’ refracting the menopausal mother’s poison back to the site

of origin is, in the final analysis, unsuccessful. The stony womb is too powerful: it cannot be triumphed over, so it must be returned to. Petrification becomes fear of the menopausal woman's power to transform living flesh into something alien, the end process of extreme desiccation where humoral blood, skin, and tissue become like stone, devoid of vital heat and impulse. The mother's gaze reconstitutes the son's fluids back into her own body: "thaw[s] and resolve[s] itself into a dew" (1.2.130). The price to be paid for such transubstantiation, however, is the longed-for eradication of sexual desire, and therefore the female life force itself: this is the "sterile" (2.2.265) womb to which Hamlet is drawn. The only "dreams [that] may come" (3.1.72) in such a space would be the Yeatsian nightmare of the "rough beast" spawned and rocked for "twenty centuries of stony sleep" (W.B. Yeats *The Second Coming* 1919).

At *Hamlet's* conclusion, the unassailable poison of the menopausal body is ingested, overwhelming the already "rotten" body politic (1.4.90) and all those who live within her. As Gertrude imbibes what was meant for her son, the poison is re-absorbed back into the maternal body via the reciprocal orifice of the synecdochic mouth. The poisonous woman's toxicity has been turned back upon the menopausal body at its monstrous source; the sympathetic ripples that primarily caught up Gertrude's first husband in their "strange eruption" (1.1.68), extend to catch both her son and second spouse in a lethal act of 'drinking'. But as to Hamlet's desire to see his mother's body humorally altered in order to refute or relinquish her sex drive, the evidence is far more ambiguous than the confrontational drama of the 'closet scene'. Although she promises not to return to Claudius' "enseamèd bed" (3.4.94), there is nothing in the rest of *Hamlet* to suggest that the mother's body has been cleansed of moral "taint" (1.5.84). As with the

“foul and most unnatural” (1.5.29) weather that proceeded the birth of Chatry’s lithopedic baby, the “foul and pestilent congregation of vapours” (2.2.304-5) that identify the microcosmic climate of Gertrude’s womb, continue to spill out into the “unweeded garden” of “things rank and gross in nature” (1.2.136), spreading contagion and death. Gertrude’s body continues to be wracked by both sin and guilt: “To my sick soul – as sin’s true nature is – / Each toy seems prologue to some great amiss: / So full of artless jealousy is guilt, / It spills itself in fearing to be spilt” (4.4.18-21). If, as Janet Adelman has argued, Gertrude’s “contaminated body initially serves as a metaphor for the fallen world” (1992 27), then the maternal site of origin continues to pollute the kingdom with madness, murder, and treachery until *Hamlet*’s conclusion. As in John Oliver’s (1601-1661) “*Present for Teeming Women*”, the womb transmits to the child: “deeper sicknesses and maladies... Its body...partakes unavoidably of [my] natural pollution.” As the embodiment of Original Sin, the garden-as-womb is “stained” (4.4.56) and “rank” (3.3.36; 3.4.146), its once-beautiful flowers “blast[ed]” into a “mildewed ear” (3.4.63-4). The “blossoms” of Gertrude’s menstrual “flowers” become the unshrived blossoms of Hamlet Senior’s “sins” (1.5.76); the menstrual womb is transformed from a “celestial bed” to garbage heap (1.5.56-7). Thus the fear of the “dram of eale” (1.4.36) that facilitates the heavenly fall from grace can be traced back to a corrupted maternal origin, a birth wherein all men cannot be held “guilty” (1.4.25) for Eve’s sin.

Fortinbras’ claim that “such a sight” of so many bodies would be more becoming to the battlefield (5.2.371-2) references the final tableau of corpses petrified into a gruesome rictus. The “carnal, bloody, and unnatural acts” (5.2.349) of Gertrude’s hungry womb/eye are now personified by “proud Death”, whose “feast is toward in [her] eternal cell”

(5.2.331-2). Indeed when Laertes talks of the “foul practice” of the poisoning “turned against” him (5.1.278-9), he is articulating how Hamlet’s quest to deflect his mother’s poisonous womb back upon herself has functioned to wipe out Laertes’ entire family as well as that of the House of Denmark: a “most pernicious woman” (1.5.105) indeed! The fatal reunion with the mother’s body is underscored twice by the utterances of, “Thy mother’s poisoned” (5.2.280), and “I am poisoned” (5.2.271). The “union” that Hamlet speaks of when he forces his uncle to “drink off this potion” (5.2.287), not only captures the “one flesh” of husband and wife (4.2.55), but also of the child: Hamlet is reunited with the menopausal body at last resting in stony “silence” (5.2.323) with his “wretched queen” (5.2.295). The petrified woman, incapable of being “preach[ed] to” even when confronted with the ghost of her dead husband, remains “stone” (3.4.22-3), resistant to all Hamlet’s attempts at mollification of her flesh.

In preparation for self-annihilation, the death that will see him entombed within the stony maternal site of origin, Hamlet’s own body undergoes the final transformation that will change him into the “wish[ed]” for lithopedion (3.1.63). As he becomes overwhelmed by poison, Hamlet’s body shuts down, his own orifices begin to seal, shutting out all embodied senses. This break-down had been foreshadowed by Hamlet when he told Gertrude that her matron’s “shame[full]” lust manifested the power to overwhelm senses (3.4.79): “Eyes without feeling, feeling without sight, / Ears without hands or eyes, smelling sans all” (3.4.76-7). So, too, “o’ercrow[ed]” with the mother’s “potent poison” that smothers his vital “spirit” (5.2.318), Hamlet moves towards the climactic “silence” of the stony womb: he “cannot live to *hear* the news from England”(5.2.319); he asks Horatio to “*tell* [my] story” (5.2.312-13); and gives his “dying *voice*” to Fortinbras

(5.2.321, *italics mine*). The menopausal ‘evil eye’ and the ‘stony womb’ give way to the synecdochic male ‘strong arm’ (*Fortinbras*). Already “prophes[ised]” by Hamlet and confirmed as his choice for “election” (5.2.320-1), Fortinbras (‘Fort-in-*brass*’) becomes the brutal embodiment of Hercules and Hyperion, the hot “mettle[d]” (1.1.95) warlord who would willingly sacrifice “twenty thousand” (4.4.59) souls for a “little patch of ground” (4.3.90). There are no identified women that move in Fortinbras’ circle; his *coup d’état* means a return to the patriarchal, a world devoid of any woman’s influence, “pernicious” or not. The solution, therefore, to stymying the power of the lustful, ageing woman is to eliminate her presence altogether, to clear the body from the stage (5.2.345-6). Medusa’s head may have been used as Athena’s apotropaic trophy *par excellence* (Graves 241), but Gertrude’s body, an embodiment of what’s “amiss” (5.2.372) in the world, is cast aside and forgotten whilst her son is afforded a hero’s burial (5.2.365-375). In the end, then, it is the son who is turned to stone, likely immortalised in the canonised statue of the conquered hero. Hamlet’s wish to return to the ‘stony womb’ devoid of life, sexuality, and female power is finally fulfilled.

CHAPTER 2: VOLUMNIA AND THE ANIMAL WOMB

Introduction: The Dog and the Woman at the Dissecting Table

I'd like to start this chapter with a dog, the likeness of which can be found hidden within the engraved frontispiece of the 1543 edition of Andreas Vesalius' treatise on anatomy, *De humani corporis fabrica*. Vesalius is regarded as the first physician of the early modern period to carry out extensive dissection on the human cadaver; in particular, Vesalius was unique in that he was able to procure a number of female cadavers, one of whom is featured prominently on the self-same frontispiece of the *Fabrica*. As Valerie Traub notes, the engraved illustrations of early anatomy texts offer us the means through which to analyse "the politics of intelligibility" that "inform conceptions of embodiment" (1989 44). Visual iconography also informs metaphorical modes of conceptualizing the female body, the anxieties of which are reflected in the fact that, medically speaking, this was also around the time that, as Katharine Park notes, women's reproductive anatomy became metaphorized as "secrets" (2010 36). Vesalius, then, is literally opening up women's secrets, the illustrated revelation of which is heavily scrutinized by the numerous male physicians in attendance in the medical theatre. To the right of the woman's cadaver, displayed so openly on the dissection table, is a large dog. The dog is pinioned by a male attendant; its jaws are open in distress or a snarl of rage. The dog's terror adds a level of auditory chaos to the dissection theatre: the din of its howls leads the onlooker to question what such animal language might convey. As naturalist writer Charles Foster has recently opined, "Wittgenstein had written that if a lion were to talk, we should not be able to understand it. Wrong, oh so wrong" (2016 7). Although, as

Foster suggests, we can never comprehend exactly what the Vesalian dog's language communicates, yet we can associate the impenetrability of its non-human vocalizations – the inscrutability of its canine 'mouth' if you will – with the similar mysteries suggested by the cadaver's 'mouths' of face, womb, and vagina. There, the scholar interested in the post-anthropocentric approach that “displaces the notion of species hierarchy and of a single, common standard for 'Man' as the measure of all things” (Braidotti 2013 67), might find a commonality of articulation between the woman and dog. Thus man, woman, and dog are linked together in a minor theatrical dumb show of their own within the larger spectacle of life and death.

The woman in the illustration remains unknown: Katharine Park's extensive research has only managed to find out that she was an executed prisoner who tried unsuccessfully to stave off her execution by claiming to be pregnant (2006 211). A team of midwives acting on behalf of Padua's *podestà* examined the woman and concluded that she wasn't pregnant. This confirms that Vesalius himself “was never willing to indicate how long she had gone without menstruating...” (*ibid*). The caption in the *Fabrica* and successive editions describe the prisoner as “a woman of very tall stature who had often given birth”, and “a woman of rare size and middle age” (*ibid*). The presence of the dog, together with the woman's status as a criminal, her opened unfruitful and possibly menopausal womb, even her advanced years and unusual physique, place her outside of the usual boundaries of culture and nature. Within the illustration's complex microcosm, the presence of the dog provokes various questions about the contrast between woman and beast – in particular, possible somatic and symbolic interpretations of her opened womb. Alongside the monkey who is drawn on the left side

of the image, the dog becomes one of the first animals in the illustration to bear witness to the revealing of the woman's interior. On the one hand, this becomes a visual reminder that the woman is the natural inheritor of the dog's role as the original source of all medical dissections. William Harvey (1578-1657) eventually discovered the blood's circulatory system by open vivisection on a spaniel and a "mongrel cur" in 1636 (MacInnes 2003 38). In a curious parallel, Harvey described the womb as being "insatiable, ferocious, [and] animal-like", and extended this parallel "between bitches in heat and hysterical women" (Rousseau 2004 132). Most importantly of all, the dog becomes, along with all those prying men's eyes, part of the *loci* of the female womb. The dog is invasively locuted into a male space of death, surveillance, and underlying violence: is the dog forcibly being compelled to the dissection table? And, if so, what commonalities would the anatomists be looking for between the womb and the dog's interior? Ultimately, the Vesalius print asks us to consider how the dissected womb is negotiated relationally in terms of the visual metaphors of splayed woman and howling dog, an uneasy balance between pathology and nature alike.

This Chapter will focus on how menopause was experienced through the affliction known as 'the wandering womb' (or 'fits of the Mother') and its metaphorical connection to the bestial as revealed through the myriad animal images in *Coriolanus* (1609). As a condition dictated by humoral theory, the wandering womb was essentially a state of fluid imbalance within the body proper (cf. Hippocrates *Diseases of Women* 1.2). Innately connected with the suggestion that a woman's humours became colder, drier, and more sluggish as she aged, the menopausal womb was said to travel throughout the body searching out much-needed fluids in those organs that still retained moisture and

heat (see Chapter 4). But the idea of ‘wandering’ also elaborates upon the notion of a uterus that challenged ideas about a bounded and tethered organ, one that increasingly refused to *know its place* as a woman aged. The prophylactic measures for the wandering womb, were not, as such, ‘cures’: the prescribed purges of blood and milk, binding, and the application of fumigants were only ever proffered as a means *to control* the unalterable nature of the matrix. This Chapter proposes to explore the anxieties generated by the wandering womb as one of the many transgressive organs of the ageing woman through a corollary lens of animal metaphorization. I argue that Shakespeare uses animal imagery to explore menopause in such a way as to offer an alternative line of thinking to a purely pathological condition: in other words, Shakespeare *thinks through* the menopausal woman *with animals*. My argument, in part, centres on the notion of humoral ‘sympathies’ between animal and woman and the hereditary notion of blood as a transmitter and sign system that helped shape beliefs about animal and maternal instinct. By exploring the animal images connected with the ageing body of *Coriolanus*’ Volumnia, this metaphorization allows one to look at animal sympathies articulated in the female body itself, especially in terms of the condition known as ‘fits of the Mother’, and explore the question of how the ‘taming’ of the menopausal woman’s many ‘mouths’ might be accomplished.

In *Brutal Reasoning: Animals, Rationality, and Humanity in Early Modern England* (2006), Erica Fudge has examined the place of beasts in early modern thought and concludes that natural philosophers were not necessarily interested in the status of animals *per se*, but that by recognizing the animal in God’s great chain of being they were, in fact, “recognizing and understanding their (ideal) selves” (109). Citing Gail Kern

Paster's argument, Fudge asserts that it runs counter to hers because Paster places human and animal passions *in the body*, therefore early modern writers were not anthropomorphizing the animal experience, but were approaching it from the position that man and animals enjoyed a "shared aspect of existence" (108):

There is not only significant continuity between human and animal emotions but also...a descriptive vocabulary in which ethical, physical, and psychophysiological discourses intermix...those qualities were directly transferable from animal to human ... (Paster qtd. in Fudge 108).

Fudge's approach offers us the means by which we might understand how the early moderns used the concept of animality to explore their own condition as the Aristotelian 'thinking animal'; Paster's argument, so heavily immersed in the humoral medicalized thinking of the day, offers us the means to explore the relationships between humans and animals in terms of the fleshly vehicles they inhabited. My approach in this Chapter, whilst it acknowledges Fudge's approach, is weighted more towards Paster's exploration of the lived reality of the female body: the humoral connectedness that humans shared with the animal body allows one not only to explore the menopausal woman and her position within the cultural scheme of rational animal, but also how the embodied materiality of her reproductive organs transcend mere symbols and metaphors of animality to embody the 'beast within' (Plato *Timaeus* 90.c 2012).

The animal not only defines the understood nature of the womb itself, its movements, hungers, and angry passions, but it also defines the nature of the maternal as a kind of blood kinship whereby the offspring is, like the Aristotelian prototype of the

human, “mould[ed]” (5.3.23) from the dam’s matter. In other words, the womb’s connection to the bestial finds its ultimate expression in the relationship between human mother and child in *Coriolanus* (1609). This animalistic blood kinship reveals not only how Martius is inextricably linked to his mother Volumnia by animal instinct, but also how his body, through virtue of those ties, becomes an extension of hers. That the ageing womb must be ‘tamed’ in its rages through plethoric purging, allows one to consider how Martius’ body, and its eventual violent rendering, can be seen as Volumnia’s *body-by-proxy*. Martius’ disarticulation not only serves as the needed plethoric phlebotomy of trapped menopausal menses, but it also satisfies the need, to some extent, for the sociological and religious complexities of the sacrificial scapegoat. The anxiety caused by the menopausal woman in *Coriolanus* demands, I believe, a public bloodletting that resembles the *polis*’ desire for violent sacrificial murder; this serves in particular to alleviate the fears of the ageing woman’s other most pernicious organ – that of her mouth. In this case, dis-articulation of the son’s body-by-proxy becomes the literal and symbolic silencing of the woman’s powers of articulation.

Volumnia’s powers of political and rhetorical speech are well-known in the play (5.4.53-6; 5.5.1-6) but it is that speech’s connection to the animal that I find most fascinating: because animal ‘speech’ exists outside of human rhetoric, its meaning and comprehension remains ambivalent. One of the most feared symptoms of the ‘fits of the Mother’ was a kind of bestial raving that defied understanding (Edward Jorden *A briefe discourse* ... Chap. 4. 1603). As much as blood was expected to flow from the various ‘mouths’ of a woman’s body, when that blood was blocked by the menopausal ‘strangulation’ of the womb, its pernicious spirits rose to escape from the mouth, often in

the form of non-human locution (Aretaeus 2.11.2, 3, 4; Soranus 3.26). Thus Volumnia's facility with both the language of the human *polis* as well as her ability to "cluck" (5.3.174) with a virulent, wild "mad[ness]" (4.2.13) makes her a formidable enemy to the stability of the patriarchal body politic, a potency that expresses itself as the duplicity of the "bear'[s]" ability "to baa like a lamb" (2.1.10-11).

The social anxiety of unrestrained female speech, coupled with the need for medicalized plethoric release, coalesce to give new meaning to understanding the ageing woman through the animal body. If, as I argue, Martius is an extension of Volumnia's body, then the need for an extreme form of bloodletting ties this medicalized need to the earlier social desire for the blood sacrifice of scapegoating. The scapegoat was an animal imbued with the collective sins of a community and then driven out or violently killed as a form of expiation (Eagleton 2018). In the Judeo-Christian tradition as well as the earlier classical one, the scapegoat could often assume a human form. The sociological and religious act of blood sacrifice has thus always underscored an innate connectivity between the human and the animal. This elaborates upon the manifold images in *Coriolanus* of its hero being cornered like a predatory beast or a baited bear. Like the menopausal womb that must be purged through phlebotomy, the final catharsis of social 'toxins', expressed in the form of a murderous collective hunger, similarly needs to be released through a bloodletting.

The question remains: why would the *polis* need to ask for a blood sacrifice in order to silence Volumnia? The key to this I believe lies in the ambivalence that articulate and, conversely, wild and uncontrollable female speech held for the early moderns. The price of female speech often took the form of enforced public shaming or silencing

through the use of such implements as the scold's bridle (Boose 1991). The animal ravings of menopausal woman suffering from strangulation of the womb resembled the crazed speech of the witch (cf. Jorden *A brief discourse*...40-1). But, as articulate speech was held to be suspect in *both* females and males of this era, gendering both its power and anxiety isn't so clear-cut. Although the early moderns critically received female speech, there are just as many incidents chastising the untempered speech of the male (cf. Vienne-Guerrin 2012). The status of unrestrained female speech was, therefore, ambiguous. And it is for this reason that I do not want to go as far as to suggest that Volumnia must be publicly sacrificed solely because of her facility for speech in the play; indeed, she is often lauded for her rhetorical expertise (3.2.83-5). I do, however, want to account for Volumnia's *silencing* at the play's conclusion, an act that seems to re-incorporate her back into the body politic in a distinctly inanimate form as an imagined deified statue in a temple. It is my contention that once Martius is sacrificed like an animal scapegoat, the connection between the animal and the human is severed: the wandering womb with all its 'mouths', expressed in *Coriolanus* through the relationship between animal and woman, is finally 'tamed' through an abject and violent silencing.

A Brief History of The Wandering Womb

In the Hippocratic medical texts, the womb of a menopausal woman "wandered" like a wounded and wounding animal (*Diseases of Women* 1.2). In Plato's *Timaeus*, conceptually the womb ceases to be *like* an animal and *becomes* "a wild creature" (97): "when remaining unfruitful long beyond its proper time, [the uterus] gets disconnected and angry, and wandering in every direction through the body, closes up the passages of

the breath...” (*Timaeus* LCL: 250-251). By the time Aretaeus was writing in the second-century AD, the exact animal nature of the womb was already changing: Soranus described the womb as *hokoion ti zoon en zooi*, usually translated as “like some animal housed inside an animal” (*Sorani Gynaeciorum libri* Bk.1.8.). Plato’s writings found themselves primarily exported to the Arab world via Galen, where doctors such as Ali ibn al Abbas al-Majusi (tenth-century AD) readily accepted the womb as being “more or less an independent living being” (qtd. in King 1993 52). Leaving its appointed anatomical seat to travel the length and breadth of the female corpus, the womb settled like a nesting viper, next to the spleen, liver, heart or brain (Demand 1994 55). Like a poisonous animal the womb would ‘sting’ or ‘bite’, infecting the body proper with noxious emissions; like a beast, though, it could be ‘frightened’ back into its rightful lair before it might deliver a killing stroke to the brain (*Diseases of Women* 2.137). The Hippocratic text *De Morbis Mulierum* (2.137) noted that this displacement of the womb occurred more frequently in older women around the cessation of their menses (*VIII.310* 10-11). ‘*Hysterio Passio*,’ or ‘the Mother’ as this hysterical displacement of the womb was known in the early modern period, had a complex pathological effect on ageing women: its most pernicious side-effect was garrulousness and a tendency to scold (cf. Ambroise Paré). When Galen of Pergamum came to comment upon Hippocrates’ *Aphorisms*, he coined the term “suffocation of the womb” or *hysterike pnix* to refer to the same symptoms of the menopausal womb first articulated by Plato (*De loc. affect.* 6.5, 8.415 K). Galen argued that *hysterike pnix* could ultimately be fatal. Still exhibiting itself through locution, symptoms of *pnix* could wildly vacillate between raving and a complete loss of voice, aphonia (Aretaeus 2.11.2, 3, 4; Soranus 3.26). One of the ancient ‘cures’ for this

unwelcomed loquacity was to use charms and incantations (Faroane 2003), thus driving female speech back to its rightful socio-sexual domain of silence. In the case of the wandering womb, it is language that is both the symptom and cure. In this pathology we encounter a syllogism: if you want to stop a womb from wandering, then you ‘tame’ it; if you want to stop a mouth from talking, then you silence it.

One of the more striking symptoms of ‘suffocation of the Mother’ was its apparent maniacal assault upon the body of the sufferer. As Lesel Dawson notes, the hysterical woman sufferer was “typically violent and aggressive, exhibiting dramatic symptoms that call[ed] for physical restraint” (2008 62). Robert Burton (1577-1640) noted that the sufferer would demonstrate an “increasing anger” raising voices “not in argument, but in threat” (*Anatomy of Melancholy* 194). The character Martha in Richard Brome’s (1590-1652?) *The Antipodes* (1640) is a virgin who is slowly going insane from suffocation of the womb because her husband has still not consummated their union. “Full of passion”, Martha exhibits her illness through “vehement laughter”, “sudden silence” and in “loudest exclamations” (Act 1, Scene 2). She describes her sexual frustrations as being vulpine: “It turns into a wolfe within the flesh, / Not to be fed with Chickens, and tame Pigeons” (Act 1, Scene 3). The physiological violence of this so-called ‘uterine fury’ manifests itself with a preternatural physical strength, its power partially articulated through the voice. Adding to such symptomology, the ‘rising’ womb, causing pressure on the diaphragm, also seems to change the cadence and timbre of vocal patterns suggesting insanity, bestial oblivion, or demonic possession. In the infamous Elizabeth Jackson case (1602), Edward Jorden argued that the apparent bewitching of the fourteen-year-old Mary Glover by Jackson was not demonic possession, but ‘suffocation of the Mother’. Glover’s

symptoms frequently manifested themselves through her voice, “her neck and throat did swell extremely...depriving her of speche” (qtd. in Dawson 2008 64). This was entirely congruent with Jorden’s assertion that the disease “most commonly it takes them with choking in the throat” (*A Briefe Discourse* Cap. 2. 5). As Elizabeth D. Harvey has written of the wandering womb, it rendered the female body as a vehicle, “a receptive conduit” for the voices of “gods, demons, or animals” (1992 66), thus linking the female voice to supernatural locution as well as the ‘language’ of the beast.

The angry, cornered woman was dangerous because she could be pushed physically to react as “a she-bear robbed of her whelps [that] will tear in pieces [the hunter’s] forward hearts” (Edward Topsell *A History of Four-Footed Beasts*). To be denied cultural, social, and economic agency might indeed make the ageing woman of history feel psychologically ‘cornered’ like a beast and, therefore, physiologically stimulated into a desire to fight or flee. Certainly this is the behaviour that Volumnia displays in numerous scenes where she “mock[s] at death” (3.2.148), and calls down curses upon citizens and senators alike, wishing that they and their entire lineage might be annihilated (4.2.31-5). Such behaviours, though, would call for even more social surveillance and ultimate submission to the patriarchy. Thus, when robbed of her ‘whelp’, according to Susan P. Mattern’s ethnophysiological theory regarding the “functional somatic syndrome” of *hysteria pnix*, Volumnia’s anger would be turned in upon herself, making her own body ‘eat’ the physiological response “to fight or flight” (2014 504). She is forced to become the “bear” that must “live[s] like a lamb” (2.1.11) in order to survive.

The Metonymy of Animal Mouth and Womb

In 1610, John Donne wrote that “Man is a lump, where all beasts kneaded be” (*To Edward Herbert...*), words that seem to echo Volumnia’s reminder to her son Martius that she is the “trunk” and the “mould” that “fram’d” him (5.3.23). The humoral womb in this discourse not only establishes a complex relationship to the notion of heredity and blood, but reminds the reader that the menopausal womb was essentially a restless beast, the place where the child is “kneaded”, where the “lump” takes shape; as such, the womb was informed by animal instinct. The animal tracteries of instinct, irrationality, and Galenic notions of “animal spirits” (cf. Burton, Crooke), embellish a medical discourse that not only seeks to find a humoral commonality in women’s flesh but also offers a social and cultural discourse about the behaviour and temperament of the menopausal woman. In this sense, the classical debate about the menopausal womb being *like* an animal or actually *being* an animal (explored later) become immaterial: the humoral changes seen and unseen in the menopausal womb and the behaviours of the host have already been framed within the discourse of animal nature. As Erica Fudge notes, the status of animals and humans during this period was in flux: “animals are simultaneously other and self”: “Already confusingly both born and made, natural and cultural, now humans emerge...as beings who are simultaneously human and animal” (2006 60). And women, as ‘imperfect’ males, straddled this liminal existence in an even more precarious way. As Bruce Boëhrer has argued, such “relative anthropomorphism” allowed the privileged groups of early modern England to maintain their patriarchal power by “repositioning the disparaged other within the animal world” (2002 18).

Just as the tamed beast threatens to revert back to an innate nature that resists human domination, so the menopausal womb is only ever temporarily restrained. It is in this locus of anxiety that we encounter the complexities of such concepts as predator and prey, and animal versus human *instinct* and *reason* (see Chapter 4). As I have argued, because these theoretical complexities and their attendant cultural anxieties situate themselves in the womb, the womb becomes the metonymic extension of the woman herself. Thus, just as the plebeians, those “mutinous members” (1.1.142), put their tongues into Martius’ wounds to “speak for them” (2.3.7), I see a chain of relational metonymies that apply equally to Volumnia’s body: womb *is* breast *is* mouth.

In a play noted for such an emphasis on bodily parts (Jagendorf 1990 457), this particular aspect of *Coriolanus* might also be extended to examine a uniquely female set of deflected metonymies: as the womb and breast stand for the woman, so too does the other major organ of focused social fear – the tongue. Within this metaphor, control can be understood as the attempt ‘to tame’ all ‘mouths’. The wandering womb, therefore, becomes a form of metonymy for the “unruly member...full of deadly poyson” of women (Thomas Adams 1615 83). Although Volumnia only directly refers to herself as an animal once throughout the play, a “poor hen” (5.3.163), the cultural and psychic importance placed upon Volumnia’s organs of regeneration, as well as those organs that regulate speech, argue for the exploration of a body that can claim direct kinship with that of her son Martius, a character who, like the “unlick’d bear whelp” (*Hen. VI* 3 3.2.180), is frequently metaphorized as animal. In extending the bestial metaphor of Volumnia, I draw a correlation between the physiological state of her wandering womb as having

“mould[ed]” (5.3.23) – that is, mothered – the man who is more overtly “inextricably entwined” to bestiality throughout the play (Höfele 2014 141).

It is important to note that the issue of control becomes increasingly complex in this analysis: we may trace its origins in the metaphorical language used to articulate how to deal medically with the physiological movements of the womb as an “unruly member”. Anxieties about the ‘nature’ of a woman’s loquacity were managed by isolating her “mutinous members” (1.1.142) for ridicule or sanction or by likening women to animals, a technique that implied that such natural tendencies to speak out of turn could be ‘broken’ or ‘tamed’ in the manner of a beast. In 1615, Thomas Adams wrote that man had managed to subdue and tame the tiger, wolf, lion, and serpent: “Yet all these savage, furious, malicious natures have been tamed, but the tongue can no man tame: it is an unruly evil” (89). Metaphorized as numerous birds and animals, Volumnia’s ageing body is opened up to a complex scrutiny whereby the ‘nature’ and ‘instinct’ – the “sovereignty of nature” (4.7.37) – of beasts and their capacity to be ruled and tamed finds its corollary in various seats of female anatomy. Volumnia’s ‘wandering womb’ finds one articulation in a joyous ejaculation of public speech that refuses to be moderated by cultural discourses of the shame of the “weaker and leaky vessel” (Paster 1993 24), and instead revels in the experiential and physiological memories of the maternal breast and womb. Volumnia’s breast is another kind of ‘mouth’; one that she believes humorally imparts inherited traits directly to her child (3.2.150). Unable to fully abject Martius’ “bound” and “framed” (5.3.170; 5.3.68; 5.3.24) body from her own, it is interesting that Volumnia strengthens this continued connectivity to her son through the rhetorical manipulation of language, another manifestation of the power of an alternate ‘mouth’. Volumnia’s voice

proves to be extremely powerful, adept as she is at speaking the “bastards and syllables of no allowance / To [your] bosom’s truth” (3.2.69-70). It may seem counter-intuitive to associate the power of the human mouth with animal locution but *Coriolanus* does just that: there is an awareness of the man who purports to talk as a “lamb” only to “baa like a bear” (2.1.10), and the futility of asking for clemency from a man made to become a “wolf” (4.6.134). This notion begins a series of complex animal analogies whereby the ‘natural’ state of the menopausal womb, as well as the ageing woman’s ‘instincts’, find a theoretical and physiological sympathy with that of the animal, but also reminds one that the female body shared its humoral constitution with “all things endowed with blood [including]... Oxe, Dogge and Horse” (Jones qtd.in Curth 2000 31).

In extending the metonymic mouth, *Coriolanus* is filled with images of starvation as well as cannibalism, again connected to the play’s animal imagery. Associated with the she-wolf that saved Romulus and Remus, as one “cannibally given” (4.5.191) Volumnia becomes the Roman Wolf Mother, just as likely to devour as to save; as a Citizen remarks, “If the wars eat us not up, they will” (1.1.74). According to Livy, the herdsman Faustulus discovered the she-wolf licking the twins who grew to found Rome with her tongue as she offered her teats with great gentleness (Livy *Roman History* Bk.1.1.): in this incarnation, Volumnia is the same beast that can nurture with her milk or destroy with her teeth or tongue. But such terror of the Devouring Mother (Adelman 130 1992) is best exemplified by Volumnia herself who, in a bizarre image of auto-cannibalism, rejects a meal at Menenius’ house after her son’s banishment by claiming “anger’s my meat: I sup upon myself, / And so shall starve with feeding” (4.2.54-5). The need for oral sustenance has turned into oral aggression: the animal mother has turned upon herself,

and the mouth triumphs as the animal organ of aggression. It is in this sense that Volumnia embodies the conventional trope that, to quote Carla Mazzio, reflects early modern “fantasies” and “nervousness” about the “apparent agency that is located in a body part” (1998 104). The symptomology of this social nervousness is now made manifest in the aggressive loquacity of Volumnia’s mouth. The mouth, then, joins the womb as another manifestation of one of Volumnia’s “mutinous parts” (1.1.99), organs that reinforce the inherent animality of the menopausal body.

“Some Animal Within an Animal”: Purging the Wandering Beast

Hippocratic doctrine held that the dangerous build-up of unshed blood that accompanied the cessation of menstruation in menopause would putrefy and become poison, like that of “the bite or sting of a poisonous creature” (Galen *De loc. affect* 6.5, 8.421-24K). Jean Fernel (1497-1568) argued that the actual physical sensation of the “vapours” of trapped menses or female semen was, “strong enough to bear comparison with the venoms of spider, scorpion or other deadly beasts...” (*On the Hidden Causes...* 2004 637). The “cessation of flowers” meant that this noxious reservoir had to be eliminated from the body by other means. Edward Jorden, when he conjectured as to why this “venomous matter” would “lurk” in the body of widows so long without revealing itself, recounted a Galenic anecdote which metaphorically referred to this blood as being like the “poison” of “a mad dogge” that would sit “moneths within our bodies undiscovered” (*Of the Suffocation* 25). Around the year 1600, there was a fundamental shift in medical attitudes towards the female humoral body. Barbara Orland has termed this the transition between the “cathartic”, that is, blood released through menstruation, and the “plethoric” cure through

bloodletting or scarification (2013 26). Although purging through plethora wasn't recommended for the very young or the very old, for the menopausal woman who could not release her 'trapped' uterine blood and female semen through sexual intercourse, bloodletting became a viable option (Stolberg 2005 305). As trapped menses caused the womb to wander like a dangerous beast, blood and how it might be voided became the crucial factor in controlling and regulating the latent animality in every menopausal woman.

The blood that Volumnia calls "gilt" (1.3.37), is the same laudable blood flowing throughout Volumnia and Martius' bodies, fermenting breast milk, healing bloody wounds, and mending scars worn as trophies, "...every gash was an enemy's grave" (2.1.144), garnering them "to please his / mother" (1.1.32-3). The "charter[ed]" agreement that Martius has with his mother is that she has the birthright to "extol" his "blood" (1.9.16) because, in essence, it is her own. This speaks to the symbiotic humoral connection that Volumnia and Martius share, but it also points to the primacy of fluids that Volumnia holds as being evidentiary signs of worth, honour, and nobility. These ties of blood, then, appear as an embodied semiotic; not just a sign system that elaborates upon kinship through blood ties, but also a sign system that draws attention to the unique humoral concerns of the menopausal wandering womb. These embodied signs point to the "tender[ness]" (1.3.5) of flesh as well as the internalized circulation of humours: as much as *Coriolanus* is replete with bloody animal images of gore-daubed, "flayed" (1.6.25), "quarr[ied]" (1.1.193), and "quartered" (1.1.194) bodies and limbs, it is also a play where humours and effluents are also detrimentally retained causing bodily pain and discomfort. Menenius taunts the Tribunes who, whilst hearing a lengthy court case become "pinched with the colic" and

(“roaring for a chamber pot”) need the “bloody flag” of a toilet cloth (2.1.72-7). Anal evacuation is, of course, suggestive of Martius’ honorific title as ‘Coriol-*anus*’, yet another ‘mouth’ or orifice to link him to his mother’s humoral body.

Coriolanus, though, is equally full of images of the evacuation of blood (5.6.138; 1.6.81-2; 1.8.11-12; 1.9.102; 2.1.138; 3.1.94). Both sets of images – the retention and evacuation of fluids – come to underline the physiological challenges facing the ageing female Galenic body. As already mentioned, the menopausal body suffered from two almost contrary states of being: if desiccated, the womb wandered the body to find the fluid replete in neighbouring organs; congruently, the ageing body also suffered from trapped fluids that could no longer be voided through menstruation or breastfeeding. The treatment for both conditions was phlebotomy and scarification. Engorged with retained fluids, Volumnia’s body is purged *via* her son’s body through the shared reciprocity of blood: in this way, I deem Martius to play the role of Volumnia’s body-by-proxy.

For trapped blood and spirits in the ageing female, Galen recommended phlebotomy as the first recourse (Trans. Brain KXI 201 1986). Arguing that evacuating blood from the legs promoted the flow of blood from the uterus, Galen also suggested scarifying the ankles and opening a vein in the heel or the ham (K305). If, as Gail Kern Paster argues, phlebotomy was a kind of ‘reverse menstruation’, what she terms “menstruation’s cultural inversion” (1993 83), what happens to a body like Volumnia’s once menstruation stops? Next to lactation, phlebotomy becomes the next viable option to control the wandering womb. Blood, however, as the singularly most important humour became its own semiotic system that was connected, not just to bodily health, but also to the notions of heredity and familial lineage (Paster 1993 66). Although the

inheritance of blood passed through a patrilineal system was recognised for its value, when passed by the female's line, it could only assume a kind of partial worth (Allen 2014 130; Crawford 2015 92). This, I argue, becomes Volumnia's obsession with her son's blood: she must establish the proof of its value as a "laudable" blood imbued with vital spirits and purged of its "excrementitious" female waste (Crooke *Mikrokosmographia*). Her blood's merit is especially important given the noticeable absence of Martius' father. The blood shared between mother and son becomes part of a larger pattern of bodily "sympathy", a sign system that establishes a shared humoral subjectivity. Such maternal animal aggression also appears in the play's frequent allusions to blood that has been violently spilled. For Volumnia, blood is the "gilt" and "trophy" that best becomes a "man" as the ultimate in aesthetic elaboration (1.3.41) and 'proof' of the worthiness of the blood shed in birthing him (1.3.15). This belief counters that of Virgilia's who abhors the notion that blood is the price to pay for manly valour (1.3.35). Ridiculing her daughter-in-law's "fool[ish]" ethos, Volumnia adds her own rhetorical 'gilt' to the play's central extended metaphor:

The breasts of Hecuba
 When she did suckle Hector looked not lovelier
 Than Hector's forehead when it spit forth blood
 At Grecian sword, contemning (1.3.41-4).

Thus a metonymic syllogism is born: in Volumnia's universe, the nurturing full breast is synonymous with the sublime expenditure of blood through bodily wounding. This sentiment finds its ultimate expression in Volumnia's belief that her son "suck'st" his "valiantness" from her breasts, but not his "pride" (3.2.131). It also means that Martius

has been raised to associate the mother's 'sacrificial' giving of her breasts as an expression of her maternal love and adoration: "the most noble mother of the world" (5.3.49), who has a "charter to extol her blood" (1.9.16). Here, love and sacrifice are "proved" (1.3.17) within and without the body. After the battle of Corioli, Martius is so bedaubed in gore that he does "appear as he were flayed" (1.7.3); he becomes a "no thing" (4.6.94), "a thing of blood" (2.2.107). Martius' first battle, when he was "yet but tender bodied" (1.3.6), initiates him into manhood by his bloodied seven wounds (2.1.146). Martius had already been preparing for the role of body-by-proxy as a young Amazon (2.2.93), shedding the menstrual blood of menarche in battle embodied as an adolescent girl before he can become "man-entered" (2.2.101). Volumnia is gleeful about her son's additional scars won at Corioli inflating the tally to twenty-seven wounds, all as embodied tokens of love for her (2.1.143-151). The scarification and blood letting of Martius for his mother becomes a form of male childbirth: pain is sympathetically shared between mother and son. Plutarch argued that the pain and blood loss that a woman endured in labour ensured the strength and resiliency of her maternal love (*Lives* 30). Thus blood, pain and bodily sacrifice enters into the dialogue about animal and maternal instinct from the earliest of classical times. Physical pain and blood loss elaborate a complex semiology that roots itself in the labouring female body, one that finds a common heritage in the somatic experience of animals.

This notion of the shedding of sacrificial blood in order to protect the social state sets up the final scene of *Coriolanus* when Martius, as the pseudo-womb, is "trod[den] upon" and torn apart: "You'll rejoice / That he is thus cut off" (5.6.160-1). Blood, then, as one of the more powerful humoral markers that articulated the condition of the womb,

also elaborates upon a strong sympathetic bond between the mother and child, the human and the animal. Once menopause renders the female body reproductively defunct, the ageing woman becomes “the disease that must be cut away” (5.1.351) from the community, before her “infection, being of catching nature, / Spread[s] further” (3.1.369-70). The suffocation of the womb is indicative of a violence where the ageing woman’s body turns against itself and makes it ripe for the focus of the concentrated anxieties of the society-at-large. Pain, bloodletting, hunting, and bodily wounding culminate in the sacrificial act that will eventually drive out the nourishing aspect of the maternal breast: “There is no more mercy in him than there is milk in a male tiger” (5.4.28). Thus phlebotomy can also be viewed as a macrocosmic act of communal expiation or “collective transference” (Eagleton 2018 148) where, as the pseudo-animal, the old woman’s blood can be “dropped...for [her] country” (3.1.357). In the animal metaphorization of *Coriolanus*, the price for female dominance embodied within the ‘mouths’ of breast, womb, and voice, is spilled blood. As an extension of Volumnia’s own *corpus*, the aspect that is more youthful, wild, and uncontrollable, and hence more suitable for social sacrifice, is the body of her son. The question remains, however, if this is the case, does Volumnia *willingly* sanction the sacrifice of her blood to protect Rome; does she knowingly offer up Martius to the Volscians with the understanding that they will brand him a “traitor in the highest degree” (5.6.96)? Certainly peace for Rome would allow her grandchild, Martius’ “poor epitome” (5.3.74), to live on as her maternal bloodline but the cost of her “whin[ing] and roar[ing]” (5.6.111) is the ultimate silencing of a mouth that is not heard to speak again for the remainder of the play. Blood sacrifice

then, the extreme expression of phlebotomy, is the ultimate form of taming and bridling the menopausal woman and all her ‘mouths’.

“She’s a very dog to the commonalty” : The Power of the Canine Bitch

In *The Animal Estate* (1989), Harriet Ritvo acknowledges that animal-related discourse has “often functioned as an extended, if unacknowledged metonymy”, providing a “forum” for the “expression of opinions and worries imported from the human cultural arena” (21). As Iza Erriti notes, metaphors and metonymies can combine with other literary devices to create interaction and correspondence patterns whereby animal behaviours are “mapped” as a means “to reason about human behaviour” (2012 175). The physiological interconnectedness between Volumnia and her child, like a bitch with her puppy, can thus be explored through an animal lens as a series of complex interconnected metaphors. In his research, Ian MacInnes has chosen to explore how animals might serve as a metonymic vehicle “for expressing attitudes specific to a time and place”, in particular, how English dogs have served to represent nation and gender in early modern England (2003). It has been expressed that Shakespeare had a rather ambivalent attitude towards dogs (Tom Macfaul 2015 103); certainly such ambiguity seems to apply to the status of dogs within *Coriolanus*. When the plebeians discuss Martius’ attitude towards their collective identity, they single him out as being “a very dog to the commonalty” (1.1.26), a term that distinguishes itself from Martius’ use of the word “cur” to describe them (3.3.144; 5.6.122). In contemporary parlance, this might parallel the epithet ‘son of a bitch’ which can be used in a derogatory sense or, in a culture that respects certain patriarchal social behaviours, as an appellation of respect to someone who is “one of the

gang” (Crystal 1987 53). The reference to Volumnia as a ‘bitch’ here would not be out of keeping with early modern humoral sentiment. Volumnia’s much-fêted mythological soul-sister Hecuba, she of the “lovel[y] breasts” and “o’er - teeming loins” (*Ham.*2.2.327), was even believed to have been turned into a bitch howling in maternal agony on the war-ravaged plains of Troy (Ovid *Metamorphoses* Bk. XIII:481-575). Ian MacInnes notes the words of Abraham Ortelius who, in his 1603 treatise *Epitome of the Theatre of the Worlde*, records that the nation of England was to be celebrated for the production of two things: its women and “a most excellent kind of mastiff dogges of a wonderful bigness and admirable fierceness and strength” (2003 23). Thus, the excellence of the ‘breeding’ of women is made analogous to similar qualities in the mastiff, an idea perhaps mirrored by Rambures in *Henry V*: “The island of England breeds very valiant creatures: their mastiffs are of unmatchable courage” (3.7.138-9). That Constable argues “men do sympathize with their mastiffs,” (3.7.143), suggests that the humoral constitution and, therefore, the temperament of dogs and humans were shared. Martius’ actions in battle and in subsequent conflicts wherein he “lurched all swords of the garland” (2.2.99), certainly align him with the mastiff, “following the fliers at the very heels”(1.5.23), where the slaughter of the enemy is treated “as if / ‘Twere perpetual spoil” (2.2.117-8). As if to emphasize both the noble and acrimonious nature of familial connectedness to the mastiff, Volumnia’s violent defence of her son against the Tribunes sees them cast as “cats” (4.2.36). In begging her son to “dissemble with his nature” (3.2.64) when speaking to the plebeians, Volumnia desires Martius to tame his inner-mastiff and appear more like a spaniel, to “flatter” the “mutable, rank-scented meinie” (3.1. 69-70) by “spend[ing] a fawn upon ‘em” (3.2.69). It is the spaniel, a dog

known for its intelligence but also its cringing and subservient nature, that became the breed that most often stood in for the metonymic extension of the female herself (MacInnes 36). The humoral changeability of the dog – at once vicious, the next moment fawning – mirrors the fickleness of the menopausal woman. The reciprocity of son and mother recalls the image of Martius “holding the Corioles” like a “greyhound in the leash” (1.6.43-44); as the ‘dog of war’, in the theatre of war, Martius is at once the vicious canine killer, and the fawning, obsequious spaniel “bound to’s mother” (5.3.170) at hearth and home.

One can find this cross-species humoral sympathy and its ties to the maternal in the accepted medical cures of the day. A melancholic woman could be cured by having “a whelp cut asunder alive and laid upon the head”; for barren women, Edward Topsell advised that they eat “whelp flesh” and that the hair of a black dog could actually cure the falling sickness (*The History of Four-Footed Beasts*). Dog dung mixed with turpentine could cure inflammation in women’s breasts. According to Topsell, the Greek medicine god Aesculapius protected all dogs as sacred entities “because he was nourished by their milk.” As milk itself could transfer the qualities of the Nurse, “both in bodie, and mind”, Helkiah Crooke noted “that a certaine childe was nourished with the milke of a Bitch: But he would rise in the night and houle with other dogges” (*Mikrokosmographia* 140). The memory of Volumnia’s choice to breastfeed Martius aligns her act, not only with the sympathetic humoral transfer of moral qualities (in this case, “valiantness”), but also aligns her body with that of the nurturing bitch or wolf: her female “Animal Faculties” being so much more “perfect”, for beasts that “are most fierce...the love they beare to their yong addeth spirits and courage unto them...” (Crooke 273). Colostrum, the breast’s

first milk, was known as “beestings” and it had to be drawn out of the mother’s breasts in a similar fashion to that of the extraction of a poisonous barb (Fildes 1986 84-5). Valerie Fildes notes that one of the most effective ways of draining the colostrum was to apply newborn puppies to the lactating breast (*ibid*); similarly, Jacques Guillemeau’s (1550-1613) *Childbirth; Or, the Happy Delivery of Women* (1635) recommended applying “little pretty whelps” for the same purpose (18). To those that maintained that breastfeeding was bestial, Guillemeau argued to the contrary: holding up the animal world as being the epitome of maternal instinct, he wrote “there are no other Creatures, but give sucke to their young ones”, and would prefer to give up their own lives rather “than suffer their little ones to be carried away (*The Happy Delivery of Women* 1609 141). In this sense, Martius and his mythological counterpart Hector play the role of plethoric puppies: their suckling instinct preserves the maternal womb by drawing off the poisons that would threaten to overwhelm *both* sympathetically-aligned humoral systems. Hector /Martius’ body is imagined as “spit[ting] forth” (1.4.43) blood in a manner that mimics the lactating breast or the infant spitting up excess milk.

The maternal bond between Volumnia and Martius, then, is distinctly animalistic; the animal’s maternal instinct was widely-recognised by the early moderns who, taking their cue from classical thought, believed it to be no less powerful than the love a human mother bore for her child. Plutarch noted that the animal mother developed a “naturall love and affection” whereby: “her whole care is to prouide ... this tender love and affection of beasts toward their young...” (*The moral philosophie* 113). Plutarch also noted that the love that women bore to their infants “appeareth no lesse in wilde beestes” (30). Try as he might, Martius is completely unable to break off from his mother

(5.3.170), thus establishing an inextricable animal “bond and privilege of nature” (5.3.26) between the two, but, more saliently, it generates a common body that allows the son’s body to be ‘shared’ with that of his mother’s through virtue of a natural animal instinct. As his surrogate parent, Aufidius’ rejection of Martius (4.5.107) is seen as maternal betrayal through a puppy’s eyes: Aufidius’ lack of loyalty transforms him into the lying “cur” and a “false hound” (5.6.122; 5.6.128). By no means the only animal to feature in *Coriolanus*, nonetheless, the dog does seem to encapsulate notions of maternal relationships in the play, for the bitch, in particular, was known for her strong natural instinct to protect her offspring (Topsell *The history of four-footed beasts*).

“Naturall instinct” was a concept explored at length by Thomas Wright (c.1561-1623) in his 1604 treatise *The Passions of the Minde in Generall*. For Wright, this instinct was forceful enough to engender certain “motions of the soule”, disturbances that he also termed “perturbations...or Passions” (64). Wright believed that these perturbations would cause a “stirring in our minds” having the capacity to “alter the humours in our bodies” (65). There is a clear connection here between ‘instinct’ and its capacity to create its own sort of language, an embodied semiotics speaking through the “instruments” of the body’s organs and humoral levels (Wright 65). Not only do the bodily humours “flock” to the heart, but also the heart itself metaphorically takes over the role of mother once the “soule” has birthed them (33). But the mothering described here is clearly animal in nature: “hatched” passions and “flock[ing]” humours (35) collapse the so-called boundaries of human and non-human reason and “passions”, “like Circe’s potions,” change “men into beastes” (59). Plutarch celebrated “the instinct of nature” that exhorts men “learne (as it were) in the schoole of brute beasts, with what affection they

should beget, nourish and bring up their children” (*The philosophie* 30). If the relationship between instinctual animal nature and man’s dominance proves to be a fraught one, this is perhaps best exemplified in Act Two by Sicinius’ conspiratorial words to Brutus:

...At some time when his soaring insolence
 Shall touch the people- which time shall not want
 If he be put upon’t, and that’s as easy
 As to set dogs on sheep...(2.2.249-253).

Recognising Martius’ “surly nature” that might be “galled” (2.3.191), the Tribunes hope to provoke his “tiger-footed rage” (3.1.313) by taking “advantage of his choler” (2.3.191-194). The tribunes show an implicit understanding that the humoral disposition that makes Martius so choleric is one that he shares with all ferocious beasts, and, therefore, can be pushed to its limits by “goad[ing] onward” (3.1.260). This tactic of provocation is a risky one: it is one that finds its corollary in Menenius’ fear of the “unnatural dam” who can so readily “turn” and “eat her own” (3.1.295). As Lucinda Cole has written, dogs “exemplify the violence” at the heart of order for “like sexed and gendered humans...dogs turn on one another if pressed by either hunger or lust” (2016 116).

Plutarch identified such bloodlust as a “malady of the minde” that could overwhelm both man and beast making each “unnatural”. It is interesting that both Menenius and Plutarch identify the indications of disturbance and dis-ease in the man as being the equivalent of an animal mother that would turn upon her own: “natural” health and balance, here, then is anthropomorphized in the figure of the female animal:

But all of them like as those other passions and maladies of the mind before named, transport a man out of his owne nature... for if a sow having farrowed a little pigge, devoure it ... or a bitch chance to teare in peeces a puppie or whelp of her own litter, presently men are amazed at the sight thereof, and woonderfully affrighted...it is a propertie given to all living creatures, even by the instinct and institution of nature; To love, foster and cherrish the fruit of their owne bodies: so farre is it from them to destroy the same (*The philosophie* 10).

The tensions, though, between the mother's 'natural' instinct to protect her offspring and the counter-forces of the "unnatural dam" (3.1.349) who could suddenly turn upon her child and devour it is, in fact, the entire dramatic action of *Coriolanus*. While physical separation from Rome as the Motherland grants Martius the opportunity to attempt to "know not" his blood family (5.2.82), these former familial ties reassert themselves with a vengeance as soon as his mother physically enters his proximity: Martius is instantly pulled back into his animal existence as a puppy cowering before the "Olymp[ian]" enormity of its dam (5.3.31). Try as he might, Martius is unable to fight against the natural instincts that bind him to his mother. Seeing his "honoured mould" (5.3.22) sink to her knees in front of him, Martius feels minimized like a worthless "molehill" (5.3.30). Noticing his wife and child in Volumnia's presence, Martius imagines hearing "Great Nature" crying out to "Deny not" (5.3.33) their supplications to mercy. Martius begs his mother not to call him "unnatural" (5.3.85) and voices the desire that he will "never be a

gosling to obey instinct, but stand / As if a man were author of himself / And knew no other kin” (5.3.33-7). But we know that this drive towards self-possession and individuation can never be achieved: in terms of thinking about the powers of animal instinct, there is no “world elsewhere” (3.3.159) for the offspring is always pulled back towards the maternal through virtue of shared blood. That place of tension in *Coriolanus*, where man struggles to be free of his maternal bondage, is the womb as the site of origin where “...beasts...[that] first fell from the bodies of their Dams” inherited “the nature, which they could not change” (Raleigh *Historie of the World* 27).

“In thy lying tongue”: The Animal Mouth

As we have seen, phlebotomy controlled the wandering womb of the menopausal woman through bloodletting and scarification. Menopausal toxins could also be released through the purging of other fluids such as breast milk. But, as I have argued, in this economy of complex bodily metonymies in *Coriolanus* whereupon all female orifices that drain dangerous uterine fluxes transform into interchangeable ‘mouths’, the place of the mouth itself needs to be explored: in this, the act of locution, therefore, becomes another way of purging the animalistic womb. But unlike the physiological and biological processes of menstrual purgation that remained largely unseen and private, the act of female speech was very much a public, and perhaps, therefore, a more trepidatious event. The menopausal mouth in *Coriolanus* is the most threatening ‘mouth’ of all. Ageing female speech in *Coriolanus*, not only builds upon the notion of the animal womb and its need for control, but it also articulates a much larger social and cultural fear about the agency of the older woman. It is in this particular anxiety that I find the essential need, once he

has created a formidable, articulate character, for Shakespeare to ‘silence’ such a powerful menopausal matriarch through the more violent embodied trope of social blood-sacrifice: as a dramatic character, Volumnia’s *largesse* calls for nothing less. In creating an equation whereby the son’s body stands in by proxy for Volumnia’s, Martius’ bloody murder in the manner of a cornered beast, is the reciprocal stoppering of all of Volumnia’s ‘mouths’. The killing of the son is really the killing of the menopausal mother. In *Coriolanus*, this silencing of female agency is again explored through an animal lens.

Although ‘wounds’ and ‘words’ become metonymic synonyms for *Coriolanus*’ many female ‘mouths’, there is a marked distinction between Volumnia’s speech and that of Martius’. Although, as I’ve argued, they share a common body, the qualities and characteristics of speech are divided between mother and son. Whilst Volumnia has mastered the rhetorical political discourse of the *polis* and suffers no compunction about speaking publicly, Martius’ speech of mixed “meal and bran” (3.1.383) is singularly devoid of flattery, obfuscation, and artistry (3.1.303). In this, Volumnia stands apart from her son: not only is Martius incapable of furnishing his “base tongue” with any “lie” that would impute his “noble heart” (3.2.102-3) by being “false to his nature” (3.2.15), but he also seeks to reject the humoral and animal “instinct” that makes him “gosling” (5.3.35) to his passions, fantasizing instead of a kind of unnatural parthenogenesis whereby a man might become “author of himself” (5.3.36). All is well in the relationship between mother and son as long as Martius plays the “part” that Volumnia requires of him; tensions are only exacerbated between the two when Martius rebels against the precepts of his ‘training’. When she coaches Martius into publicly flattering the senators and plebeians,

he laments, “ Would you have me / False to my nature? Rather say I play / The man I am” (3.2.15-17). But Volumnia is not to be goaded into any sort of emotional response: she cleverly manipulates the situation by drawing a direct parallel between flattery and eloquence and the manly art of being a purposeful tactician on the battlefield (3.2.49-51). In countering her son’s inherent fear that speech, with all its subtleties, is the province of the female or the parasite (1.9.50), Volumnia aligns the “bolted” (3.1.383) language of flattering rhetoric with the decidedly masculine valour of wartime subterfuge:

...speak
 To th’ people, not by your own instruction,
 Nor by th’ matter which your heart prompts you
 But with such words that are but rooted in
 Your tongue, though but bastards and syllables
 Of allowance to your bosom’s truth...
 I would dissemble with my nature where
 My fortunes and my friends at stake required
 I should do so in honour.

(3.2.53-66).

Thus we see an additional dualism enter the frame of reference for the mouth’s power: not only can it be split between ‘natural’ and political, but its artistry and/or subterfuge can code it socially as male or female. Volumnia has, in fact, mastered the ‘male’ art of rhetorical persuasion, the “wolvish tongue” (2.3.110), whereas it is clear that Martius associates its “dissembl[ing]” (3.2.74) qualities with the contemptible ‘female’ speech of the virgin, nursemaid, harlot, eunuch or pimp (3.2.132-140). It is fascinating that

Shakespeare chooses to align the mastery of rhetorical speech to the female and the more unaffected, animalistic speech to the male in *Coriolanus*; given the restraints imposed upon female speech in the early modern era, it appears almost counter-intuitive. After all, prior to this point, so much of the animalistic has been associated with the woman's body. But it is always in this unexpected reversal that the play draws attention to the dangers of the articulate older female. Whilst Martius "fle[es] from words" (2.2.72) like pursued quarry, Volumnia runs towards them, for "eloquence" is the "action" of flattery (3.2.90). There is a splendid irony here that claims that such "dissembl[ing]" is contrary to her "nature", for we, like Martius, know this to be untrue (3.2.74-6). Thus Volumnia's facility with speech in all its gendered and socio-political forms makes her power something to be feared, an anxiety in *Coriolanus* that taps into fears about female speech generally in the early modern era.

Richard Allestree (1619-1681) underscored this apparent threat of female speech by asserting that because Eve "was to enter parly with the tempter", her tongue "had licked up the venom of the old serpent" (*The Government of the Tongue* 1667 7; 8). Allestree also employed the common trope of the "intemperate" mouth needing to be bridled like a horse (10; 150). Social history has recorded how for a great portion of the medieval and early modern period this image became literalized when the unrestrained female tongue of the 'scold' or 'gossip' was forcibly physically silenced by the iron gadget designed to pinion the tongue known colloquially as the 'scold's bridle' (Boose 1991 197). The fear of the unruly member, especially the tongue as the metonymic source of speech, was particularly amplified when it belonged to the lower classes and women. As a "double-edged sword", the tongue ambiguously "possessed both the potential to build and protect

society as well as the capacity to be decisive, damaging and dangerous” (Horodowich 2012 301). In the classical tradition, when the human is transformed into an animal for a transgressive act against the gods, the first quality to flee from the body is human speech, for it is suddenly translated into animal speech, and, therefore, cannot now be comprehended by human ears. This is best illustrated in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, especially in the stories of the transformative angst of Actaeon and Philomena. The hapless hunter Actaeon accidentally caught sight of the goddess Diana bathing with her nymphs in a secluded forest spring. The aggrieved goddess, scared that the hunter would brag about seeing her nakedness, turned Actaeon into a stag, whereupon his own hounds set upon him, tearing him to pieces. When Actaeon tried to call out to his dogs, “no words came” (III. 198-235) and “words failed his will”:

Till the whole pack, united, sank their teeth
 Into his flesh. He gave a wailing scream,
 Not human, yet a sound no stag could voice,
 And filled with anguished cries the mountainside
 He knew so well... (III.236-240).

In *Coriolanus*’ penultimate scene, Martius’ language changes when he is branded a “traitor” (5.6.97) by Aufidius. He begs for pardon from his fellow lords, acknowledging that “‘tis the first time that ever / I was forced to scold” (5.6.121). Even though Martius claims he fought the Volscians “like an eagle in a dovecote” (5.6.130), the juxtaposition of the verb ‘scold’ together with the accompanying images of Martius giving up Rome for certain “drops of salt” (5.6.106), “whin[ing] and roar[ing]” at “his nurse’s tears” (5.6.110-11) and bound “to his wife and mother” (5.6.107), connect his speech to that of

both the animal and the feminine. Though Martius may rate Aufidius as a “false hound” and a “cur” (5.6.128; 5.6.122), it is left up to the Volscian herd to stand in for Actaeon’s hounds: “Tear him to pieces!” (5.6.138). In the ensuing bloodlust, the Volscians, those who once recognized Martius as “their god” (4.6.109), no longer seem to recognize their leader as they set upon him with almost non-verbal, animalistic ejaculations: “Kill, kill, kill, kill, kill him!” (5.6.149).

One curious conception of the ancient and early modern tongue was its ability, like the menopausal womb, to move with a disembodied bestial will of its own, not subject to the governance and control of the body proper. In Ovid’s story of Philomena and Tereus, in order that his sister-in-law Philomena might not speak of his violent rape, Tereus cuts out Philomena’s tongue:

... he seized
 Her tongue with tongs and, with his brutal sword,
 Cut it away. The root jerked to and fro;
 The tongue lay on the dark soil muttering
 And wriggling, as the tale cut off a snake
 Wiggles, and, as it died, it tried to reach
 Its mistress’ feet (VI. 533-66).

The grotesque image of the severed tongue wriggling like a snake and trying to reach its mistress’ feet like a fawning dog, not only imparts the organ with a will of its own, but in its literal dis/articulation from the body proper, the tongue reverts back into a pre-verbal animalistic entity. Notice, though, that the tongue here is, as Thomas Adams deemed it, truly an “unruly” and “wilde member” (*The Taming of the Tongue* 83 1615) that, “like

wilde beasts” was in danger of “break[ing] through the circular limits of the mouth” (87). Adams extended the animal metaphor by arguing that a woman’s tongue could be controlled like “a little bitte guydeth a great horse... to the Riders pleasure” (87). It was because the tongue was so “unruly” that God had “hedged it in” by the “lips and teeth” because “a man will not trust a wilde horse in an open pasture.” Adams was certain to note that of all the unruly tongues, a woman’s was the worst for it was the “glibbest” (90), and although she might call it “her Defensive weapon”, in actual fact, “she means offensive: a fire brand in a franticke hand doth lesse mischief ” (90).

In *Coriolanus*, contrary to Adams’ sentiment that a woman’s tongue was more dangerous than a “fire brand”, Volumnia’s tongue is the one responsible for halting the Volscian destruction that will set the “city...afire” (5.3.192). This is where the true artistry of Volumnia’s rhetorical excellence is revealed: lengthy monologues that are focused almost entirely on her relationship with her child. Volumnia moves through every rhetorical tactic available in order to convince Martius not to sack Rome: logic, emotional appeal, spiritual and familial shaming, bitter accusation and psychological guilt, as well as extreme emotional blackmail in the form of a threatened suicide. There is much scholarly conjecture as to whether or not in this moment Martius realizes his own death is certain (“*oh mother, mother, what have you done?*”) or whether he believes that peace between the Roman and the Volscians is a viable option after all. Regardless, it is telling that Aufidius directly places Martius’ ‘betrayal’ of the Volscians squarely at the feet of Volumnia and her ability to sway her son through words. Although he admits that he was “moved withal” (5.3.194), Aufidius is still disgusted by what he sees as the

alignment between Volumnia's speech-making and the typically feminine art of betrayal, dissembling and emotional blackmail:

At a few drops of women's rheum, which are
As cheap as lies, he sold the blood and labour
Of our great Action. Therefore shall he die...

(5.6.45-6).

For Aufidius the agency of a woman who is allowed to speak and exercise such influence over a fellow warrior is a case for much masculine anxiety: he can only seem to explain away its effectiveness as an imagined form of infantile emotional blackmail (5.6.93-102). To admit to the brilliant rhetorical wiles of a woman clearly versed in political and martial strategy is to open up a world whereby women may threaten the status quo of the balance of power. It is little wonder that the final insult that Aufidius can levy against his beloved Coriolanus is "Boy of tears" (5.6.104).

Although her mouth is at its most formidable when employed in rhetorical speech, Volumnia's most profound moments on stage are actually those where she chooses to remain silent. These occur from Act Five, Scene Three onwards once Coriolanus '*holds her by the hand, silent*', possibly one of the most potent stage directions in the entire Shakespearean canon. In recalling his 2007 production for the Royal Shakespeare Company, director Greg Doran has said of this moment: "We got it into our skin. It was an instinctive feeling ... you couldn't just 'do' it, you had to 'be' with it, for hours..." (Eds. Bate and Rasmussen 2011 194). It is a brilliant psychological moment all the more effectual for its timing. Using every tactic in her verbal arsenal, Volumnia has just concluded two lengthy monologues, her whole *modus operandi* has been to convince her

son not to invade Rome and slaughter its inhabitants. The only moment, however, when Volumnia seems to lose her sure-fire footing is when her son remains silent: “Speak to me son... / Why dost not speak?” (5.3.159-64). Here, she clearly resents him making her “prate / Like one i’ th’ stocks” (5.3.171) so Volumnia reverts to “sham[ing]” him by making the family kneel in supplication one final time: “Down: an end: / This is the last” (5.3.182-3). Still, Martius remains silent. It is at this moment that a defeated Volumnia rises with the intention of leaving but not before finally demanding that her son speak: “Yet give us our dispatch” (5.3.191): again, Martius remains silent. Dwelling on her son’s silence, Volumnia ends her exhaustive attempts by uttering her final lines of the play: “I am hushed awhile until our city be afire, / And then I’ll speak a little” (5.3.191-3). It is only then, once the audience has been left believing that this exchange is concluded, that Martius grabs her hand. That “instinctive feeling” (cf. Doran), the silence, is like an intimate animal discourse that shuts out the human listener. This stillness takes on a heightened form of almost ritual. It is also a physical transference, a *gestus*: now that the direct threat of Volumnia’s menopausal mouth has been stilled, she is now passing along the final act of plethoric purging to her son. Martius’ “ritualistic” silence (Poole 2011 111), then, ties his body even more steadfastly to that of his mother’s for as her stagnant humours are purged through her mouth via various speech acts, Martius’ remain blocked. Their shared humours, therefore, mean that the only place left for Martius to purge is through ritual blood loss, the multiple ‘mouths’ of fatal bodily wounds. In Act Five, Scene Five, Volumnia is welcomed by the citizens of Rome but remains silent throughout the rest of the play as she now understands that her son’s “but let it come” (201), like Hamlet’s “the readiness is all” (*Ham.5.2.200*), signals his doom:

O my mother, mother, O!
 You have won a happy victory to Rome
 But for your son, believe it, O believe it
 Most dangerously you have prevailed,
 If not most mortal (5.3.197-201).

So intimately are mother and son combined, it is as though in this moment we witness a double-death: the realization that Volumnia has saved Rome at the cost of her child's life means that she has undergone a premature psychic and emotional death, a severance in the mind, body and tongue. Her only physical option here might be to howl like a wounded animal for Shakespeare affords her no additional lines of speech; in that ritualised moment, all civil discourse, all human words fail. Volumnia's voluminous presence has been stilled: emptied of words and embodied gestures, she has become a mere shell, a husk, waiting for her "mould" of Martius to be butchered and ripped apart like a beast. In the stilling of her mouth, her worst fears about her other 'mouth' – her womb – are realised: "Thou shalt no sooner / March to assault thy country than to tread – / Trust to't, thou shalt not – on thy mother's womb / That brought thee to this world" (5.3.131-4).

Setting the Stage for Animal Sacrifice

If her hysterical mouth has been 'tamed' by silencing, then the only therapeutic means to eliminate fully the threat of Volumnia's menopausal body is, according to Hippocratic and Galenic doctrine, to drain her retained menstrual blood. For trapped blood and spirits in the ageing female, Galen recommended phlebotomy as the first recourse (*Galen on*

Bloodletting. Trans. Peter Brain KXI 201 1986). The wandering womb was temporarily ‘cured’ by the draining of blood or by binding: these means were believed to put the ageing womb back into its rightful physical place. It was also through such bloodletting and bodily restraint that the ravings and vocal ejaculations that afflicted the menopausal woman could be silenced. Docility and silence, therefore, was the idealised condition for the garrulous ageing woman. Like her fears of her personified “dear nurse” Rome (5.3.111) being torn apart in battle, Volumnia expresses fear of her own annihilation using the transitive verb ‘to tread’ (5.3.125). Volumnia’s “womb” is indeed not directly trodden upon, but, instead, through the mechanism of her son as her body-by-proxy, it is Martius’ body that is eventually trodden upon by Aufidius to the horror of his own men (5.6.155). The repeated references to “treading” in *Coriolanus* are distinctly animalistic – an image of either the taming of a brute beast or of a beast itself trampling the weak under its hoofs. Thus eviscerated and drained of blood, the final image of Volumnia’s body is one that is mysteriously envisioned as lifeless as a stone statue in a temple (5.4.208) dedicated to the “patroness, the life of Rome” (5.5.1). Martius’ intended journey home is framed by his prescient knowledge that such a truce will prove “most mortal to him” (5.3.190). Martius’ final confrontation with the Volsces will see him try to regain the animal nobility of the “eagle” (5.6.115) and the strength of the staked bear, a declaration of standing above and apart from the “herd” that will “tear him to pieces” (5.6.121).

Andreas Höfele argues that bear-baiting “constitutes the key metaphor and scenic pattern” of *Coriolanus*, arguing that the metaphor of Martius as bear shows him to be a “singly unfit animal” when pitted against the body politic of the state (2012 1; 2). In

Höfele's argument, this exclusion from the state leads to a final baiting-scene where Martius must be "dispose[d] of" as "a hero who has become untenable" (16). While I agree that this analogy of Martius as a hunted and baited animal is an effective way of exploring the concept of alienation from the body politic, I am more interested in how Martius' wounded and bloody body, by its humoral sympathetic connection to that of Volumnia's, extends the metaphorization of animality that defines the nature of the body politic and what Höfele terms "the law of the mother" (15) through Volumnia's body itself. In other words, the bear-baiting analogy invites Volumnia's animal womb into a new discourse of violence and sacrifice. I want to turn to the sacrificial aspect of *Coriolanus* in terms of the metonymic substitute of the mouth-as-womb, an argument that hinges upon my assertion that Martius' humoral body stands as a substitute-by-proxy for that of Volumnia's. As already established, the crisis regarding how to control women's 'unruly members', that is, her womb and mouth, is frequently expressed in the early modern period with the same language used to describe the processes of 'taming' animals. Beasts were not just subject to coercive methods designed to break their spirits (Edwards 2007 3), but were also featured in public displays of blood sports, perhaps harkening back to a pagan time of ritual blood sacrifice (Höfele 136). The figure of the bear, however, is certainly instrumental in linking Volumnia's body with that of her son's. Not only did Edward Topsell laud the mother bear as being the most fearsome and protective of all the animal mothers, but a tradition harkening back to Pliny argued that the bear cub was born shapeless and had to be licked into the mould of the bear by its mother's tongue (Pliny *Natural History* 8:54). In *King Henry VI, Part 3* (1591), Richard, Duke of Gloucester describes his physical deformities as likening him to "an unlick'd

bear-whelp / That carries no impression like the dam” (3.2.180-1). The bear dam’s tongue, then, is as much an organ of regeneration as its womb.

In terms of the dramatic action of *Coriolanus*, if Martius is sacrificed in the manner of a bear, ultimately, what does such blood sacrifice mean? If Martius serves as Volumnia’s body-by-proxy, does this “tear[ing] to pieces” (5.6.121) signify an almost communal destruction of Volumnia’s uterus, a case where her womb is not just trodden upon but rent open in an orgiastic ritual of Dionysian *sparagmos*? If so, Martius’ murder within a “spectacle” likened to a bear baiting (Höfele 99) involves a collective psychosis whereby the metonymic sign of Volumnia’s womanhood is literally and figuratively dis-articulated. And it is this same linked chain of signifiers that implies that the destruction of her womb is mirrored by the dis-articulation of her mouth. Once Volumnia’s blood has been expiated through that of her son’s, she is silenced by the social order, her vitality and loquacity imaginatively transformed into the cold marble of a temple statue (5.3.221). The vision that Volumnia had of Martius “treading” upon Aufidius and driving him out like a “bear” (1.3.29) has become horribly reversed. Thus the bear stands equally as a complex animal figure of social blood sport, communal scapegoating, as well as maternal power and instinct.

In the twentieth century the scholar most connected to the anthropological, sociological, and literary analysis of the scapegoat was René Girard (1923-2015). Girard, primarily basing his analyses of sacrificial violence in classical mythology, also applied his theories to the work of Shakespeare, finding in both a commonality or ‘mechanism’ at work that, in Andrew O’Shea’s words, functions to prevent a crisis “from engulfing a community” (2012 65). This ‘mechanism’ becomes a member of the community who is

“singled out to take the blame for and the brunt of the hostilities that constitute that crisis” (2012 65). Girard devoted an entire text to his particular theory of the community member singled out for collective violence in his 1986 analysis *The Scapegoat*: “At the supreme moment of the crisis, the very moment when reciprocal violence is transformed into unanimous violence, the two faces of violence seem juxtaposed, the extremes meet. The surrogate victim serves as a catalyst in this metamorphosis” (1986 86). Andrew O’Shea interprets Girard’s words to mean that the surrogate victim becomes “the unrecognized incarnation of the community’s own violence” (76). That such collective violence against the scapegoated victim is essentially “unrecognized” serves, I believe, to underscore the ferocity and animal-like instinctiveness of the way in which the victim is singled out without apparent logic or consideration. Violence against the old woman, born of the collective sociological anxiety that unconsciously arises once her maternal efficacy is diminished by menopause, is expressed as a *violence turned against her own body*: like the witch divested of any spiritual or biological traits of humanity, the elderly woman becomes an ‘animal’ and is thus ripe to stand in as the communal scapegoat. As an extension of her ‘animal’ body, Martius becomes the accessible sacrificial victim, even though the *polis*’ violence is unconsciously directed towards Volumnia as the menopausal woman whose presence disturbs the patriarchal balance of power.

The manner in which Volumnia’s animal womb can ultimately be tamed by the social organism owes much of its thinking to the notion of blood sacrifice as demanded by the social order. In this sense, an individual body, or even organ, can be made to become a bounded microcosmic organism that concentrates the fears and anxieties of the larger social aggregate. Lesel Dawson has drawn a direct correlation between the blood

drained in phlebotomy and the idea of blood as a marker of ‘morality’: “... the corrupt blood being released reveals an individual’s degeneracy and purges the body politic of bad blood” (2009 3). Thus the sacrifice of Martius as his mother’s plethoric body-by-proxy in a cultural sense, can also be viewed as a spectacle of public sacrifice: Martius as the scapegoat (or ‘scapebear’) is the instrument through which the Roman *polis* cathartically cleanses its collective aggression. The anthropologist Mary Douglas (1921-2007) argued that because the body was the “most intimate and certain of boundaries”, it became “an ideal source of symbols for other complex structures”, indeed, the entire social structure itself was “reproduced in small” on it (1966 142). Douglas also argued that living organisms, because of this complexity, were better suited to the purpose of sacrifice than inanimate objects (142). Bryan S. Turner’s work argued that society is an organism that was bounded by an outer “membrane”, within which, there were “clusters” that would embody the greater organism’s values, beliefs and mores and protect it from attack against hostile forces. These forces were perceived as being supernatural and demonic in pre-modern societies, disease in modern ones. In order to protect itself, the organism would respond by actions concentrated in the outer membranes, for example, rituals including sacrifice (1984 212). What is interesting is that both Douglas and Turner conceive of the social aggregate and the forces that regulate its ‘health’ as being organic in nature: Martha J. Reineke expresses this idea as “a threat issued against the social body is a threat registered by a human body” (1997 107). Therefore, as a living organism, the body is easily imprinted by social forces that, as Foucault notes, “invest it, mark it, train it, torture it, force it to carry out tasks, to perform ceremonies, to emit signs” (1979 25). Just as Andreas Höfele argues that *Coriolanus*’ most turbulent scenes “replicate the

model of bear-baiting” (99), so, too, does the final image of the play speak to the terrible forces of the unwanted or aged beast driven from the “hungry” (2.1.8) “many-headed multitude” (2.3.15) as a blood sacrifice. Interpreting Girard’s work on the “surrogate victim”, the vulnerable “creature” chosen for sacrifice, Tadd Ruetenik argues that the scapegoat can just as easily be a man as an animal (2015 141); indeed, the reciprocity between the two impart a “quasi-human” existence upon the animal, allowing them “to be close enough to humans to serve as sacrifice” in communal purgation (150). As Martius becomes interchangeable for the body of the menopausal woman, so, too, does he become a substitute for the sacrificed beast. For Martius, “Thus cut off” (5.6.151), as he had instinctively predicted, his mother has become “most mortal to him” (5.3.201).

The quality of Volumnia’s womb and mouth as a threat to the social aggregate is organic in nature because both medically, and quasi-religiously, it is defined by blood. The crisis in oral aggression in *Coriolanus* finds itself embodied in the flow, blockages, stagnation, and purging of menopausal blood. Like the bounded body of Douglas and Turner’s argument, Volumnia’s wandering womb can easily transgress and permeate these boundaries and as such, serve as a challenge to the established rules and regulation of the larger society, indeed, the very ‘health’ of the body politic. Banished from Rome by the “littered” (3.1.283) “beastly plebeians” (2.1.86), the “hydra”-headed (3.1.113) social order drives out Martius like a sacrificial beast marked for ritual consumption by the State as a parent “cannibally given” (4.5.191), a potent reminder of the fact that bloodletting and eating calibrate the humoral body “...in relation to the environment in which he or she lived” (Keller 2007 100). The image of cannibalism, starvation and purging, circle back to the bestial: in the final analysis, Volumnia embodies the dam that

devours her own, the unnatural animal mother who stuffs her mouth with the “meat” (4.2.63) of her own flesh-and-blood. With the betrayal of the State for whom her son, and therefore, herself, has shed blood (4.2.25-36), Volumnia’s anger is extreme: she calls down curses upon the people, and “bait[s]” (4.2.54) the Tribunes, the treacherous “cats” (4.2.43) devoid of “foxship” (4.2.24), with a frightening physical aggression (4.2.22). The Tribunes retreat from Volumnia in terror claiming, “...she’s mad” (4.2.10). Already Volumnia is being perceived as a creature beyond the realms of social decorum, the hysterical woman of the wandering womb whose instability erupts from:

Suffocation in the throate, croaking of Frogges, hising of
Snakes, crowing of Cockes, Barking of Dogges, garring
of Crowes, frenzies, convulsions, hickcockes, laughing,
singing, weeping, crying & c (Edward Jorden *A Briefe
Discourse* ... 1603).

Even Menenius begs the matron to silence her mouth, “Peace, peace, be not so loud” (4.2.15). Earlier in the scene, Volumnia had chosen to silence the organ of her own expressive anger by assuming the stony distain of the goddess Juno: “Leave this faint puling and lament as I do, / In anger, Juno-like” (4.2.55-6). But if “anger” is her “meat” (4.2.63), then the physiological blockages that have generated her wandering womb also jam her throat. The social order that starves her “rats” (1.1.155; 1.1.257) and “dogs” (1.1.202) and consumes her own children, finally triumphs by the violent butchery implied in the silencing of all of Volumnia’s ‘mouths’: it has force-fed the ageing woman, sacrificing her body on the altar of oblivion.

CHAPTER 3: TAMORA AND THE VEGETABLE WOMB

Introduction: Nature, Time, and Wondrous Pregnancy

In the engraving that adorns the title page of Theodor Kerckring's (1640-1693) *Spicilegium anatomicum* (1670), the figure of *Anatomia* appears as a middle-aged matron stripping the flesh off of a hanging male cadaver with all the adroitness of a housewife dressing an animal carcass for her family's dinner. As she butchers the meat, *Anatomia* casts her eyes down towards two *putti* playing at her feet: they are arranging sheaves of wheat within a winnowing basket. Jonathan Sawday interprets Kerckring's image to suggest that the *putti* are trying to distract the goddess *Anatomia* from her dissecting labours in order that she might re-adopt her abandoned mantle as Ceres; theirs is an act designed to seduce the matron away from "preferring the role of goddess of knowledge to that of Ceres, goddess of fertility" (1995 183). Whilst I may not agree that the actions of the *putti* serve as a diversionary tactic in order to convince the goddess to abandon one role in order to adopt another, I am fascinated by the correlation that Jonathan Sawday argues exists between the allegory of *Anatomia*, and Ceres the goddess of agriculture and vegetation (183). To Lucretius, Ceres was "the Great Mother of the gods, and Mother of wild beasts, and maker of our bodies" (*De Rerum Natura* LCL 181: 591-599). As "She who brings destruction", Ceres is also the Mistress of Beasts who opens up the animal body as well as the earth itself to provide nourishment, and dictates the time when the grain is to be harvested (Graves 1992 92-3). For Ovid, Ceres was "the first / To split open the grassland", she who possessed the power to engender organic fertility as well as to "make all seed sterile" and the earth "barren" (Hughes 1999 56). The goddess of

Kerckring's treatise consolidates notions of agrarian fruitfulness and seasonability with the mysteries of the human anatomy. The *putti* playing with the corn stocks are instructed by Dame Anatomy to draw the parallel between vegetal dynasties and the bloodlines of human stock. Butchered by Dame Nature, the bloody corpse also underscores both Nature and Time's destructive, "ravenous" (3.5.195) quality. In *Titus Andronicus* (1588), the character of Tamora is at once the butchering Dame Nature and the devouring goddess Revenge, "that strumpet, your unhallowed dam, / Like to the earth, [who] swallow[s] her own increase" (5.2.190-91). As Nature, though, Tamora, like Ceres, is also linked to Time: as such, Tamora embodies the latent power to master and manipulate temporality and nature's cycles.

The allegory of Time oversees all life, death, and regeneration, a status that would logically place Her presence alongside *Anatomica* within the dissection theatre; Time and *Anatomica* both function to mark the temporal biorhythms of the entire natural lifecycle. As *female* incarnations, the imagery of these "reductive goddesses" (Sawday 1995 184) points to the maternal body as being the origins of all human life as well as vegetable fertility, but they are also the entities that govern death and rebirth. Nature's connection to generation is highlighted in the *Booke of Astronomy and off (sic) Philosophie*, now housed in the Bodleian Library, where it is the fertility goddess Venus who holds the Wheel of Fortune in one hand whilst wielding the lush potential of a tree branch in another. In Cesaire Ripa's *Iconologia* (1603), Nature's moribund and ravenous aspect is represented by the vulture She holds aloft. In *Titus Andronicus* (1594), the vulture is an aspect of a crazed mind that can only be expiated through vengeance:

I am Revenge, sent from th' infernal kingdom

To ease the gnawing vulture of thy mind

By working wreakful vengeance on thy foes (5.2.30-2).

Similarly, when Tamora is called a Fury (5.2.82), she embodies a form of a cruel vengeance born of the soil, a trait common to all chthonic deities. As Hesiod (fl. 700BC) noted in his *Theogony*, “the mercilessly punishing Furies [who] prosecute the transgressions of men and gods – never do the goddesses cease from their terrible wrath until they have paid the sinner their due” (191-225ff). According to Apollodorus (fl. 2 BC), the Furies had been born from the blood of the castrated Uranus when it soaked into Mother Earth (Frazer 1985 1.1.4). The darker side of the infernal female deities can similarly be recognised in changing conceptions of ‘Mother’ Nature. As the early modern period advanced, Simona Cohen points out that the figure of Dame Nature was replaced in anatomical works with the more familiar icon of Time as the scythe-wielding male such as in Godefridi Bidloo’s 1685 edition of the *Anatomia Humani Corporis* (2014 165). Cohen has no definitive answer as to why this change transpired, yet even with Time as male, usually Chronos or Saturn, the notion of temporality as being inextricably bound to the human lifecycle is still a recurrent trope. George Wither’s (1558-1667) emblem is complete with a motto that states: “Time is a Fading Flowre, that’s found / Within Eternities wide Round”, and features the combined natural imagery of flower, snake, baby, and human skull in order to represent the circular brevity of nature’s temporality (*A Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Moderne* 1635). Before the more familiar figure of Father Time took hold of the Renaissance imagination, the female incarnation of Time was sister to Nemesis, the goddess of Revenge (Lloyd-Bowen 1996 121; Cohen 2014 77). The goddess Time was often called ‘Fortune’ (Billington 1996 135), and her

iconography, that of a woman holding a spoked wheel, was a familiar sight to the early moderns (Cohen 76). Nemesis was also associated with the winged wheel, the agrarian tiller, and the bridle (Lloyd-Morgan 122), thus connecting her to time, agriculture and animal husbandry. The wheel represented both the rise and fall of men all of whom were subject to the capriciousness of Fortune's whims, but the wheel as a solar symbol also came to represent Time, the Biblical recognition that in life's brief tenure, "All flesh is grass" (Isaiah 40:6). It is significant that Tamora imagines her revenge cycle enacted within temporal markers that she herself would dictate: "*I'll find a time* to massacre them all" (1.1.453 *italics mine*). Thus Nature, Time, and Revenge, are innately linked to the female body and its rhythms in *Titus Andronicus* and nowhere is this more apparent than in Tamora's mysterious pregnancy.

Not only is Tamora mother to three grown sons in *Titus Andronicus*, but if reproductive events are to culminate with the birth of the "blackamoor" child in Act Four, Scene Two, then logic dictates that Tamora must be pregnant throughout most of the action of the play – a fact that seems to escape the notice of all of the other characters, including her new husband Saturninus and her longstanding lover Aaron. Whilst the other women in this thesis are easier to identify age-wise as being physiologically 'menopausal', the character of Tamora is slightly more ambivalent. We know that she has status as the "Queen of the Goths" (1.1.139), and matched against Titus as his nemesis, identifying her as an older woman makes sense for characterization purposes. Tamora also tells Saturninus that "She will a handmaid be to his desires, / A loving nurse, a mother to his youth" (1.1.333-4), thus suggesting that she straddles the divide between a sexualized wife and older maternal figure. There are also clues about her reproductive

history: she is mother to three grown sons who are either pubescent or older, and she is also pregnant with Aaron's child at the time of the action of the play. Even if she had been married at an early age, logic dictates that she must be at the end of her natural reproductive cycle. Given that, as Lynn Botelho has argued, due to poor nutrition, disease, and being physically worn-out by multiple births the early modern woman would have entered menopause far earlier than today (Eds. Poska et al. 2016 297), Tamora is probably in the medical stage known currently as the 'peri-menopause' (Wingert and Kantrowitz 2006 12). Knowing this, however, I firmly place Tamora within the group of menopausal women in this thesis due to a number of additional factors than transcend mere biological conjecture. On one level, Tamora is identified with a number of mythological goddesses all of whom embody the totalizing aspect of the 'triple goddess' of Virgin, Mother, and Crone. In this, as Fury, Astraea, Diana, Venus, and Nemesis, she is the 'White Goddess' (2010) that Robert Graves wrote so extensively of. More importantly for the purposes of this Chapter's argument, Tamora allows me the flexibility to identify her as menopausal because she exists *outside of chronological or 'chronos' time*, and, therefore, is not tied down to the timetables of strict human reproductive physiology. As this Chapter makes clear, Tamora's reproductive capabilities align her with early modern notions of the vegetable as a 'species'. In fact, as I shall argue, this 'species mutability' recognized by writers such as Pier Andrea Mattioli (1501-1578) and Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484-1558), is what makes Tamora and her lineage ('stock') of plant 'hybrids' so potent. Her ontological ambiguity makes Tamora a sister to the cadre of women that I have identified as 'menopausal' in this thesis because, like them, she

causes similar ripples of embodied anxiety that circulate throughout many of Shakespeare's tragedies.

That Tamora's pregnancy is all but 'invisible' posits an argument that her last child's conception is 'wondrous' in the sense of having engendered a life form that appears to be born within a timeframe that does not strictly adhere to what we today might understand as 'human'. The unusual nature of the child's conception and birth, likened at once by Aaron to a "beauteous blossom" (4.1.74) as well as "Typhon's brood" (4.1.96), speaks to early modern anxieties regarding any issue 'born' from the menopausal womb, an organ that could void such natural objects as snakes, worms, lice, seeds, and tadpoles (cf. Jean Fernel; Jane Sharp; Françoise Mauriceau). As outlined in the Introduction to this thesis, the womb's capacity to bear life did not conform to the strict physiological and biological indicators of how we define menopause today. Indeed, what was considered as 'natural' to the early moderns was so fluid that it escapes straightforward ontological definition. Robert N. Watson has cogently written about his own challenges to create unified definitions of 'Nature' in the early modern period, shifting, as he says, between "flora and fauna, the innate character of being, and the totality of the universe" (2006 7). Watson justifies his apparent "jumbling" of terms by arguing that this self-same process of seeking epistemological clarity was common currency in the early modern era: "From the moment of their conception, modern ecological and epistemological anxieties were conjoined twins" (7). Tamora's menopausal body lies at the juncture between the complexities of Nature and Time and as such, her body's reproductive rhythms do not conform to what we would understand today as strict species or biological categories. I argue that in order to explain Tamora's strangely accelerated and unnoticed pregnancy, one

might consider botanical life and its relationship to the human as part of a ‘natural’ continuum as understood by the early moderns. If one considers Tamora and her “stock” (1.1.303) as belonging to the world of the botanical, then it is entirely possible to consider alternative notions of accelerated time, ‘invisible’ and prolific growth, and species hybridity to account for, what I am terming, Tamora’s menopausal ‘vegetable womb’ and its pregnancy.

Although theories about how foetal matter might be ‘concocted’ by either female or male seed differed between Aristotle and Hippocrates, both classical schools of thought regarding human conception were still widely accepted at the time that Shakespeare was writing (Breuer 1990 333). Notions of the body’s receptiveness to conception formed a complex relationship to classical doctrine that conceived of plant, human, and animal life as being part of a fluid epistemological and ontological continuum. Near the start of his *On the Natural Faculties*, Galen noted that, “the seed having been cast into the womb or into the earth (for there is no difference)...” (1.VI.19). As corporeal, vegetal, and animal “spirits” were believed to control everything from locomotion and sensation, to physical generation, memory and moral will, this blurring of the empirical categories of plant and animal was not able to find a relatively fixed taxonomy until the species categorization of Carl Linnaeus in his 1735 treatise *Systema Naturae* (Hünemörder 1983 53). Tamora’s baby defies absolute taxonomical distinctions. Tamora’s body, in particular her reproductive faculties, must be considered through this lens of indistinct taxonomical borders and fluid species categorization or ‘hues’: to do so means considering the early moderns’ understandings of the biological impulses of creation and destruction, and patterns which defined temporal rhythms of organic growth. The inheritance of classical thought meant that early modern

natural philosophers, as well as those scholars interested in the newer sciences of botany and horticulture, conceived of a system where all vegetal life could be intentionally manipulated to either accelerate or retard usual growth patterns, an activity that Francis Bacon (1561-1626) called “a noble experiment” (475). As previously established, ‘Nature’ was always understood as being innately connected to such weighty concepts as both ‘Time’ and ‘Justice’, concepts that feature heavily in *Titus Andronicus* as agents of both the conception of life as well as the vehicles through which to enact revenge. Shakespeare explores anxieties connected with the menopausal womb by associating its ‘timeless’ generative qualities to the various classical and Renaissance conceptions of Time and Justice as *lived through plants*. The intricacies of botanical growth and its relation to the human is further complicated by early modern conceptions of ‘Time’ – a concept that was yet to have established a uniform, consistent definition. This Chapter will show how Tamora’s accelerated and invisible pregnancy can be explained by early modern notions of botanical Nature refracted through several classical and Renaissance interpretations of Time that will be defined as follows (*chronos*, *aion*, and *kairos*).

The Botanical Discourse of Species

For the ancients and the early moderns, all life found its origins in Nature. Indeed, the project of natural philosophy attempted to identify this essence of ‘spirit’ or ‘soul’ and then trace how it might become embodied in each natural species. The ‘corporality’ of the human soul *in utero* shared the growth qualities of ‘spirits’ or ‘faculties’ common to all living beings. These developmental stages were termed the ‘vegetable’ or ‘natural’, ‘sensible’ or ‘vital’, and ‘rational’ or ‘animal’. Only the human being was believed to

evolve towards a state of spiritual and bodily perfection represented by the third faculty. Common to both plants and living creatures, the first faculty of the natural and vegetable spirit was envisioned in terms of an embodied materialism that connected the growth of the human body directly to that of the plant. In his *The expert midwife* (1637 ed.), Jakob Ruëff (1500-1558) clearly drew this comparison between the first faculty's influence on the growth of flesh with that of its botanical cousin:

[it]...frameth the softer substance, such as flesh [as] in
Living Creatures, but in Plantes or Herbes, the flowers
and the pith: ... it frameth the heart in living Creatures; in
Plants, or Herbes [it] maketh the roots...(17).

Similarly, on a spiritual level, the growth of the human body and soul in its upward movement to perfection, was likened to the “growth and increase” of plants and animals (William Hill *The infancie of the soule* 1605).

According to Aristotelian doctrine, the female body would have ascended from vegetable, to beast, and then to human. Pico Della Mirandola (1463- 1494) claimed that as much as foetal life could ‘ascend’ to the human, the adult was in constant threat of ‘descending’ back to the animal, and perhaps even the vegetal. In his influential treatise *Oration on the Dignity of Man* (1486), Mirandola metaphorically argued that at birth God had instilled in man “every sort of seed and all sprouts of every kind of life” that he would need in order to “bear the fruit” that might make him “a heavenly being”: the failure, however, of man to cultivate his “intellectual seeds” in favour of cultivating his “vegetative seeds” threatened to have him revert back into becoming “a brute animal” (Eds. Borghesi et al. 2012 27-9). Mirandola also noted that “wicked men” were

“deformed into brutes” or, as noted by Empedocles, “into plants as well” (35). Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), who adopted this Aristotelian theory and embedded it into Christian doctrine, expressed this notion as follows:

Hence it is just as in the generation of man there is first a living thing, then as an animal, and lastly a man, so too things, like the plants, which merely have life, are all alike for animals, and all animals are for man (qtd. in Hall 2011 42).

In such an ontology, then, the inter-connectedness of both temporal and moral growth, and how those spirits might be both accelerated or decelerated, has a clear precedent in classical and Christian dogma. This spiritual and moral descent back into the bestial and the vegetative finds its ultimate expression in Tamora, a creature that “bearest a woman’s face” (2.3.136) as a sham disguise for the “ravenous tiger” (5.3.195). As the human body contained both the ‘vegetal’ and ‘animal’ spirit in addition to its own unique ‘vital’ or ‘sensible’ spirit, it shared some basic matter and substance with the animal and plant worlds. This is expressed through patterns of analogy, mythology and metaphorization where the female womb became synonymous with the earth and soil itself: this is envisioned in *Titus Andronicus* as “the swallowing womb / Of this deep pit” (2.3.239-30), and the vaginal imagery of “the subtle hole” “whose mouth is covered with rude-growing briers” (2.3.199). As generative spirits collectively controlled everything from conception to moral will it follows that the early moderns, building on classical doctrine, transposed these ethical and moral qualities onto the plant life of the natural world. As a result of this botanical thinking, the qualities and relationships of all plants were frequently

personified, and plant physiology and behaviour was modelled on that of the human. As a contrast to Galenic doctrine, Paracelsus (1493-1541), because of what he termed *signatures*, saw an innate connection between the form of plants and their divinely-appointed role in curing those same bodily parts that resembled the “matrix” (“mother womb”) of the original. Orchids, for instance, could be distilled to produce cures for the testes (Pagel 1958 87). At the core of this *signature* theory is the notion that “like cures like” (Pagel 144-48), not only in terms of its chemical and mineral properties, but its actual physical properties, the traces of which were inscribed on or in the body of man and woman. Andrea Cesalpino (1519-1603) postulated that the vegetable soul met at the point where the root extended into the shoot and, drawing an analogy to the heart as the seat of vital spirit in animals, named this place the *cor plantarum* or *cor* (‘heart’) (*De Plantis Libris*). In his *Sylva Sylvarum* (1670), Francis Bacon argued that man “is like a plant turned upwards, for the root of the plant is as the head in living creatures” (45). Using Bacon’s analogy, this physiological inversion is suggestive of a Roman population without their ‘heads’ and, therefore, ‘rootless’. The Senator’s wish that Titus might help to “set a head on headless Rome” (1.1.186) indicates a land that is ripe for a certain kind of invasive plant species, parasitical and deadly like the “subtle Queen of the Goths” (1.1.395).

As Jean Feerick has argued, Shakespeare’s understanding of plantlife served as: “a powerfully attractive discourse for working through a range of relationships inhering among people, offering a supple and nuanced vocabulary for considering questions of reproduction and difference” (2009 84). This botanical ‘difference’, to use Feerick’s term, particularly underscores Tamora and Aaron’s “blackamoor child”. By placing the

baby's conception and gestation at the nexus between all forms of organic existence, especially the vegetal, the 'unnatural' gestation period can be explained by how 'time' could be manipulated within the growth cycle. By adopting the plant analogy, the baby is also a hybrid species, therefore the key to Tamora and Aaron's child's 'otherness' lies in the fact that, as a product of the feared vegetable womb, the strength of its 'stock' comes from the botanical conditions needed for species infiltration, assimilation and eventual domination. Lorraine Daston and Katherine Park argue that the hybrid "evoked a horror" because its origins arose from "the violation of sexual norms" (1998 56). That Tamora's infant is called a "toad" (4.2.69), a "devil" (4.2.66), and a "tadpole" (4.2.87), speaks not only to the anxieties regarding the hybrid offspring of "the devil's dam" (4.2.67), but also to the ambiguities of the products of a menopausal womb – organisms that may have self-generated from the "corrupted excrements" of the womb's "soil" (*The Complete Works of Aristotle* 1984 822a 26-27). This is the inverse nightmare of the munificent earth-womb – the gaping maw of death, the "abhorred pit" (2.3.98) that becomes the "detested, dark, blood-drinking" den (2.3.224), and the "fell devouring receptacle" (2.3.235). Tamora's menopausal womb is the embodiment of the quintessential 'grotesque' body featured in the works of Mikhail Bakhtin (1895-1975). In the seminal *Rabelais and His World* (1965), Bakhtin noted that "birth and death are the gaping jaws of the earth and the mother's open womb" (329), and that such an "open body (dying, bringing forth and being born)..." was "blended with plants and animals": "as the swallowing up and generating principle, as the bodily grave and bosom, as a field which has been sown and in which new shoots are preparing to sprout" (27). The 'blended' body of Tamora thrives because of its plant-like ability to engender hybrids that straddle the vegetable-animal

divide. This grotesque body is completely conversant with the early modern definition of hybridity as its disposition could equally encompass plants, trees and fungi, especially those of a saprophytic nature. The plants that grow in the woods where Tamora shares her love-making with Aaron, as well as the site of Bassianus' murder and Lavinia's dreadful rape, are so variegated as to include both the beautiful as well as those botanical species considered harmful and deadly: thus these parasitical and poisonous growths, the "dismal yew" (2.3.107), the "moss and baleful mistletoe" (2.3.95), become as much a part of Tamora's complex reproductive *largesse* as the snakes, toads, urchins, and other chthonic denizens associated with her "swallowing womb" (2.3.239). Tamora's "overflow[ing] earth" (3.1.222), like many menopausal wombs of the era, can spontaneously generate both the marvels and monsters that caused Ambroise Paré to write: "Many animal forms are likewise created in women's wombs...such as frogs, toads, snakes, lizards and harpies" (*On Monsters and Marvels* 1575). Jean Fernel argued that vermin could be "procreated without seed" in the corrupted womb (1548 ed. 2008). This 'strangeness' of the menopausal womb was extended into the realms of the botanical by obliterating the hierarchical distinction between 'species'. Indeed, all families in *Titus Andronicus*, including Aaron and his son, are 'races' in the sense of 'species' as defined by early modern understandings of life: although "hue" could refer to racial colouring, it was also a synonym for "species" in the early modern period (first use circa. 971, *Oxford English Dictionary on-line edition*). Lavinia is "lopped" and "hewn" in such a way that transforms living flesh into bark, a perverse theatrical staging of Ovid's myth of Daphne who, to escape her intended rape, begged for justice and was transformed into a laurel tree (*Metamorphoses* 1.452-547). Therefore, the punning of the words 'hue' and 'hew',

suggest both race and the health and longevity of “stock” (1.1.303) as interpreted through the metaphor of the vegetal and the mythical. The Ovidian trope of metamorphosis and transformation in *Titus Andronicus* allows for notions of the botanical to be linked to the mythological, a fascinating yoking that incorporates Time, Nature, and Justice into the conceptual anxieties generated by the menopausal womb. The Ovidian and mythological allusions in *Titus Andronicus* thus function to iterate this *embodied* notion of the blurred taxonomies of being, the species confusion between the ‘strange’ and ‘wondrous’ and the human. Is Tamora a goddess (1.1.319; 2.1.1), or a “most insatiate and luxurious woman” (5.1.88)? Is she connected to her Roman “brethren” (1.1.107), or is she a species or race apart (5.3.195; 1.1.264-5)? Lavinia concludes that Tamora is singularly unique as a mother and woman in that “no name fits thy nature but thy own” (2.3.119). As a vegetal entity, the persona that I am calling the ‘Vegetable Madonna’, Tamora’s body can manipulate both time and species distinction: in this, Tamora’s body mirrors the early modern project to manipulate nature by the advancement of plant acceleration or retardation. This horticultural endeavour was also concerned with the vegetal ‘offspring’ that could be produced with the grafting of ‘young’ scions onto ‘old’ stock, an undertaking that Giambattista della Porta (1535? -1615) compared to “copulation in living creatures”, and a “most praiseworthy...and fittest means to incorporate one fruit into another” (1658 63), a project echoed by Tamora’s venal goal to be “incorporate in Rome” (1.1.465).

The botanical familial analogy extends from Tamora’s body to the Andronici, a conception of the world as “an unweeded garden / That grows to seed” (*Ham.*1.2.135-6), developed further in *Hamlet* (1600). War-ravaged Rome seeks for “justice” that might be

“ripen[ed]” like a fruit (1.1.230). After his humiliation by Lavinia’s apparent refusal of him, Saturninus rejects Titus: “No Titus, no, the emperor needs her not, / Nor her, nor thee, nor any of thy stock” (1.1.301-2). The rejection of the Andronici “stock” sees Saturninus’ immediate “adoption” (1.1.466) of Tamora’s alien “hue” (1.1.261). Titus’ grandson is a “tender sapling” (3.2.50), his son Lucius a “brave slip” (5.1.9). Tamora likens Lavinia to both a “wasp” as well as the floral source of “honey” (2.3.131-2). These botanical allusions are extended to Lavinia’s “lily hands” that “tremble like aspen leaves upon a lute” (2.4.44-5), and with the “wash[ing], cut[ting] and trim[ming]” of her hands (5.1.96), she is likened to a tree beset upon by faulty horticultural practices:

...what stern ungrateful hands
Have lopped and hewed and made thy body bare
Of her two branches, those sweet ornaments
Whose circling shadows Kings have sought to sleep in
(2.4.16-19).

“Wreathèd in each other’s arms” (2.3.26), Aaron’s and Tamora’s “obscure plot” under the “quiver[ing]” “green leaves” (2.3.14-15) mirror Lavinia’s botanical “treasury” (2.2.131) until their “blood and revenge” (2.3.39) turns upon her with all the viciousness of a crude and ineffectual forester, transforming the Edenic woods into a site that is “ruthless, dreadful, death, and dull” (2.2.128). As Francis Bacon noted, trees were almost immortal, the only thing that could render them “hollow and rotten”, was the botched application of pruning or hewing methods:

For ‘tis a misery to see how our fairest trees are defac’d,
and mangl’d by unskillful Wood-men...with their short

Hand-bills, hacking and chopping off all that comes in their
way...to their utter destruction (*Sylva Sylvarum* 74).

Lavinia's once-beautiful "branches" are contrasted with Titus' "withered herbs" of hands, "meet for plucking up" (3.1.178-9). This re-imagining of the denuded quality of the Andronici line after Lavinia's rape in the "ruthless, vast and gloomy woods" (4.1.55), leads Titus to conclude that: "Marcus, we are but shrubs, no cedars we" (4.3.45). This usage of botanical imagery to articulate familial and ancestral imagery elaborates upon the early modern notions of plant hierarchies. Both Allen J. Grieco and Jean Feerick have explored how early modern botanists such as Albertus Magnus (c. 1193/1206-1280) and Restoro d'Arezzo (dates unknown, thirteenth century) organised plant species according to a vertical ordering principle. In such a hierarchy, plants placed at the top of the ladder were supposed to be closer to God (Grieco 1991 135). Shrubs, because they grew closest to the ground, were considered inferior, for the height of a plant indicated its status (Grieco 141). Titus' botanical 'lowness', his recurrent speaking of "sorrows to the stones" (3.1.29; 37; 45) is contrasted with Tamora's Olympian height (2.1.1-9). This species hierarchy contributes to the botanical argument of both the downfall of the Andronici as well as the means by which Tamora achieves her "sudden" advancement and conquest of the Roman social body (1.1.396).

This botanical language that dictates relationships between families also articulates the nature of various enmities between species or "hues." For as soon as Saturninus comments on the differences in Tamora's "hue" (1.1.261) as well as the 'othering' that marks Aaron, "the swarth Cimmerian" (2.3.72), the language of divisive factions enters the play in much the same way that plant species were said to either fear or favour one

another. In one of the earliest treatises on botany, Empedocles (c.492-432 BC) wrote that amongst all creatures, including plants and trees, there was a kind of “sympathy” or “antipathy” which he also termed “consent or disagreement”:

For some things are joined together as it were in mutual league, and some things are at a variance and discord among themselves; or they have something in them which is a terror and destruction to each other ... That is the pleasure of Nature to see it should be so...(*De plantibus* I.I.815a 15).

The pseudo-Zoroaster (b.18 -10 BC) suggested that barren trees might be ‘scared’ into producing fruit (*Geoponica* 10.83.1–2 qtd. in Dalby 2011). Empedocles also noted the “deadly enmity betwixt Coleworts and the vine”, and the “greatest enemy” of all to trees was ivy (D36-D37). Theophrastus (371-285 BC) wrote that “special victims” could be “singled out” by “killer” plants (*De Causis Plantarum* LCL 475: 144-5). Again, like Empedocles, Theophrastus identifies both ivy and mistletoe as the most deadly “neighbours”:

... the destruction is more rapid if the neighbours are stronger and more numerous...[they] branch out and entwine about the tree, choking it, or grow into it like ivy. Indeed mistletoe too (145).

Both the ivy and the vine were plants known to be sacred to the god Dionysus (Graves 1960 108) and as such were connected to intoxication and the bloody ritual of the springtime death and resurrection of the Oak King, god of vegetal nature (Plutarch *On Isis*

and *Osiris* 35). The Combe emblem (1593? 82) pictures an oak tree entwined with ivy with the warning that, as the ivy climbs aloft, “it so doth bind, / It kills the stock that it was raised by” (Paradin et al. 2018 371). As a marriage or friendship emblem, the vine enjoyed a more positive position as a welcomed invasive species. The ‘friendship’ of the vine and the tree was also translated into the ideal of marital love. Columella (AD 4-70) also gives advice on ways in which ‘to marry’ a vine and elm (Hunt 2010 48). In Ovid’s tale of the fruit nymph Pomona, her would-be suitor, Vertumnus, disguises himself as an “old crone” to try to convince the nymph to become his wife by using the example of the vine and elm wedded together: “but you, unmoved by this tree’s lesson, shun / A husband and will link your life with none” (*Metamorphoses* 2008 XIV 657-672). In *The Comedy of Errors* (1594), Adriana tells Antipholus, “Thou art an elm, my husband, I a vine, / Whose weakness married to thy stronger state” (2.2.186-7). The image of Tamora’s ascension is a dark inverse of the traditional marriage symbol of the twinning ivy for she “climbeth” (2.1.1) her new Roman husband only to destroy the elm of his “newly planted” kingdom (1.1.447). Tamora’s “sudden” (1.1.396) advancement in Rome elevates the “subtle Queen of the Goths” (1.1.395) from out of the “infernal kingdom” (5.2.30) of “vast obscurity” (2.1.1): “Now climbeth Tamora Olympus’ top, / Safe out of fortune’s shot...” (2.1.1-2). The image here is a fascinating one: the newly-ascended Tamora is portrayed as an Olympian goddess, “safe” from “fortune” and “secure” from the dangerous threats of “env[ious]” nature. As the parasitical ivy imagined by Theophrastus, Tamora is “chok[ing]” the life out of Rome, thus Tamora’s mercenary decision to marry Saturninus to achieve vengeance rather than out of true friendship or love, marks Tamora as the dangerous, the invasive, the ‘anti-vine’.

The botanical language in *Titus Andronicus*, then, offers a means to consider the relationships between the two families as well as the vegetal vehicle through which Tamora achieves power and ascendancy in Rome. This underscores the means to which the conception of the ‘vegetable womb’ transcends notions of time, adaptation, domination, and reproduction as being outside the scope of the embodied *human* experience. In expanding this ontological experience of the human to consider the power of the botanical, especially its potentiality as it applies to female reproduction, it now becomes important to include several complex philosophical and epistemological theories that are inextricably bound to early modern notions of ‘nature’. In the realm of the vegetal, ‘Justice’, ‘Fortune’, and ‘Nature’ assume a new mantle as embodied, phenomenological experiences in *Titus Andronicus*, ones that address Tamora’s accelerated pregnancy within a body probably in the early stages of menopause. These theories, married to the unique rhythms and growth patterns of the botanical, also encompass answers as to the resiliency, adaptability, hybridity, and dominance of the resulting offspring of such a ‘vegetable womb’.

Of Grafting and Bastards

Dominating the opening of *Titus Andronicus*, both Saturninus and Bassianus appeal to the powerful influence of “justice” (1.1.2; 15; 183; 230) as well as to “fortune” (1.1.57; 70; 167; 177). In the presence of the captive queen, however, how these notions are defined are very much moderated by Tamora whose own understanding of the concepts are so differing that she accuses Titus of being “irreligious” (1.1.113). Saturninus, like his namesake Saturn, the first Titan, argues his just right to rule based on the timing of birth

order (1.1.5). Maintaining that Tamora's "wisdom" has conquered her bad fortune (1.1.339), Saturninus states that she was "sent by the heavens" (1.1.338). As Aaron's speech in Act 2, Scene 3 makes clear, both terrestrial "honour" and "virtue" are subordinate to Tamora's powers: in this, Tamora is likened to both divine Justice and infernal Revenge, and, like Time, she is also mistress of Fortune (2.1.2). It is Tamora, then, who is seemingly given the power to interpret and embody the concepts of both 'justice' and 'fortune' on a spiritual and earthly level. This rapid ascension of Tamora's influence (1.1.396) that only "the heavens can tell" (1.1.398), positions her as the plant entity that has achieved maximum height in the botanical ordering principle, a fact that reinforces her mythical position as Nemesis (*Revenge*): "The mooste highe goddesse of correccion / Cleare of conscience and void of Affeccion" (Nicholas Udall *Respublica* 1553/4). Like Nemesis, Tamora quickly convinces the new Roman Emperor that "sharp" revenge is her ultimate goal (1.1.140).

Although the linkages that connect Time, Revenge, Nature, and the 'race' of plants seems complex, they have their roots (so to speak) in classical mythology and were later to inform changing Renaissance perceptions of both the botanical and the temporal. An image where female Time, Nature, Fortune, and 'race' coalesce can be found in a remarkable miniature dating back to circa 1400 that was once housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris but is now lost (Panofsky 1975 pl.50). A winged figure holding the Wheel of Fortune is identified as both '*Mère Nature*' (*Mother Nature*) and *Temps* (*Time*). It is the female figure at the wheel's base, however, that commands the eye's attention. Directly below *Mère Nature/Temps*, there is Nature's mirror image, a duplication of a female figure that is naked from the waist upwards, and, more arrestingly, half her face is

clearly black in colour. I believe that this dark woman points to the ‘shadow side’ of the admirable Dame Nature, that of the black-faced and capricious Harlot. A similar image but with Fortune herself bearing half a face coloured black was painted in miniature by Petrarque (1304-1374). The black-faced Nature-as-Whore displays her ‘hue’, marking her as the Mistress of the totality of biological ‘species’. The homophonic play on ‘hue’ also implicates the arboreal world whose generative power is controlled and shaped by the woodsman, farmer, or horticulturalist who prunes away unwanted growth in order to protect the integrity of the tree’s pedigree. But the inverse of Dame Nature as the Harlot resonates with the new art of grafting – the practice that wilfully shunned ‘legitimate’ pedigree in order to generate “bastard” offspring.

Grafting was an ancient horticultural technique dating back as far as Aristotle and Pliny whereby a bud or ‘scion’ of an existing plant was inserted into the sliced bark or stem of another species, bound together with clay and string, and then the ‘mother’ plant would produce either fruit of the alien stock, or generate a completely new hybrid strain. In Pliny the Elder’s (AD 23-79) *Natural History* (c. AD 77), he wrote of the hybrid ‘nut-plums’ created by grafting plums onto a nut tree as “show[ing] a great effrontery” to their “parents” from “whom they took their name” because they displayed both “the appearance of the parent tree” as well as generating “the juice of the adopted stock” (Trans. H. Rackham. Bk. 15. LCL 370, xvi. 105). Ovid’s Pomona slits the bark of trees with her sharp pruning knife to “set / A slip for sap to feed a foreign stock” (*Metamorphoses* 2008 XIV. 35-6). One of the more remarkable studies into the purposeful and “profitable” acceleration and retardation through horticultural techniques such as grafting, re-planting, and pruning of plant growth was conducted by Francis

Bacon in his *Natural History* (1622). Equated to human sexuality, the fundamental way to encourage growth was: “to increase ... the lust of the earth or of the plant” (Century V.485). This “lust” was analogous to the rising of sap, a fluid that could be bettered through the “letting forth” of “[this] plants blood...or tears” (489). As Ailsa Hunt notes, Varro (116-27 BC) argued that the best trees to graft were those with *feminea molita*, or soft flesh like that of a woman (2010 48). In yet another metonymic chain of correspondences, if one applied *actual* blood to the roots, it would “increase the lust or spirit of the root” (488). Wheat soaked in a mixture of urine, dung, and chalk would accelerate its growth as a “rich experiment for profit” (476), and salt and ashes would retard growth (476). Giambattista Della Porta (1535-1615) had likened this ability of the horticulturalist to a “magician” who “either hastens or hinders [nature’s] work, making things ripe before or after their natural season” (*Magia Naturalis* 1558 311). The ‘magic’ of Tamora’s accelerated pregnancy and her propagation of Aaron’s baby as the ‘hybrid scion’ perhaps explains the rapidity and the tenacity of her “incorpor[ation]” into Rome (1.1.462; 394) as both the ‘alien’ and ‘invasive’ plant species.

In his *The Herball, or General Historie of Plantes* (1597), the famous Elizabethan botanist John Gerard (1545-1612) named several species of flowers “bastards”. Francis Bacon, knowing that ‘gilly-flowers’ (carnations) were thought to be “bastards”, argued that the gardener would be able to identify them by the earth-as-womb’s apparent promiscuity: “the cause is...that in earth...there are several juices; and as the seed doth casually meet with them, so it cometh forth” (*Natural History* 510). In *The Winter’s Tale* (1611), Perdita notes that “the fairest flowers o’ the season / Are our carnations, and streaked gillyvors, / Which some call nature’s bastards...” (4.4.95-7). Perdita later rejects

planting such “bastards” as she fears, like the result of the gardener’s enforced hybridization, that she might equally be accused of being “painted” (4.4.120). As Nature’s lascivious “Semiramis” (2.1.22), the product of Tamora and Aaron’s “burning love” is termed the “base fruit” of “bastardy” (5.1.43; 5.1.47-8). As Tamora is “govern[ed]” by Venus, and Aaron by Saturn, then the baby is also a product of Lust and Time (2.3.30-1). Ovid’s Vertumnus warns the virgin Pomona that if she rejects sexual love then she risks upsetting Venus and might incur “the wrath, / The unforgetting wrath of Nemesis” (XIV 678-9): thus Nemesis (Vengeful Justice) oversees both sexual and vegetal fertility in her dual role as Venus. For Aaron, though, his son is a “sweet blowse”, a “beauteous blossom” (4.2.74) despite the horror that the infant causes to others. As Alexander Samson writes of the concerns of gardening in the early modern period, “Sexual reproduction and the life of plants became intertwined in a shared language by which new hybrids, bastard scions or offshoots, new growths grafted onto old rootstock and dynasty or familial hierarchies were envisaged through hortulan language” (2012 12). Polixenes argues that by “marry[ing]” a “gentler scion to the wildest stock”, the “baser kind” of bark can produce “a nobler bud” (4.4.109-12), and yet Perdita persists in believing that any such “art” that manipulates “nature” will only produce bastard facsimiles. The poet Andrew Marvell (1621-1678) shared Perdita’s concern about plant manipulation: not only is there a certain anxiety in his so-called ‘mower poems’ regarding the taking-up of God’s role in the refinement of plant species, but also a definite fear about the intermixing of species whereby the true parentage might remain unknown:

No plant now knew the stock from whence it came,

The grafts upon the wild the tame
 That the uncertain and adulterate fruit
 Might put the palate in dispute.
 His green seraglio has it eunuchs, too
 (Lest any tyrant him outdo),
 And in the cherry he does nature vex
 To procreate without a sex.
 (*"The Mower Against Gardens"* 1681)

The same anxieties are raised by the birth of Tamora's "fruit of bastardy" (5.1.48). Aaron argues that the baby is his (4.2.84; 107; 121), even though he admits that the child's parentage can only really be confirmed through the mother as "the surer side" (4.2.128). In Marvell's "green seraglio", though, anxiety is generated by the cherry plant, the "adulterate" 'mother' that is able to reproduce without need of any 'father'.

For many doctors and their female patients, the desire to accurately identify the condition of pregnancy was of paramount importance: an anxiety probably rooted in the socio-cultural need to verify the paternal 'legitimacy' of resulting offspring. The physician could only rely on a limited knowledge of suspected gravidity as displayed in symptomology such as the presence of milk, the 'quickenings' of the foetus, and certain visible changes to a woman's breasts and stomach. In searching for these 'proofs' of pregnancy, François Mauriceau (1637-1709) argued that a woman was barren in the same way that not "every ground [was] not proper to yield Fruit" and that some wombs were "so ungrateful as to produce nothing" (*The Diseases of Woman with Child* 1693). Lest this wilful "ungrateful[ness]" threaten to ruin a man's perfectly good seed, the physician

was advised to become like an “expert Gardiner” who should “know Plants” and thus be able to spot fecundity in a womb “well disposed” (Chap.3 1693). Hugh Platt (1552-1608) was to argue that the natural scientist who manipulated Dame Nature served as a kind of terrestrial midwife and mother, tasked with improving upon the Divine’s design: “I have partly undertaken these strange labors” (*The jewell House of Art and Nature* preface 1594). The ocular proofs of pregnancy, then, may have been so ambiguous as to be of no practical use to the physician as “expert Gardiner”; like the gardener, the physician was ultimately mastered by Nature Herself no matter how much he might have desired to usurp this role. Tamora’s gravid condition does not reveal itself until she has actually gone into “her great unrest” (4.2.31) and her labour is talked about for the first time. In his commentary on Aristotle’s *History of Animals*, Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484-1558) wrote:

For who gave man the form...contained in the power of his
seed? All must indeed derive from one beginning, which is
God, whose will is called Fortune and whose power is
Nature (Bk. VII. 1619 qtd. in Blanc).

Fortune, then, had an aspect to it that was not wholly random or fickle but was a divine expression of “will”; an articulation of the same spiritually-directed force that was synonymous with biological form and growth, the “power [of] Nature”. But Shakespeare himself, adopting another common belief about Fortune’s capriciousness, makes it clear that Fortune “is a strumpet” (*Ham.* 2.2.223), and thus her offspring, like “bastard scions”, do not always reveal clear paternity. Edmund the bastard prays to Nature as his particular Goddess (*KL*.1.2.1).

Tamora is so fearful of her own bastard child revealing its true paternity and thus being capable of “undo[ing]” her plan for revenge (4.2.55), that she asks Aaron to “christen it with [his] dagger’s point” (4.2.70). This maternal cruelty, the “unhallowed dam” that “swallows its own increase” (5.2.190-91), consolidates Tamora’s complete rejection of womanhood in order to embrace her singular role as Revenge. Thus, how Nature becomes embodied in a character that also encompasses the terrestrial powers of Justice and Revenge yields valuable clues as to how Tamora’s reproductive capacity functions outside of normal human growth patterns. Viewed through a botanical lens, Tamora’s menopausal womb, an organ that can seemingly grow a foetus in record time, is not subject to the seasonable diktats of human physiology. Accordingly, Tamora herself controls all natural growth cycles: such cycles vary according to the patterns of botanical growth of species, and are influenced by conceptions of Justice and Time.

Manipulating Nature’s Growth Patterns

When Giambattista Della Porta (1535 -1615) wrote that he considered natural philosophy to be the most “sublime” of all sciences, he had in mind the various ways in which the discipline “considers and investigates the arcana of nature”, with a mind to “bring[ing] forth” all natures of “marvels and monsters” (preface *Magia naturalis* 1658 ed.). There was a desire here, not only to explore the wonders of natural cause and effect, but also to posit how those forces might be manipulated. As Katharine Park has written, “wonder” has its own history, impulses that helped guide inquiry into the natural world (1998 15). Such wonder was initially expressed as a desire to explain ‘miraculous’ births: were they evidence of God’s displeasure, forewarning of retribution (such as was the case with the

birth of the so-called Monster of Ravenna in 1512), or as the result of the mother's over-active imagination at the moment of conception? Indeed, the 1736 chapbook of the prose *History of Titus Andronicus* relates the story of how, with the birth of Tamora's mixed-race child, the Emperor's fears about his wife's adultery were allayed by Tamora's insistence that the infant was black because she had looked at a "blackamoor" during her pregnancy and thus this image was 'imprinted' upon the foetus "by force of the imagination" (Ch. 3 qtd. in *The Oxford Shakespeare* 1998 199). This was possibly inspired by Ambroise Paré (1510? -1590) when he referenced Hippocrates' anecdote about how the philosopher had saved a white princess who was accused of adultery after birthing "a child as black as a moor" by explaining how it was caused by her gazing at "a portrait of a Moor...which was customarily attached to her bed" (*On Monsters and Marvels* 1982 38-9). This preoccupation with natural growth patterns that transcended the ordinary generated a fascination about such zoomorphic plants as the 'barnacle goose' and the 'vegetable lamb', each suspected of being species hybridizations that blurred distinctions between animal and plant (Grieco 145-6). Similar species hybrids had long featured in alchemy and folklore and are mentioned in Shakespeare's works such as the mandrake or mandragora, an organism with "roots like little pupettes or mammettes" (William Turner qtd. in Carter 2002 146). By the late 1500s, natural philosophers, especially horticulturalists, imagined how such an "exalted and royal science" (cf. Della Porta) might be purposefully employed to manipulate plant growth cycles to achieve diversity of stock and, more relevantly, acceleration in the growth and fructification of plant offspring.

Horticultural techniques such as grafting were concerned not just with the improvement of stock, but how that ameliorated stock might be made to fructify according to an accelerated rate that transgressed normal growth periods. By adopting the metaphorical construct of the generation of plants as being like that of human reproduction, such man-crafted acceleration was likewise compared to female pregnancy and birth. Della Porta had written that it was possible to make a vine “bring forth before her time” by mixing nitre with water, a concoction that would make the vine’s buds “shoot forth within eight days after” (Rusu 2017 16). In his *De Causis Plantarum*, Theophrastus (c.371-287 BC) wrote that one must always plant and sow “when the earth is in heat... just as in animals when the seed enters a womb desiring it” (Bk. III 17). Francis Bacon (1561- 1626) had argued that a plant’s fruit might be made to ripen earlier and with more sweetness by a process of pricking the fruit known as “percolation”. Bacon believed that this method allowed the plant’s animating “vital spirits” to leave the fruit leaving only the “grosser” matter behind: this remaining material would then be subject to a kind of putrefaction that would hasten the ripening process (Rees 1984 306). Bacon’s language here is similar to the Aristotelian views regarding how the “grosser” matter of menstrual fluid was necessary to first “concoct” a foetus, but later purged through the female body as maternal milk. In a cross-species reference, Tamora’s milk, the “grosser” matter left in her body after the birth of her children, has turned to unnatural “marble” (2.3.144).

As we have established, Tamora’s “incorporation” (2.2.465) into Rome, the *modus operandi* of her revenge, seeks to “raze” (1.1.454) or sever the lineages of her enemies’ “stock” (1.1.103). At the same time, Tamora’s methods of infiltration are like

“grafted” scions in that she utilizes a kind of natural mimicry of existing forms. Baconian natural philosophy acknowledged the means of how species modification might lead to species infiltration, proliferation where the introduced alien species might quickly take over any native stock. Bacon argued that “divers” seeds could be made to have their “shoots incorporate” (493), young trees could “incorporate and grow together” (*ibid.*), and “foreign herbs” had their roots, barks, and seeds “confused together, and mingled with other earth” (518). As the invading Barbarian species, it is Tamora’s alien “hue” (1.1.261) that first attracts Saturninus to open his gates and invite the enemy inside Rome. As Francesca T. Royster has argued, Tamora’s ‘species’, her ‘hue’, is “racially coded” as “extreme whiteness” (2000 434), a “foreign” colouration that appears visually to make her “overshine the gallant’st dames of Rome” (1.1.317). Although Royster argues that the project to incorporate Tamora into the Roman social body has “failed” (435), I argue that if one is to re-frame “hue” as being synonymous with “species” as it was in the early modern era, then Tamora’s infiltration as an invasive and alien plant species is entirely successful. Tamora and Aaron are quick to pick up Roman social custom (1.1.148). Not only is Aaron well-versed in Roman language and literature, but also he is cognizant of warning Tamora’s sons to adhere to Roman behaviours or else face harsh consequences (2.1.75-77). We are never informed exactly as to why the Goths rebel so swiftly against their “cursèd” queen (5.1.16), but it is surely to do, in part, with Tamora’s willingness to assimilate so quickly and completely into enemy ranks.

Lavinia’s rape had been characterized as “thresh[ing] the corn” and “burn[ing] the straw” (2.3.123). Lavinia’s violated body is like the pruned tree or winter-burned field whose devastation is so complete that by the play’s end Rome will require its obliterated

“shea[ves]” of “scattered corn” to be “knit” together once again (5.3.69-71) or else consume itself (5.3.72-5). George W. Cox has demonstrated that the introduction of any alien plant species within an established ecosystem forces both the native species to undergo rapid – often fatal – evolutionary change as well as bringing additional “alien predators, parasites, and disease agents” that might destabilize a fragile plant community even further (2004 6-12). Cox argues that the return of a native species to an original state is impossible, and a “ghost of alien influence” will remain for decades afterwards because the invasive species is always the strongest, especially if able to create hybrid stock (12). With both Tamora and Aaron’s bodies being planted, starved, and devoured in Roman earth, one has the sense that their respective seeds of destruction have been tenaciously sown even with the “mutual closure” of the “house” of the Andronici (5.3.133).

Time’s Wheel: Chronos, Aion, Kairos

For Ovid, Time was the dread “devourer” of all life and yet Nature, “the great inventor, ceaselessly contrive[d]” with “change and innovation” in order to spite Time by creating life anew (*Metamorphoses* XV. 229-62). In the Ovidian scheme, Nature could only transcend ravenous Time if She learned to adapt through transformation. At the time that Shakespeare was writing *Titus Andronicus*, his own notions of temporality and its variations would have been informed by earlier classical and Judeo-Christian understandings of time. The Greek notion of temporality can be said to be experienced through three specific forms, each with their own complexities: *chronos*, *kairos*, and *aion*. Of the three forms, it is *chronological* time that has primarily directed western philosophy, science, and religion. In its most basic

manifestation, *chronos* is time that is linear, progressive, and can easily be divided into measurable units; in its religious sense, *chronos* implies that history is moving towards an ordained conclusion, an eschatological understanding of time as the promise of apocalyptic revelation ordained by God as Providence. Hamlet's implicit recognition that there is "a special providence in the fall of a sparrow" and that death, if it "be not now, yet it will come" (*Ham.5.2.220*), is illustrative of his awareness of *chronos*' relentless forward impetus. But from Edgar's statement that "the ripeness is all" (*KL 5.2.11*), to Touchstone's truism that "from hour to hour we ripe and ripe, / And then from hour to hour we rot and rot" (*AYL 2.7.26-7*), and Gertrude's assertion that "all that lives must die, / Passing through nature to eternity" (*Ham.1.2.72-3*), *chronos* can only be phenomenologically experienced as the body's ageing *within the natural cycle*. Philosophically and religiously, the Renaissance fashioned its own definitions of temporality by marrying earlier Hellenic belief to the eschatological aspects of Judeo-Christian orthodoxy which stated that as man passed through his natural life cycle, death would culminate in reaching the nadir of 'eternity', or, to use the Greek term, *aion*. By the onset of the fifth century BC, the concept of temporality was quickly being considered as distinct from that of the notion of eternity, or *aion* time (Cohen 2014 14). Chronological time, therefore, was said to comprise of the smaller constituent parts that made up the totality of *aion*. In his *DeCaelo*, Aristotle defined the concept of *aion* as: "...the length of life of every creature in nature...the sum of existence of the whole heaven, the sum which includes all time even to infinity is *aeon (aion)*" (1.279a). As a personified entity, *aion* was depicted in a mosaic at Philippopolis (ca.244-49) turning Fortune's wheel and accompanied by various agricultural deities, including the Earth and corn goddess Ceres (Cohen 17). *Aion*, then, as an expression of both life-lot and the infinite,

had always been linked to both Nature and Fortune. As Giancomo Marramao writes, for the Greco-Romans *aion* was a “representation of time based on the biological metaphor of growth” and that aionic time could only be understood as an “organism endowed with its own persistence and endogenous cycle, and capable of self-regenerating (*autozóon*)” (2006 9). *Aion* is the potentiality and the endurance of all human, animal, and plant forms, moving forward in eternal cycles but adapting for survival and propagation: this is the single-mindedness of plants that Michael Marder calls ‘plant-thinking’, the botanical organism’s “ceaseless striving towards the other and in becoming-other (sic) in growth and reproduction” (2013 131).

In contemporary eco-feminist studies, some scholars have identified *chronos* as being equivalent to ‘patriarchal’ temporal rhythms as opposed to circular, ‘Goddess-centred’ time, a conception of time without finality and attuned to nature’s organic processes of life, death, and (re) generation (Reid Bowen 2007 139). John E. Smith has argued that *chronos* time is fundamentally a conception of time “as measure, the *quantity* of duration, ... and the rate of acceleration of bodies” (2002 47). Drawing upon the work of Plato, Smith explains that *chronos* has to be expressed in the terms ‘before’ and ‘after’ an event, thus drawing attention to a linear idea of time revealing itself through turning points and crises “that concern the destinies of men and nations” (56). *Chronos* time would also feature heavily in the cultural consideration of the continuation of one’s own bloodline, particularly in terms of the importance of patrilinear dynasties. Destructive actions in *Titus Andronicus* have already been established in terms of temporal units of *chronos* that mark the play’s inexorable march towards violent and transformative death. The “weary wars against the barbarous Goths” (1.1.28) have been waged for ten years (1.1.31); Titus has returned victorious from battle

five times (1.1.33); and the Andronici tomb holds twenty-one of Titus' sons (1.1.198).

Warfare and loss are measured in units of time marked by the ever-replenishing "coffins from the field" (1.1.35). Lives are harvested on a rotational basis; the 'crop' of which is blood and death, the price paid to "ripen justice in the commonweal" (1.1.230). Rome, then, is both 'ripe *for*' as well as 'ripened *by*' Tamora's advent. Titus defines justice and fortune's "chance" (1.1.181) by a *chronological* trajectory. With his dead sons' souls suspended in time, suffering in Limbo-like *aion* (3.1.149), "hovering on the dreadful shore of Styx" (1.1.91), Titus feels that he has no choice but to appease the "groaning shadows" (1.1.129) of ancestral ghosts so that they might not permeate the present, disturbing the living and the future Andronici "with prodigies on earth" (1.1.104). Titus' metaphysical interpretation of justice-as-*chronos* is so resolute that he is willing to slay his son Mutius in perceived violation of its code of *virtus* with as much relish as he takes in feeding his sterile womb/tomb that he has "sumptuously edified" (1.1.354) with twenty-one other sons of his bloodline (1.1.198). Titus' precipitous "barb[aric]" refusal to bury Mutius in the family monument dedicated to patrilineal *chronos*, rightfully earns the swift condemnation of Marcus and the others as being unnatural (1.1.373-4), far from virtuous (1.1.393), and impious (1.1.358). It is living female flesh, however, upon which these conditions of justice are negotiated: Tamora is seized first "to beautify" Rome's "triumphs" (1.1.113) and then is taken as a marriageable trophy for her superior "hue" (1.1.264); Lavinia, as "Rome's rich ornament" (1.1.55), has her virgin body "brabble[d]" over (2.1.62) like a "struck...doe" (2.1.93) or a "cut loaf" (2.1.93). Thus the conditions are set for how notions of Justice and Time are embodied in the female, but as that body is hewn, trimmed and lopped, its power is interpreted through the lens of Nature, much like Aaron's mysterious inscriptions about

death are “carvèd” on human flesh “as on the bark of trees” (5.1.138). I would like to suggest that *chronos* time, as it features in *Titus Andronicus*, can be identified as Roman time; in particular, it is *chronos* that rules the Andronici in defining what concepts such as ‘justice’ and ‘revenge’ mean and how they might be enacted in the natural world. By contrast, Tamora and her kin are subject to time as defined by the Hesiodic formula, or *kairos* time (explained later). With her ability to manipulate time and deviate its trajectory from the Judeo-Christian path of linear, climactic *aion*, Tamora is instead able to locate time within circular *kairos* where natural forms adapt, transform, and proliferate when the time is ‘ripe’. Pier Andrea Mattioli (1501-1578) wrote in his *Commentarii* (1554) that the “natural brotherhood of all plants [leads] to the point that they can transform into one another” (qtd. in Blank 2010 276-7). This adaptive botanical sleight-of-hand was known as ‘species mutability’. Tamora is the plant species that thrives and reproduces by appearing to assimilate into Roman soil but is perfectly capable of species mutability in order to survive.

Kairos is a complex idea that extends its reach into rhetoric, philosophy, mathematics, and medicine. It is first encountered in Hesiod’s *Work and Days* (circa. 700 BC), and it is the Hesiodic formula of *kairos* that is most salient to this Chapter. *Kairos* distinguishes itself from *chronos* and *aion* as a temporal expression of time: it is the qualitative aspect of time, one that suggests a season when something transpires that could not happen at *any* time but only *at that specific time*, “to a time that marks an opportunity which may not reoccur” (Smith 48). This kairotic “right time” or “timing” carries a number of meanings in rhetorical theory and natural philosophy including: “occasion”, “opportunity”, “due measure”, “to cut”, “to kill”, “to destroy”, and most interestingly, “fruit” (Sipiora 2002 1; 5). Not solely pagan in origin, the idea of nature’s

regenerative and spiritual prowess functioning according to its own kairotic rhythms was something that St. Hildegard of Bingen (1098-1179) termed as the spiritual *viriditas* of the world, where “an entire hagiography and a theography [is] mapped onto parts of plants in a kind of spiritual botany” (Marder 2018 3). Although the Bible ultimately moves towards the eschatological conclusion of *chronos* time, it does feature a number of significant kairotic moments including Jesus’ statement that “The time (*kairos*) is fulfilled, the Kingdom of God is at hand” (Mark 1:14), and the assurance in Ecclesiastes that “For everything there is a season...” (3:1-8). As an ethical expression, *kairos* also appears as what is “due” to an individual in terms of “justice” (Smith 56). In the midst of these debates about how Justice might be ‘read’, it is Tamora who, through the “chance of war” (1.1.267), seizes the moment with a deft awareness of the kairotic to bend fortune to her own family’s immediate advantage. In substituting his “Phoebe” (1.1. 319) for the “changing piece” Lavinia (1.1.321), Saturninus acknowledges his “sudden choice” (1.1.321) in Tamora as one “sent from the heavens” (1.1.338) to “conquer” him by “fortune” (1.1.339). The new emperor’s request that Tamora “ascend” into the “Pantheon” (1.1.316) cements her abrupt seizure of the *opportunas* afforded by *kairos*, a rapid promotion that causes even Marcus and Titus to marvel: “How comes it that the subtle Queen of Goths / Is of a sudden thus advanced in Rome?” (1.1.395-6). Thus, like a parasitic and invasive lifeform, Tamora is able to infiltrate the enemy’s compromised body politic by manipulating justice as it is realized in the kairotic, rather than the chronological.

The Greek poet and natural philosopher Hesiod (8th century BC) wrote his *Work and Days* as an instructional homily addressed to a young man (“Perses”), advising the

youth how to live a virtuous and just life in harmony with the gods as well with the natural seasons. In a pragmatic sense, Hesiod gives Perses advice as to when to plant and harvest crops, as well as when to marry. Such agrarian and social directives are based upon Hesiod's notion of a thing being "in due season":

In due season bring a wife into your house when you
are neither many years short of thirty nor many
beyond it: this is your seasonable marriage. As for the
woman, she should have four years of ripeness, and
be married in the fifth (58).

For Hesiod, then, "due season" is the quintessential expression of *kairos* as it relates to both male and female cycles of the "ripe" time for sexual reproduction. "Nature", as Laura M. Slatkin has written, in Hesiod's etiology, is most often represented by "the characteristics and seasonable processes of 'the earth'", a correlation to the poem's title, denoting the "tilled fields" of agricultural work (Eds. Daston et al. 2004 28). Hesiod argues that the correct use of *kairos* ensures a social order of "true justice" that thwarts "famine [and] disaster" to all men (42):

As for those who...do not deviate from what is just...
Neither does Famine attend straight-judging men, nor
Blight, and they feast on the crops they tend. For them Earth
bears plentiful food... the womenfolk bear children that
resemble their parents...(43).

The admonishment is straightforward: the threat to social and natural equilibrium is any action that threatens 'Justice' herself. The punishment for such deviation means that

earth withholds food as well as blighting the progeny of all women. Thus Justice, “that maiden, daughter of Zeus, esteemed and respected by the gods in Olympus” (44), is connected not only with the agrarian cycle and social order, but also with female reproduction. The awareness of the kairotic, and her ability to manipulate it, especially on a reproductive level, is what makes Tamora and her “blackamoor child” ultimately triumphant on a species level. In this sense, her understanding of *kairos* time and its emphasis on the acceleration, retardation, and species assimilation or dominance, allows the ‘vegetable womb’ of Tamora to proliferate outside of the bounds of *chronos* time.

As it appears in Homer’s *Iliad*, *Kairos* also denotes a *vital* or *lethal* place in the body, an allusion to archery where there is a fleeting moment of time allowing for a deadly penetration (Sipiora 2; White 1987 13). *Kairos*, then, provides the timely opportunity to lethally wound or penetrate a vulnerable body. Tamora’s “subtle” (1.1.395) machinations to become “A Roman now adopted happily” (1.1.465-6), appear to be an embrace of Roman honour and justice where any future offspring might become integrated into the royal bloodline. But, like the cunning “siren” who exists only to “charm” the commonweal into “shipwrack” (2.1.23-5), or the “honey stalk” that rots with “delicious feed” (4.4.92-4), this is a sham, for Tamora is already pregnant with the “fruit of bastardy” (5.1.48), and is waiting for the perfect kairotic moment to enact revenge (1.1.453-58). When that moment for revenge arrives, the plant analogy dictates the form of the “device” (2.1.79) that this will take: the forest’s “unfrequented plots...fitted for rape and villainy” (2.1.115-16), will be the natural site where Lavinia’s body, like a tree, will be “cut and trimmed” (5.1.95).

The earlier conception of time as *kairos* is fashioned on a circle of repeated patterns subject to the unpredictability of the transitioning agricultural seasons; *kairos* can be said

to be “matriarchal” because the biological flow and flux of a female’s body can be said to be seasonal (Reid-Bowen 139). Pregnancy, menstruation, and menopause are *embodied* temporal concepts because they regulate themselves according to monthly signposts. If the menopausal ‘vegetable womb’ can defy temporality as defined by Greek and Judeo-Christian doctrine, then the duration of gestation, its particular ‘seasons’, are irrelevant: the chronological time-axis can be manipulated. Tamora’s mythic nature means that, like the changing of the seasons modelled on embodied female rhythms outside of chronological temporality, she is immortal – locked into a cyclical sequence of birth, death, and re-generation. Thus ‘vegetable time’ is, as *kairos*, circular, or, preferably spiracle, for the former connotes a pattern that is static and unchangeable, whilst the latter indicates the possibility of changes in duration and flow. Therefore Tamora’s threat to “raze” the Andronici faction (1.1.454) resonates in a much more complex and nuanced fashion: “I’ll find a time to massacre them all” (1.1.455), indicates ‘*a* time to’, not ‘*the* time to’ and is, therefore, an expression of *kairos*, for it implies that there will come the correct qualitative rather than quantitative linear time (*chronos*) that is appropriate for Tamora’s revenge. In other words, Tamora will know instinctively in due course when it is the right time to plot and murder Titus’ family, for it refers to the opportune moment of the kairotic when justice unfolds according to its “due season”. Tamora’s use of the verb ‘raze’ also is suggestive of its alternate definition meaning to ‘strike off corn at the level of measure’ (*OED* 5). Already, then, we can see how Tamora’s actions and reproductive cycle function according to her own temporal rhythms not solely dictated by the *chronological* rotation of the calendar.

The anxiety generated by the female's reproductive capabilities as well as her ability to evade justice, is highlighted by Hesiod's assertion that, as all women are descended from Pandora, their inherent abilities of deception are a direct threat to the "grain-giving soil" and "its honey-sweet fruits" (42), as well as to social equilibrium and fair measure: "he who believes a woman, believes cheaters" (48). This is the inherited 'natural' trait of all women descended from the First Mother, shaped with "Aphrodite's charms" and "govern[ed]" by Venus (2.3.30) but also with "consuming obsession; ... a bitch's mind and knavish nature...lies and wily presences" (39). The allegory of Time and Justice had always been associated with Venus and Aphrodite. Tamora's knaveries and nature are transcendent within this Hesiodic formula: she is the beast, the "tiger's dam" (2.3.142) who "bears a woman's face" (2.3.136), one whom "no name fits [thy] nature but thy own" (2.3.119). It is a woman, concludes Hesiod, who "brought grim cares upon mankind" (39). Thus if mankind disrespects 'natural' Justice, Nature re-visits such transgressions upon womankind herself, especially in terms of reproduction. The form of such retributive justice took on the allegorical shape of the goddess Nemesis.

Tamora's "determined jest" (5.2.139) to drive Titus even deeper into madness is facilitated and amplified by the adopted disguise of Nemesis (5.2.1-8), the deity with the office of, as Francis Bacon noted, "Revenge or Retribution": "Nemesis is said to be a Goddess venerable unto all, but to be feared of none, but potentates and fortunes favorites" (*The Wisdome of the Ancients* 99). This is an important conceptual link: "Revenge" is a dark expression of "Fortune", and its catalytic agent is "Nature". In classical mythology, the two goddesses Revenge and Justice were often hard to distinguish. Justice was sometimes named *Themis*, *Tyche*, or *Astraea*; Revenge was

Nemesis or *Até* in her singular incarnation, or collectively the *Furies* or *Erinyes* (*Theogony* 8). Frederick Kiefer distinguishes between the Renaissance usage of these two allegories by arguing that “justice is identified with the heavens, revenge with humankind. Revenge, then, is associated with the underworld or hell” (2003 49). Publius attempts to placate Titus’ mad quest to “solicit heaven” (4.3.51) by telling him that Pluto will send to “Revenge from hell” because Justice “is so employed ...in heaven, or somewhere else” (4.3.38-14). That “somewhere else” intensifies the ambiguities of Tamora’s identity as Revenge/Justice. Tamora’s influence seems to place her at the nexus between regions; her powers of retribution are celestial, terrestrial, and chthonic. This ambivalent ‘reductive division’ of the retributive goddesses, to use Jonathan Sawday’s term (1995 184), is embodied by Tamora who is once Venus (2.3.30), Dian (1.1.318; 2.3.57), a Fury (5.2.82), and Revenge (5.2.30). It is pertinent that these entities wreaked destruction and revenge, as well as influencing birth and natural reproduction, by manipulating chronological time; in other words, these goddesses had the power to regulate or subvert the ‘natural’ growth cycle. In an early fragment written by the philosopher Heraclitus (Circa 500 BC), he makes it clear that it is the role of the Furies to make sure Time runs according to its prescribed chronology: “The Sun will not transgress his measures. If he does, the Furies, Ministers of Justice, will find him out” (fr.94 D-K). If these infernal revenge deities are granted the powers to punish deviations from nature’s norm, then it stands to reason that they can also exert the power to pervert this rhythm. Hesiod explores this potential for the subversion of chronological time when he predicts this temporal de-stabilization will be a harbinger of man’s fall: “Now it is a race of iron; and they will never cease from toil and misery by day or night... Yet Zeus will destroy

this race of men also, when at birth they turn out grey at the temple” (42). Hesiod is clear: for the crime of rejecting Justice, mankind’s doom will be foretold in female reproduction gone awry: babies will be born old, all semblance of chronological ‘seasonability’ plunged into total chaos.

Titus’ tragedy is his on-going failure to recognize Tamora as the kairotic embodiment of both Justice and Revenge, a blindness that will follow him throughout the play until, in his madness, Titus is able to ‘see’ Tamora through her disguise (5.2.142-3). By petitioning the heavens for justice, Titus’ belief that Astraea has “fled” the earth (4.3.5) is part of his inability to realize that Justice had been on earth all along (4.3.50) but that she wasn’t the benevolent incarnation of Astraea, Virgo, or Pallas (4.3.65), but her darker sister, the multi-hued harlot, Fortune as the lascivious “strumpet” (5.2.190) whose “favors” “live about her waist” (*Ham.* 2.2.221-2). Titus’ blindness to Tamora as the incarnation of darker Justice forces her to underscore this fact by deliberately donning a shoddy costume of Nemesis or Revenge in “strange and sad habiliments” (5.2.1). It is only once Titus can unmask Tamora as Revenge that he, in turn, can adopt her mantle, replicate it, and embody Revenge dressed in his own ridiculous costume as a one-handed cook. The role of Revenge passes to Titus: he even imagines himself as the vengeful female Ovidian character of Progne (5.2.195). Only now can Titus understand and embrace the kairotic for in “o’erreach[ing] them in their own designs” (5.2.143), Titus enacts revenge within the kairotic moment by slaughtering Tamora’s sons and regenerating their flesh into food, a macabre interpretation of “the earth” that “swallow[s] her own increase” (5.2.191). As with Kerckring’s Dame *Anatomica*, Titus “plays the cook” (5.2.204), finally embracing the shadow side of Justice as the cruel Mother

Nature, the “unhallowed dam” that both generates and consumes “the flesh that she herself hath bred” (5.3.63).

In thwarting the terrible reproductive power of the menopausal woman, *Titus Andronicus* addresses multiple questions of species survival and triumph through a botanical lens. There is connectedness here between the survival of patrilinear power, and the conquest of female generative cycles that resist control. Played out against the backdrop of plantlife, this battle can be queried as to who can generate, who can survive, who can adapt in this Roman soil: will it be the native plantlife of the Roman *chronos* cycle, or will it be the invader species that will thrive because of kairotic adaptation and hybridization? I posit that because Tamora as a plant species can manipulate *chronos* time and dwells with ease and facility in *kairos*, it is her and her “stock” that will triumph, thrive, and regenerate, even as the single linear trajectory of Roman (*chronos*) time is thwarted. Even today, the idea of an older woman giving birth over fifty, either naturally or with the help of reproductive technology, is viewed with a repugnance bordering on the macabre. Like a time traveller, Tamora’s body conquers *chronological* Roman time because she anticipates, almost presciently, a future where the ‘season’ of menopause, outside of patriarchal linear and even biological time, is rendered irrelevant: ‘seeds’ can be implanted into ageing wombs via IVF treatments, and uterine tissue can be ‘transplanted’ into blood-rich body areas to delay menopause indefinitely (*The Sun*, Aug. 6 2019). *Titus Andronicus* projects such underlying anxiety: if women could manipulate *chronos* to their own reproductive ends and exercise ultimate control over their conception, women might have as many children as they liked outside of the constraints of their ‘natural season’.

Who Survives?

The gravid mother in Spigelius' *De formato foeto* (1627) is an illustration of a typical 'flowering foetus' image which appeared in mid-seventeenth-century anatomical manuals (Sawday 1995 211). She is clearly an example of what art historian Stuart Clark calls the "Vegetable Venus" (1990 104). Most remarkable of all is that her body bursts with foetal fruit: this is an image of the power of vegetable invasiveness, the force which suggests that an environment can be infiltrated and dominated by new plant life. Aaron sees birth as being liberating, but only in the sense that it will free his offspring from the terrible confines of Tamora's womb as one "enfranchisèd, and come to light" (4.2.126-7).

Paracelsus (1493-1541) argued that each organism had its own internal "clock" set by the "*Ens Naturae et Creati*" (Pagel 77). Organic life, including that of the human, was subject to two kinds of growth patterns: the time that perfected the seed of human life and permitted it to grow was called "*erfüllt*"; "*kraftzeit*" or "force-time" allowed growth and its products to happen independently of the seasons and weather. An organism was thus able to accelerate its "force-time" to gain advantages in reproduction, for example in the summertime when a lifeform might purposefully accelerate its growth twentyfold (Pagel 80). The Spigelius' plant mother's womb explodes outwards with this Paracelsian "force-time" like a seed pod, reminding one that a contemporary, derogative term for the menopausal woman is one who 'has gone to seed'. And yet, "force-time" suggests that all organic life is capable of exerting some 'mindful' control over the release of seeds. Michael Marder argues that in bridging the connections between phenomenology and plant intelligence, attributing "passivity to plants" especially in reproduction and defense "is

downright erroneous” because the consciousness of plants is such that one must contemplate “the image of a mind embodied in plant life” (2012 1-2). As the Vegetable Madonna, Tamora’s kairotic proliferation ‘seeds’ and ‘feeds’ the natural seasonable cycle, so while there is violent death, there is still the chance of regeneration and rebirth. This is why it is particularly important to look at the survival of both ‘scions’, the offspring of the Andronici and Tamora, and consider their future. With the closing of the “house” (5.3.134) of the Andronici by the play’s conclusion, the question remains: what would a future look like for the surviving “stock” of Titus’ and Tamora’s botanical families? Young Lucius would be the last “slip” (5.1.9) of the Andronici patrilineal line; Aaron’s baby boy, *if* allowed to live, would be the surviving stock of both Tamora and Aaron, and, to use the plant analogy, a species ‘hybrid’. As Bacon elucidated that the scion was “stronger” than the stock it was grafted to (*Natural History* 492), will the descendants of both families thrive or not? It is an image that Shakespeare plays with in *Macbeth* (1606) when the Witches show him the vision of the eight kings, a time when “nature’s germens tumble all together, / Even till destruction sicken...” (4.1.59-60). Banquo’s lineage, reflected as a series of kings in a mirror, seem to “stretch out to th’ crack of doom” (4.1.122). As *Macbeth* seems to suggest, Banquo’s “germens” will only cease to fructify upon the arrival of the apocalypse, the natural cessation of Judeo-Christian temporality. But Tamora’s stock, if conforming to the spiracle movement of Nature’s gynocentric birth-death-regeneration model and made stronger by the grafting of two vegetal species, does not necessarily move towards the apocalyptic end of time but to the “persistence and endogenous cycle” of all organisms (Marramao 9).

As established, the Andronici interpretation and embodiment of Nature is one strangely devoid of the female generative principal, one that thrives only by offering blood sacrifice and death to patrilinear ancestors. Because he is the surviving descendant of the Andronici, if Lucius thrives and replicates the patterns established hitherto by Titus in regards to 'honour' and family virtues, Nature will become sterile like the tomb that is devoid of life and sensation (1.1.153-58), its only surviving female having been mutilated and murdered. If the junior Aaron survives and goes on to generate his own hybrid stock, then the beauty, cruelty, and indifference of Mother Nature's Mysteries will continue according to the biorhythms of the natural world, like a child nourished by berries, roots and goat's milk (4.2.180-3). But Tamora's embodiment of Nature is equally cruel, "a wilderness of tigers" (3.1.53). Aaron highlights that his son is no less of a royal brother to Chiron and Demetrius as he was fed with the same uterine blood that they were (4.2.142-44). But the uterus as the site of nourishment becomes interchangeable with the stomach, the "fell devouring receptacle" (2.3.235), the gaping maw that functions as the fearful pit, for it is the place where blood is concocted into the matter that consumes food. In "eating the flesh that she herself hath bred" (5.3.62), Tamora is the incarnation of "foul" Nature (4.1.59) that consumes Her own as the ultimate act of assimilation and regeneration. As Tamora's 'sacred consort', Aaron's fate is similarly connected to the natural cycles of assimilation and regeneration through the biorhythms of "swallowing" (2.3.239) death, decay, and decomposition, for his own stomach is denied food (5.3.179-80), whilst his body is to be "fastened in the earth" (5.3.183) like a tree rooted into the Plutonian depths. But like the 'bastard' gillyflor, Aaron's son, the "base fruit of [her] lust" (5.1.43), is actually the strongest scion of Nature in Baconian plant taxonomies. Aaron's child,

without the “treacherous hue” that might “betray with blushing” his true, inner secrets and sentiments (4.2.18-20) reinforces his ‘hue’s’ (species) ability to penetrate the political, and proliferate in the world using subterfuge and camouflage. And because, through grafting, Aaron’s child is the stronger stock, his own descendants will be more resilient and dominant. Like Edmund in *King Lear* (1608), Nature is the “goddess” who stands up for “base” bastards: “Who, in the lusty stealth of nature, take / More composition and fierce quality...” to create than “a wide tribe of fops” (1.2.11-14). By being Chiron and Demetrius’ sibling on the “surer side” (4.2.126), Aaron refocuses the attention back into Tamora’s womb as being the source of life for sons of all “hues”, but the organ remains the abject “swallowing womb” (2.3.239) of the vegetable earth, a bloody, violent prison from where offspring need to be freed in the struggle for independent survival (4.2.124-5). Like the earth-womb of Nature Herself, Tamora’s body can equally become the nurse that, in the “sweet shade” of the vale, sings her baby to sleep (2.3.28-9), or the “beastly creature” (2.3.182), the tiger’s dam, who starves her cubs with milk turned to marble (2.3.142-5).

Aaron fails in his quest to overthrow the Romans by operating as the instrument of Tamora’s sacred “wit” (2.1.10) because, with the birth of his son, his “treasure” (4.2.174), he quickly rejects Tamora’s stratagem of kairotic revenge to embrace one of the fundamental tenants of his enemies: the acceptance and maintenance of *chronos* as it relates to survival of his bloodline, “his first-born son and heir” (4.2.92): “Tell the empress from me I am of age / To keep mine own” (4.2.104-5). As soon as his baby is born, not only does Aaron disobey his mistress’ orders to kill it, but also his newfound paternal instinct suddenly allows Aaron to envision his child’s future as a warrior

fashioned in his own image (4.2.180-1). Again, it is this desire for species propagation, to “keep safe” (4.2.110) his own “flesh and blood” (4.2.84), which now motivates Aaron. Aaron rates “coal black” as the “stronger hue” because two black parents only produce a black child (4.2.99-100): if a black father and a white mother produce an offspring, then Galenic doctrine would argue that the parent with the ‘strongest’ seed would determine as to whether that child will be black like Aaron’s son, or “fair” like that of Muliteus’ (4.2.155). As Jakob Ruëff (1500-1558) summarised it: “...the Infant is most like to him or her in forme and shape, whose seede doth most exceed and excel in power and virtue” (*the Expert midwife* 1637 ed. 66). Therefore, as ‘married’ to the ‘stock’ of Tamora, Aaron proves himself to be the more powerful ‘scion’, meaning that it will be his offspring who not only resembles him in part, but who will prove to be the dominant future species.

In fantasizing about taking over the mother’s role in feeding and nurturing his son far from the influence of women (4.2.176-181), Aaron discovers that it is impossible to escape both the beauty and brutality of Nature’s vegetable womb: Nature both feeds and consumes all the species that She bears. It is a lesson that Aaron learns when his own body is made to withstand these self-same aspects: as a “breeder” of these events (5.3.178) he is to be starved to death and fed to that same earth-womb that he fantasied his son might escape from (5.3.179-180). Like Aaron, Tamora’s body will find itself decomposed and reintegrated into the very earth she represents, the continued birth-death-decay cycle of Nature as *aion*:

As for that ravenous tiger, Tamora,
No funeral rite, nor man in mourning weeds,
No mournful bell shall ring her burial;

But throw her forth to beasts and birds to prey.
 Her life was beastly and devoid of pity,
 And being dead, let birds on her take pity (5.3.191-200).

Conclusion

The early modern conception of the human being as being intimately interconnected with the vegetal and animal reflects the fluidity and complexity of “Nature” as an ontological concept in this era. As such, the vegetal can elucidate upon the phenomenological experience of pregnancy and reproduction as ‘wondrous’, producing offspring that could transcend the mere ‘human’. The metaphor of Tamora’s ‘vegetable womb’ allows one to use plant taxonomies to account for her ‘invisible’ pregnancy and accelerated gestation period. By exploring notions of temporality and their effects upon the botanical growth cycle, as well as Time’s relationship to corollary concepts of Justice and Revenge, this places Tamora biologically within the liminal space existing outside of *Chronos* and therefore makes her ‘timeless’. Even today, the medical community cannot agree *how*, *when* or *why* the ageing female enters menopause: the mysteries of this physiological process can only be poorly defined through the narrow limits of chronological time (Wingert and Kantrowitz 2009 12). The ambiguity of the ‘natural’ onset of the menopausal state, then, allows one the flexibility to forge a link between the imagined phenomenology of Tamora’s experience of late childbirth and marry it to early modern conceptions of a human body where the vegetal was experienced on a cellular, sensational, imaginative, humoral, and environmental level. Although Shakespeare might not have been able to identify it as a ‘menopausal’ body, nonetheless, that Tamora in her

emblematic guises of Nature and Justice might be able to bend, arrest, or accelerate Time elucidates a very genuine fear about the mysteries of the ageing woman's body. Not only does Tamora's body manipulate *what* she births, but also *when* that birth might transpire. As Nature's companion, Justice is even more unpredictable because She levels the "due measure" (*kairos*) of revenge according to when the time is ripe for *her* purposes. Revenge is enacted within the lifecycle, especially female reproduction, and its iterations are metaphorically explored in terms of horticultural techniques such as grafting, accelerating growth, and generating hybrids. The 'species' rivalry between familial factions in *Titus Andronicus* is likened to the botanical activities designed to manipulate the growth and health of the 'stock'. Much as the botanical conception of species gives us new ways to consider the complexity of the human body as one phenomenologically and reproductively partaking of the animal and vegetal, so too, does the ability to transcend chronological time elaborate upon the fears generated by the ageing female body of the early modern period.

CHAPTER 4: LADY MACBETH AND THE ENVIOUS WOMB

Introduction

Lady Macbeth is unique in the tragic canon because, I believe, Shakespeare presents us with the closest description of the somatic and physiological changes of an early modern body in the throes of menopause. Although we are still clearly in the Galenic humoral economy, nonetheless, the fears and ambiguities associated with the female body beyond its reproductive prime coalesce in Lady Macbeth's remarkable soliloquy in Act 1, Scene 5 of *Macbeth* (1606), where she willingly 'calls down' the menopausal state upon herself. This singular act, frightening in its physical and spiritual intensity, is the inciting incident that sends shockwaves reverberating through Lady Macbeth's "partner in greatness" (1.5.10), as well as transforming the macrocosmic body politic.

Envy lurks at the bloody heart of the *Macbeth* story. Although not explicitly identified, perhaps subsumed by such passions as "vaulting ambition" (1.7.27) and 'fear', nonetheless, envy is a unique expression of the particular humoral changes and threats afforded by the menopausal body; hence the language of envy in *Macbeth* frequently circles back to reproductive imagery. The focus of this Chapter is to look at the passionate force of *Envy*, or *Invidia*, as a means to consider the somatic experience of Lady Macbeth as she moves through the humoral changes associated with menopause. Envy of the fruitful womb is initially revealed in *Macbeth* through lack of sons. Macduff even intimates that Macbeth's slaughter of his entire family was spurred on by an envy of his brood: "He has no children" (4.3.15). Doomed to wear a "fruitless crown" (3.1.60)

and wield a “barren” sceptre (3.1.61) whilst Banquo is prophesized be the “root and father of many kings” (1.3.5-6), Macbeth’s murderous brooding is a strong expression of male envy. But masculine envy in *Macbeth* is only the pale imitation or manifestation of a powerful feminine influence or ‘contagion’ that finds its root within the ageing of Lady Macbeth. This humoral female “illness” (1.5.19) eventually transfers itself to Macbeth like a pestilence, although it is the *origin* of this disease in the menopausal matrix that I analyse most specifically in this Chapter. Lady Macbeth’s sickness is one born out of certain passions that were said to rock the humoral *corpus* when it underwent significant internal changes, altering the homeostatic temperament of mind and body. Thomas Wright (c.1561-1623) termed these psychosomatic impulses “inordinate passions” in *The Passions of the Minde in generall* (1604). The metonymised body of “mother” Scotland (4.3.168), clearly identified as a barren womb yielding nothing but death leads Ross to remark, “It cannot / Be called our mother, but our grave” (4.3.167-8). Reinforcing *Macbeth*’s obsession with patrilineal bloodlines, the source of male anxiety in the play is “rooted” (5.3.40) squarely in the maternal matrix. These “inordinate passions” transform into pathology, metastasising Lady Macbeth’s “mind” into “diseased” matter (5.3.39), piercing the heart of the “sickly” land itself (5.2.28; 5.4.50).

It is the “singular state of man[hood]” (1.3.141) that is thrown into relief in *Macbeth*, and that supposition is that all “men children” (1.7.74) owe their existence as “wayward son[s]” (3.5.11), even if they are “not of woman born” (4.1.94), to the mysteries of the womb. This debt in *Macbeth*, therefore, always circles back to the female body as the locus of every dramatic action, each disastrous eruption in nature and the state, leading to inevitable psychic and physical breakdown. Lady Macbeth’s

summoning of the somatic processes that will initiate menopause begin a chain reaction whereby her body becomes the source of the infectious disease of *Invidia*: in this sense, *Invidia* becomes both a kind of psycho-social embodied fear of the ageing female, as well as an actual physiological event serving as a means to both define and subdue the passions of the changing female body. But, like the desire for “seeling night” (3.2.49) to mask all overt corrupt and degenerate actions, Lady Macbeth’s “rank” menopausal disease “infects unseen” (*Ham.* 3.4.150-1), spreading contagion in more ambiguous ways. Hence Lady Macbeth is far more dangerous than her husband, who, once he catches her “sickness”, descends into a defeated and ignoble infamy where his once-lauded valour collapses into mere butchery (5.7.99).

As we shall see, *Invidia* could not only generate intense feelings within the sufferer but it could actually exert powerful and deadly changes within the humoral constitution of the body proper (Thomas Wright 64). As a distinctly pernicious female condition, *Invidia* generated toxins and poisonous gases that could escape the bounds of the female body to cause death and destruction to those in physical proximity (Agrippa von Nettesheim *Three books* Ch. L 1651). In its most extreme form, such noxious emissions could also alter the environment itself (*Malleus Maleficarum* 2016 146). It is little wonder, therefore, that the pathology of *Invidia*, so aligned with the ageing, menopausal female, was often inextricably bound with the malefic power of the witch. The ageing female’s affinity with diabolical forces was underscored by the belief that humoral fluids became commodities to trade in exchange for supernatural power.

When Lady Macbeth calls upon the “spirits who tend upon mortal thoughts” to “unsex” (1.5.40) her, she is voluntarily calling down diabolical forces to change the

physiological constitution of her body. Rather than Lady Macbeth's desired 'unsexing' rendering her body into that of an androgyne, these desired physical changes are very much female in nature. Lady Macbeth wants certain "passages" (1.5.43) to be "stop[pered] up" (1.5.43); her nervous system to be "fill[ed]" with "direst cruelty" (1.5.42); the "visitings of nature" (1.5.44) halted with the same biological processes that will "thick[en]" her "blood" (1.5.42); and her maternal milk to be transformed from 'laudable blood' into humoral "gall" (1.5.47). Several critics have analysed this scene of Lady Macbeth's invocation in terms of the somatic experience of the early modern reproductive body. Jenijoy LaBelle has explored Lady Macbeth's amenorrhea (lack of menstruation) as the wilful plea to spirits to eliminate, not only the "psychological aspects of femininity" but also the biological ones (1980 381). Such "biological unsexing", argued LaBelle, would foreshadow the "mental defeminisation" necessary to block the pity and remorse needed to murder Duncan (382). LaBelle, whilst not explicitly aligning this amenorrhea to menopause, is, however, one of the first scholars to explore the implications of this metaphorical blockage "of periodic flow" through an early modern biological as well as psychological lens. Joanna Levin similarly has connected the biological changes of hysteria with the body of the demonic woman, arguing that, "hysterical passivity recapitulated rather than neutralised the threat of female derangement, sexual openness, and noxious mothering" (2002 24). Certainly I concur that this 'invocation' of pathologies links the body of Lady Macbeth to that of the Witches, particularly in terms of the believed malefic poisoning, contagiousness, and consumption of victims' fluids, but by exploring the connections of these humoral pathologies

specifically to *Invidia*, I argue that Lady Macbeth's invoked sickness mirrors, in fact, the menopausal state as understood by the early moderns.

Invidia at once blocked the bodily passages needed for healthy purgation at the same time that it seemed to inflict a spiritual malignancy upon the immediate environment. *Invidia* literally transforms Lady Macbeth's body: drying and heating its interior and struggling to secure a plethoric release of toxins, her *corpus* becomes its own kind of alembic (1.7.68), generating a kind of malefic chemistry resonating on both the somatic and spiritual plane. As Plutarch argued, "Envy, ensconced by nature in the mind more than any other passion also fills the body with evil" (*Moralia* 681E 1969). In *A Treatise of Melancholie* (1586), Timothie Bright (1551? -1615) described envy's force as "...the beginning of hell in this life, and a passion not to be excused" (Memb. III. Subsect. VII). Thus Lady Macbeth's "stop[pered]" (1.5.43) lacteal and menstruous waste generates a humoral and physiological turmoil that becomes its own unique embodiment of "pour[ing] the milk of concord into Hell" (1.5.16). Saturated with *Invidia*, Lady Macbeth's womb mimics the cauldron, a plethoric reservoir wherein excrementitious toxins cannot be purged but fester and serve to pollute "both worlds" (3.2.18), as well as Macbeth's body. Lady Macbeth's invitation for her husband to commit murder is to "pour [my] spirits in thine ear, / And chastise with the valour of [my] tongue" (1.5.25-6), thus articulating how the allegorical *Invidia* was believed to spread her poison through her eyes and breath. Edmund Spenser's *Enuie* spoke "bitter words" from a sharpened tongue where "fresh poyson steepe[d]" that pierced and wounded the listener (*The Faerie Queene* V. XII.1972 42). Lady Macbeth's transfer of sickness, therefore, will replicate *Invidia*'s transmission.

In many respects, *Invidia* was a corollary condition to the “inordinate passion” of melancholia but with one major difference: *Invidia* was predominantly a *female* complaint whilst melancholia could be experienced, with variation, by both sexes. But in moderation, male melancholia was often lauded as a noble passion. Masculine melancholia could also be regulated, controlled, and bested by the passion of ‘reason’, a faculty that women were said to be devoid of. Because of the power of *Invidia* and how it was a unique enemy to reason, part of the focus of this Chapter will be upon how, in a body overwhelmed by envious humours, there could be no theoretical means by which Lady Macbeth could manage the chaotic physiological changes associated with menopause.

The physiological changes that Lady Macbeth calls down upon herself in Act 1, Scene 5, form a kind of template that articulates diverse anxieties surrounding the ageing female of the early modern era. This catalogue of changes is completely commensurate with the early moderns’ belief about how menopause signalled a natural drying, thickening, and slight warming of the body, a process that made Jacob Ruëff (1505-1558) conclude that an old woman’s body became that of an old man’s (*The Expert Midwife* Ch.1 1637). Ambroise Paré (1510-90) similarly argued that ageing caused “Women to degenerate into men” (*On Monsters and Marvels* Ch.7 32). The paradox here, then, is that according to the understood theory of humoral change, it would be ‘natural’ for all old women to become old men. But if such a process was entirely natural, then this supposition is problematic from a variety of standpoints: if the ageing female body became male, why was it still such an object of abject scorn and derision, made even more socially marginal due to its inability to reproduce as well as its believed connection

to the diabolical? Such unanswered contradictions create, I believe, an inordinate amount of anxiety within *Macbeth* as to *what to do* with Lady Macbeth's body after her menopausal transformation, part of a much larger pattern of anxiety regarding the menopausal females of the great Shakespearean tragedies.

Once Lady Macbeth makes the conscious decision to share her "illness" with her "partner of greatness" (1.5.10), Macbeth is clearly shown to handle his diseased humours differently than his wife. Still subject to the same "perturbations of the minde" (cf. Burton) that Lady Macbeth is, Macbeth is able to overcome his initial fears and make the conscious choice to "wade" forward "stepped so deep" in "blood" (3.4.137-9) in such a way that he can "almost forget the taste of fears" (5.5.9). In a sense, Macbeth becomes so infected that he takes over the role from Lady Macbeth, perpetuating the taint of the maternal body and spreading its contagion even more widely within the kingdom of Scotland. Whilst Macbeth clings to the belief that he shall never be conquered unless by one "not of woman born" (4.1.94), Lady Macbeth's fate is to inhabit a *corpus* wracked by 'envious' toxins resulting in madness, somnambulism, and suicide.

The Interconnections between the Humours and the Passions

To understand *Invidia*'s frightful hold on the ageing female body one must recognise the early modern belief that feelings or 'passions' such as envy, could literally transform the entire *corpus* itself. Thomas Wright's treatise *The Passions of the minde in general* (1604) is a prime example of one such work that emphasised the extent to which the "Passions ingender Humors, and humors breed Passions" within the early modern body (64).

Wright's assertion that "the Passions of the mind alter the humours of the body" was based

upon the notion that the health of the heart was dependent upon homeostatic “moderate” passions that regulated the humours (60). In turn, a “joyful and quiet heart” could “reviveth all the parts of the body” but a “sad spirit” would damage the heart and “dryeth the bones” (60). “Inordinate passions” such as envy and melancholy presented a problematic pathology for the menopausal body: both increased and exacerbated desiccation in an already drying body. Other ‘moderate’ spirits, such as “Pleasure and Delight”, seemed to serve the same function as menstruation in that “they help marvellously the digestion of bloud...helping [them] to expel the superfluidities” (60). Any passion experienced in abundance was particularly damaging to a body that could not counteract the increased flow of humours: “[the heart] becometh too hote and inflamed, and consequently engendereth much cholerick and burned blood” (60). Wright suggested that any deliberate alteration in a regime that considered “air, sleep and waking, meat and drink, exercise and rest” (65) as crucial to overall health, could allow the sufferer to wilfully take control of his “mind”, thus “over-rul[ing] the body, and so causeth alteration of Passions” (65). This is pertinent as it suggests that at some point in the progression of her illness, Lady Macbeth could have purposefully chosen to impose her will and thus mitigate the threat of an all-consuming pathology. As I shall later prove, though, the potentiality of this crucial moment to halt the disease is all but precluded the minute that Lady Macbeth calls down evil spirits to “unsex” her (1.5.40).

In Wrightsian terms, “inordinate passions” were highly detrimental to both the body and soul in question as psychosomatically they contained the “four Properties” of “blindness of understanding, perversion of will, alteration of humours; and by them, maladies and diseases, and troublesomeness or disquiet of the soule” (33). Wright asserted

that not only could the passions affect the humoral constitution of an individual body and *vice versa*, but that such a body could also exert material influence upon the body and soul of another. This notion of material influence is linked to both the power of ‘impression’ that a pregnant woman had over her developing foetus, as well as the menopausal woman’s ability to ‘fascinate’ others through the emanation of poisonous eye beams. Both phenomena were widely noted by the Hippocratics, Galen, and Paracelsus and have been elaborated upon in previous chapters (cf. Ch.1; Ch. 3). Wright’s argument of material influence is primarily based on the supposition that the “Passions of the Soul” revealed themselves through an individual’s extreme “phantasie” or imagination (145). Such phantasies “cannot only change their own body but can also transcend so as to work upon another body” (145). The “inflammation” of such a strong imagination would “send[s] forth health or sickness, not only in its proper body, but also in other bodies”(146). Wright advised, therefore, that the company of “evill, and mischievous men”, be “shunned” to avoid being infected by their “noxious rages” which would “infect[s] them that are never near with a hurtfull Contagion” (147). But Wright also singled out women as being most adept and malign in this ability, particularly witches: “So also the desire of Witches to hurt, doth bewitch men most perniciously with steadfast looks” (146). Women with the power of “certain Magicall Arts” could combine these looks with the natural strength of their imagination and dreams, to bind men to their will (142). Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486? -1535) similarly argued that women “by certain strong imaginations, dreams, and suggestions” could not only “change their own body, but can also transcend so, as to work upon another body”, such was the “desire of Witches to hurt” (Ch. LXV 1651 146). This fear is realised in *Macbeth* by the spiteful Weird Sister who can haunt the dreams of

the Sailor, imbibing his humours by “drain[ing] him dry as hay” (1.3.18). The belief of the ageing woman’s ability to poison both the body and mind of numerous victims via the manipulation of their humours gained powerful purchase in early modern thought.

Given the supposition that menopause altered the humoral constitution of a woman’s biological body, thus affecting all organ function, particularly that of the reproductive organs, brain and stomach, it remains to explore whether the obverse is true: how did these fluctuating humours, coupled with the passions that had their seat of origin in these organs, actually work to change the physiology of the menopausal body itself? In other words, how interconnected were the humours with the mind’s faculties, particularly rational thought and imagination, in early modern doctrine? Certainly *Macbeth* references the apparent conflict between the body’s biology and rational intention to a strong degree. Lady Macbeth hopes that her “direst cruelty” (1.5.33) will not be “shake[en]” by “fell purpose” (1.5.45). She is equally fearful that there is a disconnection between Macbeth’s “desire” and his ability to galvanise his body into the “act and valor” of Duncan’s murder (1.7.40-1). Lady Macbeth mocks Macbeth’s ‘manliness’ by arguing that her husband’s reluctance to act generates its own physiological form of feminine greensickness:

Was the hope drunk
Wherein you dressed yourself? Hath it slept since?
And wakes it now, to look so green and pale
At what it did so freely?

(1.7.35-8)

What Macbeth had “durst” done when “he were a man” (1.7.48) is compromised when his body is wracked with a cowardice that changes his complexion (3.2.30; 3.4.116) and

“white[ns]” his heart (2.2.64). His impotency makes him “infirm of purpose” (2.2.52).

Here one can see Thomas Wright’s assertion that the “Passions have certain effects in our faces”, being “the rind and leaves” that display “the nature and goodness of bothe the roote and the kore” (30). But Macbeth’s unmanly fear is also contextual: it is in the presence of three menopausal women that this anxiety is most keenly felt. *Macbeth*’s Weird Sisters and Lady Macbeth function as a kind of foil for Macbeth, magnifying the contrast between perceived manly, rational action, and the diabolical, irrational and envious passions of the ageing female. In particular, Macbeth’s unmanly fears and lack of action are perceived through the metaphor of male sexual potency. This effeminization of Macbeth, exacerbated by his physical proximity to Lady Macbeth, partakes of the particular fears of the witch’s malefic influence upon the sexual prowess of the male. Jacob Sprenger and Heinrich Kramer argued in the *Malleus Maleficarum* (1487) that a witch could “unmake” (1.7.54) the sexual potency of the male in a number of ways. Firstly, the witch could “plant hatred or jealousy in anyone” and then bewitch the male “so that a man cannot perform the genital act with a woman” (146). Secondly, the devil could actually close the seminal ducts to “prevent the flow of the vital essence to the member” (75), thus changing the humoral constitution of the male. And thirdly, through an act of “glamour” or “a Prestige”, the man could be made to ‘see’ that his member was invisible: “sight and touch are deluded” (151). Macbeth’s vision of the “blood bolted” Banquo at the feast is ridiculed by Lady Macbeth as a vision of false “flaws and starts” that are the “sham[ful]” ranting of old women (3.4.61-6): “What, quite unmanned in folly?” (3.4.74). Macbeth’s “fit” (3.4.55) and “strange infirmity” (3.4.89) is another chance for Lady Macbeth to ridicule her husband’s effeminate and green-sickly “passion” (3.4.56): “Are you a man?” (3.4.57).

Macbeth must eventually overcome these inner passions that undermine his manly nature by willing “each corporal agent” to be “ben[t] up” to undertake such a “terrible feat” (1.7.80-1). Thus the connections between embodied passions and will are heavily gendered in *Macbeth*: failure to act upon desire ‘unsexes’ the male, whilst it renders the female a nightmarish hag potentially willing to dash out the brains of her own infant (1.7.54-8) in order to stymy any “infirm[ity] of purpose” (2.2.52). Lady Macbeth’s affirmation of the “illness” of her mind (1.5.19) that would galvanize her into action excites Macbeth into believing that this would physiologically change his wife’s “mettle” (1.7.75) so that she might “bring forth men children only” (1.7.76-7), thus stressing the Galenic and Paracelsan belief that emotions and desires were responsible for shaping the nature and gender of the unborn child. To be ‘unmanned’, Macbeth worries, would “protest [him] / The baby of a girl” (3.4.106-7) until he might be a “man again” (3.4.110).

That much of the reproductive imagery in *Macbeth* elaborates upon complex and varying notions such as ‘masculinity’ and ‘reason’ is a fascinating divergence from its most logical association with the strictly female. Alice Fox argued that the vocabulary of obstetrics and gynaecology in *Macbeth* is “most impressive” when employed in contexts “unrelated to procreation” where “the images permeat[e] their very mode of thought and discourse” (1979 128). Following Fox’s argument, I believe that these reproductive metaphors emphasise Macbeth’s ‘sharing’ of the sickness of the menopausal female body: for example, this transference of humoral contagion is articulated through the adoption of many lacteal metaphors. Macbeth promises to go forward making “The firstlings of [my] heart / Will be the firstlings of my hand” (4.1.162-3), thus overriding any mental misgivings. As the ‘firstlings’ could refer to the firstborn of sheep or cattle (*OED* 2), this

emphasises the ritualistic notion of the first child or beast nursed in its mother's milk offered for sacrifice (Exodus 23:19). Macbeth's lacteal metaphor is fascinating: given that the first milk was believed by midwives to be poisonous to infants (Fildes 1986 84-5), Macbeth's own laudable "milk" has curdled into a sort of trapped male menses where the "secret'st man of blood" (3.4.129) is, "in blood", "stepped so far" (137-8) that no "physick" might cure his own body proper (5.3.39-55) or that of his "sickly weal" (5.2.29). With the murder of so many innocents, Macbeth's own "milk of human kindness" (1.5.16) is "poured into Hell" (4.3.97). This is a clear case where the passions have tainted and transformed Macbeth's body in such a way as to mirror the same changes wrought in the body of his "partner in greatness" (1.5.10). The key here, though, is that it is the physical presence of both Lady Macbeth and the Witches that functions as a kind of insidious influence upon Macbeth, altering the humoral constitution of his mind and body. The only 'antidote' to such a pernicious alteration of the humours was, as Thomas Wright explained, a man's conscious and willing decision to use reason as a nullifying force against such evil in "a continual and molestful battell with carnal vices, and worldly inticements" (9).

Joanna Levin notes that Renaissance treatises often deemphasized vices, such as male carnality, "in favour of glorifying male reason" (2002 31). In exploring Macbeth's attempted employment of reason to counter his own humoral fluctuations, I do so in a limited sense only as a means to highlight the contagious nature of Lady Macbeth's menopausal "sickness". Such a contrast also articulates how, as a female according to the theorists of the age, Lady Macbeth is naturally deficit in employing reason's prophylactic powers to overcome *Invidia* as it floods through her body.

Invidia in Iconography: The Hag, The Waster, and The Devourer

One of the best ways to understand the incredible totalizing effect of *Invidia* upon the menopausal body is to start with pictorial images of her allegorized persona. The various representations of *Envy* are very much embodied figures – every physical detail from fingernails to breasts are conceived of in terms of the terrible influence that the hag exerted over her own body and those of others. In Jacob de Gheyn's (1564-1629) illustration, *Invidia* is personified as a middle-aged crone stalking a blasted landscape as she ravenously gnaws upon a hunk of human flesh. *Invidia*'s hair is comprised of writhing snakes whilst her chiton hangs loosely from her emaciated frame revealing two withered and denuded breasts. In her right hand *Invidia* clutches an angry viper; both are wreathed in black smoke that pours from an apparent furnace in the background, perhaps an allusion to her own heating womb. Likewise in Jacques Callot's (1592-1635) *Invidia* (1621), the hag's frame is emaciated, the slats of her ribcage emphasized by her hanging dugs, a detail that is echoed by the emaciated bitch that accompanies her. *Invidia* still clutches a snake but gnaws upon her own fingers instead. A tiny black imp tugs upon her snaky locks. Cesaire Ripa's (1560-1622) *Envy* is altogether more sedate but she still displays some common features: her breasts hang low but one hand rests on a rounded stomach that could be swollen with menopausal bloat or false pregnancy. In her right hand Ripa's *Envy* clutches a uterine-shaped money purse. There are no snakes but now a wolf accompanies *Envy*, like the "sentinel" that Macbeth claims "stalks" with "withered murder" (2.2.53-4). Surely the most disturbing image of *Invidia* comes from a 1306 fresco in the Arena Chapel in Padua by the artist Giotto (? -1337). Capturing the Biblical sin of envy, Giotto's *Invidia* is a middle-aged woman held stationary in a ring of fire, not

only indicative of her damnation but perhaps also a reference to her heating humoral body. In her right hand she clutches a moneybag, but it is *Invidia*'s terrible face that draws the viewer's attention: with a deformed face, *Invidia*'s side profile reveals an enormous beast-like ear and her eyes are sewn shut, their sockets being attacked by a monstrous serpent that issues from the screaming rictus of her mouth. Giotto's image is resonant of the etymological root of the Latin word of *invidia* or *invidere*, meaning "to look maliciously upon" (*OED* 3a.1a). In Dante's *Purgatorio*, the envious have their eyelids pierced and sewn up by a hot wire (XIII 70-2). These particular iconographical images of *Invidia* contain all the emblematic ingredients necessary for understanding *Envy*'s power over the menopausal humoral body as well as its influence upon the bodies of others. Ravenous, insatiable, and all-consuming, *Invidia* strides through the blasted landscape seeking out sustenance that is gained through devouring her victim's flesh and vital fluids. If *Invidia* cannot feed upon the organs of others, then, as in De Gheyn's image, she feeds upon herself in a macabre act of self-cannibalization. That is why *Invidia* is at once bloated and withered: as soon as she is full, her body becomes immediately starved. It is such iconography that points to the fears that the passion of envy functioned as a kind of perverse parasitic force that posed as much danger to its own body proper as it did to others. Spenser's *Enuie* was made to "eat her own gall" and when "she wanteth other thing to eat, / She feeds on her owne maw unnaturall, / And of her own foule entrayles makes her meat", a "monsters monstrous dyeat" (*The Faerie Queene* V. XII 31). In *Othello* (1603), *Envy* is portrayed as "the green-eyed monster" that "mocks the flesh it feeds upon" (3.3.171-3). Basil of Caesarea (330 – 379 AD) opined, "the envious consumes himself, pining away through grief" (qtd. in Limberis 1991 164).

For the ancient Greeks, *Envy*, or ‘*phthonus*’, caused emaciation in both the envier and the envied as a “sickness of the soul” that would “seize” and consume just like “rust eat[ing] iron” (Eidinow 2016 74). Basil of Caesarea’s homily “On Envy” (c.364) perpetuated this metaphor of wasting, consumption, and rotting by noting: “For just as rust is to iron, so envy exhausts the soul...[it] eats up the intestines slowly” (qtd. in Limberis 1991 64). Della Porta (1535-1615) likened *Envy*’s “flaming eyes” to a “sword” that would set victims’ “entrails on fire, and make them waste into a leanness”: this “infection” was so deadly because it “easily fed” on “thin” humours and generated a “vehement heat” (*Natural Magic* Ch.1). Paracelsus argued that “jealous, hateful, and perfidious women” had the “martial or Saturnine” power to gaze upon wounds with their poisonous looks and contaminate them ever further (Pagel 148).

At its core, *Invidia* was understood to be a potent force of feminine evil. It was this force that connected the body of the ageing woman so closely to that of understood embodied *malefica*. As a spiritual vice and a physiological spirit, envy found the body and soul of the ageing woman the most apt to welcome it. Della Porta argued that envy’s power to fascinate was “very dangerous” and “found most often in old women”, a line of reasoning he applied to his assertion that more women became witches than men “according to their complexion” (*Natural Magic* Ch.1). As Elizabeth Ladenson has noted, according to John Milton (1608-1674), envy was Satan’s own deadly sin (2006 67). Paul Hammond points out that, to the early moderns, envy could also mean the feelings generated when jealously gazing upon the traits or material goods of another (2017 87). These connotations link the inordinate passion of envy directly to the understood motivations of the witch, the old crone who spitefully turned milk, sickened children or,

like one of the Weird Sisters, “kill[ed] swine” (1.3.2) and other livestock for malicious sport. In identifying avarice and envy, Thomas Wright argued that women were greatly possessed by such passions (40), and that old women, because of the “weakenesse of their bodies” were particularly prone (38). *Invidia*’s iconography underscores beliefs about the menopausal woman and the internal changes wrought by her own fluctuations in the humoral economy. At its most basic level, because the menopausal woman’s fluids could not be released through the healthy purgation of menses, they thickened, pooled, and stagnated. Blood that could not be transformed into various “concoctions” created a plethora that Nicholas Gyer argued generated “gross and undigested fumes” that adversely affected the nerves and reasoning abilities (*The English Phlebotomy* 1592 10-11). This kind of blood Gyer called “verie viscous, clammie & gross” (30). Additionally, many early modern scholars argued that a woman’s natural heat cooled even further but that it suddenly felt compelled to re-heat itself through unnatural means, usually desire for unbridled sexual intercourse, a condition known as *furor uterinus* (Ian Maclean 1980 41). Edward Jorden (1569-1633) argued that *furor uterinus* was particularly pernicious in spinsters and widows who “want[ed] the benefit of marriage” (1603 19-20). John Taylor’s (1580-1653) satirical poem “A Juniper Lecture” (1652) ridiculed the common trope of the old widow who sought to fill her greedy womb through intercourse with young men: “A Widdow that is rich; and wondrous old, Wooe her...If she be cold a young mans flame will toast her...” (192). The same can be said for an older woman’s desiccating humours: heat and moist fluids needed to be replenished from external sources – most usually the bodies of others (Paster 1998 432).

It was this fear of the almost-vampiric nature of the ageing woman that articulated the precise physiological nature of *Invidia* as both a spiritual and embodied force of evil. A menopausal body flush with the forces of *Invidia* was compelled to ‘feed’ upon the bodies of others, especially children (cf. *Malleus Maleficarum* Ch.2 1489 133); it is little wonder, therefore, that the envious menopausal body found common sisterhood with the body of the witch. In the ancient classical sense, *invidere* meant to maliciously crave something of beauty that one *looked upon*, the idea being that envy would actually “shoot forth” as “poisonous” eye beams levelled against the envied object (cf. Alexander of Aphrodisias *Problemata physica* 2.53 qtd. in Elliot 113). As the object was frequently understood to be a child or youthful person of beauty, the envier’s gaze had the ability to drain that object’s vital fluids leading to the sickness and eventual death of the desired object (Elliot 2016 53). As Reginald Scot (1538-1599) wrote, “Old women, in whom the ordinary course of nature faileth in the office of purging their natural monthly humors... by means of grosse vapours proceeding out of their eyes ... infeebleth the [the victim’s] body and maketh him sick...” (Bk.16. Ch. IX.1584 350). Older women were believed to envy youthful bodies above all. The connection between the spiritual force of *Envy* and its physiological influence over children was particularly strong: the Greeks and Romans had many amulets and charms to protect their offspring as the primary focus of envious forces (Elliot 52). Plutarch even warns about the need for Greek mothers to keep their children away from the eyes of their own fathers, lest that parent unwittingly destroy their offspring through an envious gaze (*Moralia* 682 A-B). The idea of *Invidia*’s predatory hunt for victims is emphasized in the iconography by the accompaniment of animals such as wolves and dogs, while vipers and imps underpin her diabolical aspect.

Equally, though, a person already suffering from *Envy*'s powers could make them a magnet, a prime target for demonic attack. Dr. Levinus Lemnius (1505-1568) argued that those who suffered from envy could be tempted easily into acts of "wantonnesse", "horrible lusts", "deceit, treason, sorrow, heaviness, [and] desperation" by the "devil's minions" (1576 23). Agrippa Von Nettesheim (1486? -1535) directly attributed the power and binding of fascination to "the spirit of the Witch" (1651 Ch. L), which could "wound... heart", "infect [his] spirit" and "stir up a most vehement burning in [my] marrow" (*ibid.*). In his AD 364 homily *On Envy*, Basil of Caesarea argued that the Devil most adroitly wreaked havoc in both the lives of people and in Creation itself through "the most insidious of all evils...Envy" (Ed. Phyllis Graham). Basil exhorted his followers not to aid demons in their destructive aims by giving into envy, for these entities could "make use of the evil eye for the service of their own will". In referencing Increase Mather's *Angelographia* (1696), Stuart Clark notes that although bound by the laws of nature, devils could easily disturb bodily humours and vital spirits, as well as affect human senses and emotions (1997 163). This supernatural provocation, then, could create its own vicious cycle whereby envy could be engendered causing humoral upheaval, as well as opening the body up to even more sustained demonic attacks once *Invidia* held the body and spirit prisoner.

Ovid paints an extraordinary image of *Envy* in her grotto in his tale of Aglauros in *Metamorphoses*. The goddess Athena finds *Envy* in "a filthy slimy shack" with "stagnant air", sunless, and filled with frost. *Envy*'s natural environment is commensurate with Timothie Bright's assertion that the same humours that generated envy as an overwhelming passion were increased if its sufferers found homes within places that were

“fenny, marrish, and misty” and full of “thicke and grosse aire” (*The Anatomy of Melancholy* 1612 ed. 29). Lady Macbeth similarly calls for “the dunnest smoke of Hell” as a logical backdrop for her devilish activities (1.5.50). Ovid’s *Envy* is gnawing on viper’s flesh, “fit food for spite”:

Her cheeks are sallow, her whole body shrunk,
Her eyes askew and squinting; black decay
Befouls her teeth, her bosom’s green with bile,
And venom coats her tongue...(778-811).

On Athena’s bidding, *Envy* flies to Aglauros’ room and fills the princess with her dread power:

...On the girl’s breast
She laid her withering hand and filled her heart
With thorny briars and breathed a baleful blight
Deep down into her bones and spread a steam
Of poison, black as pitch, inside her lungs (778-811).

Ovid’s description of *Envy* reveals many salient points that illustrate how *Invidia* affected the host as well as how it could be directed by the sufferer against her victims. *Envy* is stunted and withered, feeding upon vipers to ingest their fluid poisons. The image suggests that this particular food-source will replenish her bosom with fluid bile; in turn, the bile percolates within *Envy*’s body broiling venomous emissions in her eyes and mouth. Ovid’s *Envy* strikes her victim by filling the heart with thorn-like pain that is then heated and breathed like “steam” into Aglauros’ lungs and bones. Thus *Invidia*’s bodily orifices syncope their attack in a chain of linked metonymies: eyes, ears and the mouth serve to generate poison or transmit its potency into the porches of the victim’s body.

Envy's own body is wasted and withered because her own fluids are being heated and converted to the fuel necessary to inflict pestilence and pain upon others. Thus the image of heating and violent thrusting-forth is endemic to understandings of how *Invidia* worked. This penetrative aspect is the means whereby Lady Macbeth imagines "pour[ing]" her "spirits" (1.5.25) into Macbeth's ear to transfer her "illness" to him (1.5.19). Plutarch argued that the power of the eye to take in or inflict illness was "penetrating and swift" due to the fact that the 'pneuma' or eye emanations gave off "a flame-like brilliance, radiating a wondrous power" (*Moralia* 681D; 680 F-681 A). Alexander of Aphrodisias (c. AD 198-21) described the horrifying effect of envious emanations upon the afflicted as: "it changes soul and nature into an insalubrious mixture, decomposing the bodily fluids, and leads the bodies of these persons to illness" (Elliot 114). In this sense, the old woman riddled with envious forces could be understood to transmit her poison like that of a Gorgon or Basilisk (cf. Chapter 1), through her direct gaze. This frightening and threatening image seems to be perpetuated in *Macbeth* by Lady Macbeth's frequent actions of enviously 'looking upon' certain subjects, all who eventually succumb to unnatural death. Lady Macbeth is steered away from Duncan's slaughter when she gazes directly at a face that "resembled" her "father as he slept" (2.2.13-4): the sight of Duncan's dead body will create a "new Gorgon" by "destroy[ing] the sight" of the horrified onlookers (2.3.74-5). As the Anti-Mother riddled with the envy that Plutarch argued some parents felt towards their own offspring, Lady Macbeth recalls her own baby suckling at her breast and how she could, in response to Macbeth's cowardice, conceivably "dash the brains out" "while it was smiling in [my] face" (1.7.56).

The withered nature of *Envy* that Ovid and Spenser wrote about is now brought to the foreground by the focus on *Invidia*'s denuded and pendulous breasts, as well as her emaciated rib cage. *Envy* has now subsumed the entire body, rendering it ravenous as well as abhorrent, an abject Anti-Mother who seeks to devour her own offspring. It is in this specific idea of consumption that I find commonality between the images of *Invidia* and those of the feasting witches at their Sabbath as portrayed in an engraving by Jacques De Gheyn II (1565-1629). Here, the abject foodstuff, the vital and fluid-rich bodies of envied children, appear in actual material terms. This is the nightmare realization of the logic underpinning the fear of the menopausal woman and her search for heat and fluid: why drain these fluids from the bodies of others by imbibing humours when one can literally consume those fluids at their most immediate source – the actual bodies of infants? This, I feel, is *Macbeth*'s most extreme fear of the menopausal body, the envious Anti-Mother driven to infanticide and cannibalism. The Weird Sisters' cauldron symbolically becomes the menopausal womb, teeming with the parts of animals, infants, and humans all ready to be consumed in a "hell's broth" (4.1.19) of sustenance. It is also manifest in the horses that devour each other (2.4.17), the "birth strangled babe" (4.1.30), as well as the sow that eats her nine farrow (4.1.78-9). As Basil noted, envy was "the corruption of life and the brutal defilement of nature" (qtd. in Limberis 1991 166). The iconography of *Invidia*, as well as classical and early modern beliefs about how *Envy* became both a physiological and spiritual force, together with its means of bodily transmission, pave the way for our understanding of how the humours and passions constituted a complex nexus through which to understand the menopausal body in flux. The study of *Envy*, then, cannot be extricated from the interconnectedness of the humours

and the passions within the menopausal body; such reciprocity asks that *Invidia*'s humoral 'sister' – melancholy – should be explored in order to account for its gendered similarities and differences.

Melancholy: Invidia's Humoral Sister

In his poem "L'Allegro" (1645), John Milton allegorized "loathèd" *Melancholy* as dwelling in a "Stygian cave", sharing a "cell" where "brooding darknes spreads his jealous wings" (1-6). Milton's allegory emphasizes an understood connection between *Melancholy* as a spiritual state and *Envy* as the force that surrounded and shadowed it. Indeed, Timothie Bright (1551?-1615) argued that envy and melancholy were virtually indistinguishable from one another: "[jealousy] this pernicious infirmity...it is most part a symptom and cause of melancholy" (Bk. II. Sect. III. Memb. III). Melancholia's understanding was far-reaching in the early modern period. It could be interpreted as a state of mind – what we today might identify as a 'mood' or 'emotion' – as well as pathology (Raden 2016 122). In this sense, I would like to suggest that melancholy's continuum would include *Invidia* as being both an analogous state, as well as being symptomatic of melancholy when, in its humoral severity, it became a disease. Whilst envy wracked the body of the middle-aged woman, the melancholic levels of black bile, the humoral seat of melancholy, would rise: black bile being manufactured to excess in the elderly as well as women of doubtful spiritual purity (Raden 184). As black bile was identified as being the most vicious and drying of the humours (cf. the Hippocratic *Nature of Man; Airs, Waters, Places*), the failure to rectify this imbalance aggravated numerous passions, including envy. The Pseudo-Soranus in the *Isagoge Saluberrima* argued that black bile made men "cunning...perfidious...[and] envious", and in the *Flos medicina* of

the thirteenth-century, melancholics were “envious” and “greedy” with “mind(s) not given to sleep” (qtd. in Jouanna 2012 252; 256).

Melancholic spirit could overpower the body proper, engendering an increase in both desiccation and the failure of natural heat leading to death: “Melancholy, the which humour being cold and dry, drieth the whole body; and maketh it wither away...” (Wright 63). The drying effects of melancholy, so similar to those of menopause, were exacerbated by the fact that such spirits would “ascend into the imagination” causing feelings of “disgrace, fears, affrightments, ill surcease and such like” (Wright 65). For Bright, this particular sort of disturbance “raiseth the greatest tempest of perturbations and most of all destroyeth the braine with all his faculties” (107). Melancholy was particularly life-threatening in the “clymactericall” years: “The most dangerous of all these passages or steps, are the forty nine... for [in these yeeres] those humors which alter the body, dispose it to sickness and death; the same bend the soule to take inordinate affections and passions” (Wright 4). Such melancholic passions, like other “inordinate affections”, were deemed “perturbations of the mind ”: “... they trouble wonderfully the soule, corrupting the judgement, and seducing (for the most part) to vice, and commonly withdrawing from virtue, and therefore some call them Maladies, or sores of the soule” (Wright 8). It is exactly the same expression here that the Doctor uses to address Lady Macbeth’s somnambulism: “a great perturbation in nature” (5.1.9). Macbeth himself identifies Lady Macbeth’s ailment as being consistent with the disease of infectious melancholy:

Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased,
Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow,

Raze out the written troubles of the brain,
 And with some sweet oblivious antidote
 Cleanse the stuffed bosom of that perilous stuff
 Which weights upon the heart? (5.3.39-44).

Even when Macbeth demands that the Doctor cure his wife's "diseased mind", the Doctor admits that such severe melancholy is beyond his medical art (5.1.56): Lady Macbeth's "thick-coming fancies" (5.3.36) need "the divine" more than "the physician" (5.1.72). Bright underscored the relationship between melancholy and envy by arguing, "melancholy persons amongst these passions and perturbations of the mind, are most obnoxious to it [envy]" (Bk. II. Sect. III. Memb. I). Bright conceptualized the interconnectedness of "envy and malice" generated from melancholy as being "two links of [this] chain": "Envy so gnaws many men's hearts, that they become altogether melancholy. And therefore belike Solomon calls it 'the rotting of the bones'" (Subsect. VII). Like envy then, melancholy posed a viable threat to bodily and spiritual harmony and integrity; in fact, envy was born out of melancholy causing sufferers to be "given to fearfull and terrible dreams: in affection sad, and ful of feare...envious and jelous..." (Bright 121). The fearfulness of nightmares that "shake" the body (3.2.20-1) and preclude "nature's chief nourisher" and "balm" (2.2.37-8) to help ameliorate "murder[ed] sleep" (2.2.36), resonates throughout *Macbeth* as symptomatic of humoral disease that has infected both body and soul.

Robert Burton (1577-1640) argued that the particular inordinate fury of women was caused by envy and that this would "lead them on to this malady" (9, 5: 269). Bright argued that "This natural infirmity is most eminent in old women...or such as are

witches” (Subsect. VI). Maintaining that melancholy originated in the womb itself (Subsect. IV), Bright mentions at least two other instances where melancholy is derived from uterine pathologies such as “suppression of [their] monthlies” (Subsect. VI), and “fits of the mother”. In particular, melancholy opened the woman’s mind to become a “seat” for “inferior spirits” which could make them “portend future things”: “Then they shew those things which belong to the disturbing of the Elements, and changes of times, as rain, tempests, inundations, earthquakes, great mortality, famine, slaughter and the like” (Wright 135). “Shake[n]” and “afflict[ed]” by “terrible dreams” (3.2.19-20), the “season of all nature” (3.4.142), sleep’s “balm of hurt minds” (2.2.37), deserts “the dignity of the whole body” (5.1.53) of Lady Macbeth, leaving nothing but an “infected mind[s]” (5.1.70). Melancholie was an “excrement” that needed to be “avoided out of the bodie” through direct “alterations of naturall heate, and varieite of concoction” (Bright 2). Bright, therefore, advised that susceptible individuals eschew “the aire [that was] thicke and grosse [as] is fit to entertain this humor”: “so that fenny, marrish, misty and lowe habitation are hurtfull to persons disposed to be melancholic: likewise if it be dim and dark” (29). As Sprenger and Kramer argued, witches, with their “natural madness” and “sins of pride, envy, and wrath,” could “bring diseases and stir up tempests” from their bodies (*Malleus* 53). The Witches’ “fog and filthy air” (1.1.12) condensed from the “blasted heath” (1.3.77) cements their identity as “instruments of darkness” (1.3.126), but their noxious dwelling place, so perfect for the generation and agitation of poisonous humours, exists in parallel to Lady Macbeth’s desire to summon “thick night” that might “pall [her] in the dunnest smoke of Hell” (1.5.49-50). Lady Macbeth’s blocked passages,

then, breed internal poisons, the “blacke vapors” and “dark fumes” (125; 128) of Bright’s melancholic disease, as well as serving to exert macrocosmic disorder and chaos.

Like *Invidia*, melancholy in its most extreme manifestation was a demonic force, what Burton called the “habit *Melancholy*”: “as in Habit...a Chronic or continue disease, a settled humor...grown to a habit it will hardly be removed” (II, 2, 2, 1: 104). Burton argued that when habitual melancholy had become so severe that its inundation transformed it to pathology, its violent force would make men “crucify their own souls” (I, 2, 3, 4: 256). Melancholy would then engender many corollary immoderate passions including envy, jealousy, ambition, and avarice: “If they be immoderate...[they] can macerate minds” (1, 2, 3, 4: 256) and cause over-heated bodies that would “breake[s] out into manifest madness” (9, 25: 268). Such “perpetual terrors and affrights” of “envy, suspicion, fear” would “turn and affright the soul out of the hinges of health” (Bright. Bk. 2. Sect. III. Memb. 1).

It was in this “chronic” stage of melancholy that the potential for women to be subsumed by the humour’s “negative or pathological effects” emerged, “whilst the male might display creativity and inspiration as part of the ‘eminence’ it seem[ed] to encode in men” (Schiesari 1992 4; 14; 105). As Mark Breitenberg points out, melancholy’s gendered nature meant that it was a humour that could essentially never be successfully regulated or controlled by the female body, as it was antithetical to her physiology (1996 50). In other words, the etiological origins of melancholia-as-disease in its most extreme manifestation appeared to affect men and women in different ways. As Linda C. Hutts has noted, “melancholy is a gendered concept, allowing elite males to assert their productive mastery of bodily humors (and indeed of) the body itself and the material

world through the faculty of reason” (2005 35). In concurrence with Hutts, the key passion that I have identified as being capable as the prophylactic remedy to cure melancholy in its chronic form, is that of ‘reason’. Bright, for example, identifies the preventative power of ‘reason’ to cancel out melancholy’s pernicious influence as belonging to a body that is distinctly male. In Shakespeare’s seminal play about jealousy, *Othello* (1603), Iago reminds Roderigo that, “We have reason to cool our raging motions, our carnal stings, our unbitted lusts” (1.3.329-31). But wielding reason to overcome melancholy’s insidious influence was a problematic proposition if the sufferer was a female and, therefore, deficit in such abilities (cf. Wright 3; Aristotle *Historia animalium* IX 143).

Reason as the Antidote to Invidia

If such “inordinate passions” as melancholy and envy infected the body and soul, could the *corpus* ever be ‘cured’? Might Lady Macbeth fend off the invasive forces of *Invidia* in her menopausal body with help from either the Physician or the Priest, as her Doctor suggests? (5.1.72). Thomas Wright admitted that all men were vulnerable to the “Passions that blind their judgement and reason”(49) but that “reason and discourse” functioned as “the Law of Nature and the commandment of God” in such a way as “to repress and resist” any passion that might appear as an “unreasonable and beastly motion” (49). In Wrightsian physiology, therefore, the body’s humoral health and the ‘complexion’ of one’s temperament could be changed and spiritually ameliorated by the wilful employment of certain faculties – the predominant one being reason. Agreeing with Wright, in terms of thwarting the immoderate passions before they had a chance to

subsume the body and soul and create the “disease...[that] will hardly be removed” (1, 1, 2, 1: 139), Robert Burton confirmed that ‘reason’ could be wielded as a counter-measure. Thomas Wright’s etiology included the argument that, as the passions resembled the four bodily humours, “if the passions of the Mynde be not moderated according to reason”, then the imbalance would cause the “soule to be molested with some maladie”: by contrast, if the passions were influenced by reason then, like well-balanced humours, they would function as “the preservatives of health” (17). Timothie Bright argued that the only way to combat envy was “to furnish [our]selves with philosophical and Divine precepts...[to] counterpoise those irregular motions of envy...and then...to pacify ourselves with reason” (Bk. 2. Subsect. I). Wright maintained that reason and discourse existed “by the lawe of Nature and the commandments of God” so, therefore, most men had the ability to “repress and resist” any “unreasonable and beastly motions of sensuall appetite” (49). But Wright admitted that this ability to wield reason was made more challenging in those whose bodies circulated immoderate humours such as if “the heart be very hote, colde, moyst, tender, cholericke” (47); in particular, Wright identified this deficiency in women “that be of a hote complexion” (42), or those women “when they be with childe” (74). Such “vehement Passions” (75) would alter the female body so much that it could “keepe neither sence, order, nor measure” (75) causing a woman to either miscarry (75) or “greatly prejudice the tender infant lying in the womb” (75). The connection between *Invidia* and reproductive health, then, offers a new way of perhaps explaining Lady Macbeth’s lost infant. By extension, not only could envy cause a woman to miscarry but it could also continually build up in women who were envious of others’ fertility: “barrenness...be a main cause of jealousy” (Bright Bk.2. Sect. III. Memb. 1).

Bright argued that this kind of jealousy, “*Envy’s Observer*”, was “so great and eminent” that it should be “treated as a species apart”, as “a bastard-branch of a kind of love-melancholy” (*ibid.*). Bright even identified particular “species” of melancholy, *Melancholia virginum* and *Monialium et Vidarum*, a “feral malady, in more ancient maides, widows, and barren women” that arose specifically from the “vicious vapours” that came from trapped menses, “that fulginous exhalation of corrupt seed, troubling the brain, heart, and minde” (Memb. III. Subsect. IV). Bright elaborated upon the theme of corrupted and blocked menstrual blood by adding, “reason it selfe [is] impaired by these corporall alterations” (109). Connecting a woman’s inability to govern her body with reason, and the potentially fatal consequences that this could exercise upon conception and reproduction, Wright references the aphorism: “Hell, earth, and a womans (sic) wombe, saith Salomon, are unsatiable” (72). The insatiability of the ‘hungry’ womb, stoked by *Invidia* and resistant to reason, was echoed by Basil of Caesarea (330-379) who argued that *Envy* was like a viper consuming the afterbirth, destroying the soul as a woman might be “consum[ed] ... in travail” (qtd. in Limberis 1991 164). Here again is the belief that *Invidia* could not only tamper with the reproductive process – life itself – but that it could be the motivating factor in destroying the lives of others, as well as being ultimately fatal to the envier herself.

In Burton’s *Anatomy*, it is *chronic Melancholy* that is a particular enemy to reason. Melancholy caused pathology “first in imagination, and afterwards in reason” but that “the hurt and misaffected imagination initiates the sequence” (1, 1, 3, 2: 164-5). Corrupted reason, the result of an overactive imagination, engendered delusion and psychosis. These “prodigious effects” (1, 2, 3, 3:255) included “Feare and Sorrow” (1, 1, 3, 1:163) in a disordered

imagination not modified by reason. Such delusions included “Fear of Devils, death, that they shall be so sick, of some such and such disease ready to tremble at every object” (1, 3, 1, 2: 385). It is in these cases that reason itself, as well as the imaginative faculty, has become incurably corrupted: “[Their] corrupt phantasie makes them see and heare that which is neither heard nor seen” (I, 3, 3, 1: 424). When such melancholic disease enters “his blood, his brains, his whole temperature”, then it “cannot be removed” and those persons must not be left unto themselves” (II, 2, 6, 2: 106). Burton admitted that the usual consequence for such disordered reasoning was suicide (II, 2, 6, 2: 106). The end result of *Invidia*, therefore, if one judges it to be a pathology inextricably linked to other inordinate passions such as melancholy, was self-slaughter. Lady Macbeth, the “fiend-like Queen” (5.7.99), discharges this prognosis with suicide “by self and violent means” (5.7.100).

From *Macbeth*’s onset, reason has already been destabilized by the Witches’ own pronouncements that the rational ways of the world have been inverted: “Fair is foul, and foul is fair” (1.1.11). The Witches’ verbal equivocation, this “palter[ing]” “in a double sense” (5.7.50), is quintessentially the inversion of reason “over-ruled” (cf. Burton): it is the ultimate foreshadowing of Macbeth’s demise. Macbeth becomes a man so deeply sunk by humoral forces that have “cow[ed] the better part” of his “man[hood]” (5.7.48), that he lulls himself into a false sense of security, irrationally believing that he is invulnerable to destruction unless he encounters a man “not of woman born” (4.1.94). Reason is rendered suspect by Banquo’s subsequent musings as to whether he and Macbeth have “eaten on the insane root / That takes the reason prisoner” (1.3.84-5). The allusion to the psychotropic effects on reason’s faculty by such drugs as mandrake are later echoed by the employment of alcohol as a means to subdue rational sense, thus allowing for the killing of Duncan, as well as the dramatic means to drug

the possets of the “surfeited” grooms (2.2.5). Despite reasoning power being antithetical to the humoral disposition of womanhood, Lady Macbeth is certainly not inured to the powers of reason at the start of the play. Interestingly enough she employs the same metaphor used by the French philosopher André Du Laurens (1558-1609) in his debate about reality and delusion and how the mind distinguishes between the two. Du Laurens wrote that the mind “having beheld a painted Lion... perceiveth that it is not a thing to be feared, and at the same time, joining itself unto reason, doth confirm and make bold” (1599 Chap. 4). Like De Laurens, Lady Macbeth argues that reason is developed and tempered by experience: “‘tis the eye of childhood / That fears a painted devil” (2.2.54-5); it is the child and the delusional individual who cannot distinguish between the reality and irrational “painting” of fear (3.4.61). Bright, though, was more reluctant to believe in the omnipotent power of reason when one was “affright[ed] with perpetual terrors, envy, suspicion, fear”: he argued that the overactive imagination, “the phantasy”, was easily troubled by “perturbations and passions”, “...though they dwell between the confines of sense and reason, yet they rather follow sense than reason, because they are drowned in corporeal organs of sense” (Bk. I. Memb. III. Subsect. III). Reason, then, is naturally vulnerable to bodily sensation; like a child, the “perturbations and passions” that overwhelm the imagination in cases of terror and fright, can easily flood reason’s moderating influence, causing the “soul” to be “turn[ed] and affright[ed] out of the hinges of health” (Bk. 2. Sect. III. Memb. I. Subsect. I). This loss of reason is exemplified by the Macbeths’ “affliction of these terrible dreams / That shakes [us] nightly” (3.2.18-19) but reach their pinnacle in Lady Macbeth’s somnambulism, the “infected mind” that baffles all observers (5.1.70; 76).

If anything, it is Bright's argument regarding imagination – particularly the fearful imagination or “phantasy” – that dominates and threatens to subsume reason in *Macbeth*. The primary encounter with the Witches has Macbeth confront his own imaginative fears, passions and perturbations that “unfix his hair” (1.3.36), and make his “heart knock” (1.3.37) “against the use of nature” (1.3.38). His “single state of man” (1.3.41), an intrinsically complete and integrated body, or “function” (1.3.41), is at once “smothered in surmise” (1.3.42) because of his “fantastical” (1.3.40) imagination. In his first soliloquy, Macbeth decides that he still “ha[s] judgement here” (1.7.8), and, because of this faculty, the murder plan will “proceed no further” (1.7.32), but it is Lady Macbeth's mocking of his “unman[ing] in folly” (3.4.74) that brings him repeatedly back to further his deadly “purpose” (2.2.52). This confrontation between the senses and reason is elaborated by Macbeth's vision of the “dagger of the mind” (2.1.39), a “false creation” that emanates from “the heat-oppressed brain” (2.1.40), a sure signal of the physiological build-up of humoral fluxes within his body. But although he ruminates upon fabulous images of a “dead” natural world, where “witchcraft celebrates” (2.1.52), ultimately Macbeth is able to delineate the parameters of fantasy and reality: “There's no such thing” (2.1.48). In chastising her husband for his initial fears, Lady Macbeth first identifies these delusionary fears as being indicative of thinking “brain-sickly of things” (2.2.46), perhaps an allusion to her earlier judgment that Macbeth's ambition might never fully be realized because he lacks the “illness should attend it” (1.5.19). It is Lady Macbeth who explains Macbeth's vision of Banquo's ghost as being analogous to the “air-drawn dagger” (3.4.62), and therefore an “imposter[s] to true fear” (3.4.64). Such apparent immunity to fear, though, dissipates: as Lady Macbeth's humoral imbalances grow

ever stronger, it is *she* who is the character that eventually emerges as being wracked by the fears that both *Invidia* and melancholy were said to engender.

After her invocation of evil spirits, Lady Macbeth's humours become more blocked and toxic. When she starts to fear blood as being the visual semiotic sign of "filthy witness" (2.2.46), Lady Macbeth's own reason and imagination begins to disintegrate completely. As Lady Macbeth's diseased mind descends into somnambulism and madness, a complete divorce from body, spirit, and reason eventually signalled by suicide, Macbeth steps forward to become victim of his own kind of humoral sickness, the variant kind of melancholy that Bright argued was "benumbed" and "dazeled with the extremitie of passion" (131). While blood suddenly repels Lady Macbeth, her husband switches places to become a kind of surrogate humoral body: the "secretest man of blood" (3.4.129), a man possessed of "furie", "devilish" (4.3.117). In a frightening reversal, Macbeth becomes the diseased humoral body that sucks the fluids from others like a parasitical tick, "in blood stepped so far" (3.4.137-8), with "hangman's hands" (2.2.28), inured to both passion, reason, and "perturbations of the minde" (cf. Wright):

I have almost forgot the taste of fears:
The time has been, my senses would have cooled
To hear a night-shriek, and my fell of hair
Would at a dismal treatise rouse and stir
As life were in't. I have supped full with horrors,
Direless familiar to my slaughterous thoughts
Cannot once start me (5.5.9-15).

Like the organ-eating Weird Sisters, Macbeth now “sup[s]” upon the maternal body of Scotland herself: “It weeps, it bleeds, and each new day a gash / Is added to her wounds” (4.3.40-1).

Consistent with humoral doctrine, it is the presence of Lady Macbeth’s body as well as those of the Witches that ‘transmit’ their poisons to Macbeth through a proximity born of ‘fascination’. Once the sickness is passed to Macbeth, though, he withdraws, not only his physical proximity from Lady Macbeth, but also his sharing of thoughts, deeds, and motivations so that she might “be innocent of the knowledge” (3.2.49). It is at this point of severance that his speech is completely evocative of Lady Macbeth’s original speech calling down the menopausal forces of *Invidia* upon herself:

– Come seeling night,
Scarf up the tender eye of pitiful day,
And with thy bloody and invisible hand
Cancel and tear to pieces that great bond
Which keeps me pale (3.2.49-53).

The “great bond” here, is, I believe, his connection to Lady Macbeth and her humoral powers that have previously rendered him “pale” and “green” (1.7.37) like a melancholic female. As the action in *Macbeth* progresses, it is Macbeth himself who seems to swap places with Lady Macbeth as the devouring mother of nightmare, the “rarer monster” (5.7.55), whose murderous rages build to an epic climax as he assumes the roles of “devil” (4.3.117; 5.5.24-5) and “fiend” (5.7.99). It is not incidental that Macbeth chooses to keep his wife out of his plans (3.2.48-9), for it marks the onset of Lady Macbeth’s ever-diminishing external influence and even physical presence within the play. The fears that once plagued Macbeth as

“scorpions of the mind” (3.2.39), his “sorriest fancies” (3.1.10), are subsumed by Macbeth’s particular manifestation of melancholy. Although melancholy’s symptomology was complex, it presented itself differently depending on the sufferer: whilst one sufferer could be comprehensively overwhelmed by fear and terror leading to total physiological paralysis and breakdown, another patient could develop a complete immunity to fear. In both cases, reason as a recuperative antidote to both *Invidia* and melancholy’s humoral maelstrom became an impotent, nullified force. For Lady Macbeth, it is particularly clear that reason cannot overpower the humoral and passionate forces of *Invidia* at play within her body. As these “perturbations of spirit” increase in Lady Macbeth’s body and signal a complete organic and systemic breakdown, other symptoms of *Invidia*’s powers are revealed, namely the belief that *Invidia*’s malignancy functioned through symbolic and literal acts of ‘consumption’. Such consumption articulates how the forces of *Invidia* poisoned the body of its host as well as others in proximity, but also elaborates upon the fears of the drying menopausal body’s need for fluid sustenance. As food is innately connected to the cultural place of the Nurturing Mother (Willis 1995 8), one of the most feared actions of the witch was her proclivity to either steal food, contaminate comestibles, or to exchange her own bodily fluids as food for demonic powers.

The Diabolical Humoral Body: Invidia as the Devouring Witch

The physical depiction of the archetypal witch was such that it could be used interchangeably with the description of those women who would have been identified as being ‘old’ within a community: the “old, lame, blear-eyed, pale, fowle” woman “shewing melancholy in her face” (Reginald Scot Chap. III 5). Envy, of course, was also

said to be a strong motivating factor in witches' malefic intent. The witch envied what she could not have: youth, physical beauty, children, food and drink, livestock, and the essential vital fluids associated with sexual intercourse (Willis 47). The physiological logic here is that as her own fluids thickened, dried, and heated, the witch needed the juicy sap of milk, fat, blood, and semen to satiate an almost vampiric need to replenish her ever-withering body. These fluids were not only used to re-heat and mollify the desiccating menopausal body, but superfluous fluids were also needed to 'feed' diabolical familiars (Willis 1995 15; 55). Lady Macbeth similarly offers her own milk to evil spirits in payment for powers, the milk also becoming a foodstuff transformed into bitter humoral "gall" (1.5.47). Like Hecate's minion in *Macbeth* who relates feeding her own familiar with "a sip of blood" (3.5.48), Lady Macbeth's offering of her own precious fluids connects her to the historical witch who fed her familiars with blood from "a little tate (sic) under the arm-pits, and in the most secret parts of the body" (John Bell qtd. in Summers 1937 68). The exchange of bodily fluids in return for supernatural powers establishes a new form of economics where malevolent drink and foodstuffs become the stock-in-trade of the invidious female.

Drowning in melancholic bile and fluxes of retained excrementitious menses, Lady Macbeth moves ever closer to the suicidal end that Burton warned of (II, 2, 6, 2: 106). Inundated by warming humours and the percolating poisons of *Invidia*, in the midst of such physiological chaos, what might be the effects of drinking alcohol to such a body? The Porter makes it clear that there has been much "carousing" at Macbeth's castle to welcome the arrival of King Duncan (2.3.22). For the Porter, the power of drink functions clearly as a psychosocial and physiological "provocat[or]" (2.3.23) of three drives: "nose-

painting, sleep and urine” (2.3.25). Physically, alcohol “provokes the desire, but takes away the performance”, making a man sexually “stand to, and not stand to” (2.3.32). The Porter concludes, therefore, that for a man’s physiology, drink is an “equivocator with lechery”, “mak[ing] him” and “mar[ring] him” (2.3.30). But whilst the Porter specifically addresses the effect of alcohol through a gendered male lens, Lady Macbeth seems to establish a clear distinction between how alcohol has affected the “spongy officers” (1.7.72) of Duncan’s guards and herself: “That which hath made them drunk hath made me bold” (2.2.1). Lady Macbeth suggests that her pre-murderous drinking has given her powers that register above the ordinary: alcohol “makes” her whilst it “mars” the “swinish” guards (1.7.68). But according to humoral theory, would this, in fact, be the case?

Both Aristotle, and later, Helkiah Crooke (1576-1648), had likened wine’s effect upon the body to that of the over-production of the same humoral black bile that caused a melancholy disposition; “melancholy juyce” was “like unto the lees of Wine” (*Mikrokosmographia* 138). The effect of alcohol, therefore, was clearly a caloric effect that changed the thermal temperature of the body proper and hence the individual’s ‘character’:

Raw temperature itself determines the character (for heat and cold are the factors in our bodies most important for determining our character): like wine introduced in larger or smaller quantity into the body, it makes us persons of such and such a character... (Aristotle *Problem XXX* 28-9).

But, as we have seen, such an equation was problematic: melancholy could potentially generate heroic and poetic qualities in the individual as well as engendering negative pathologies such as depression, duplicity, and madness. The Porter is correct in arguing that alcohol is the great “equivocator” (2.3.29), for any attempt to pinpoint the exact measure of melancholic black bile that might distinguish between the man of outstanding character, and his more lowly counterpart riddled with disease and ripe for insanity as Philip Barrough described in *De Melancholia* (1596), is easily thwarted. Thomas Wright employed the metaphor that likened the drinking of wine to a man’s desire to engage in carnal acts with women, causing him to “leave Religion ” and “carrieth [him] to the divell” (54). Alcohol consumption would then make melancholic excrement swell and “groweth in obstruction”, and cause an overall “unnaturall boyling of heate” (Bright 121). The key here, though, is *volatility*: although melancholy tended towards the calorically cool, alcohol added heat and thus the entire humoral balance of a body would be thrown into total chaos (Bright 31). Bright argued that even though melancholy was “colder”, once any passion “was thoroughly-kindled” it would “retayneth the heate longer” and so would “not easily [be] brought againe into the former temper” (229). As David Houston Wood so cogently explains: “... if a humor which, in its natural state tends towards the cool (phlegm or melancholy), turns suddenly producing an unnatural humor – then a terrific altering in the health and character of the affected individual results” (2009 12). Given their humoral volatility, it is entirely logical that both Macbeth and his Lady purposefully drink heavily in order to subsume their ‘reason’ so that they might slaughter Duncan. Whatever “bold[ness]” (2.2.1) Lady Macbeth would have been experiencing with her drinking is temporary: according to humoral thinking, the melancholic generation of black bile as well

as the heated fumes that would be rising to her brain (cf. Bright 105), would be symptomatic of a body in crisis. The volatility of the humoral heating of menopause is merely exacerbated by the drinking of alcohol. Such thermal dynamics would be egregious deadly forces to a body already wracked by *Invidia*, a body thrown into ever-increasing circles of imbalance and dis-ease. Reason's potential to temper, moderate, and ultimately 'save' such a body from the damaging fluxes of *Invidia*'s 'heating' and 'wasting' are non-existent in the menopausal female. As Timothie Bright warned, the blocked melancholic excrement, "if it be corrupt and degenerate...opresse and trouble the quiet seate of the minde, that all organically actions thereof are mixed with melancholic madnesse, and reason turned into a vaine feare..." (2). Lemnius added that such madness would lead a patient "to a lamentable, shamefull end" (qtd. in Hoeniger 1992 201). "Reason" has become so "drenched" and "swinish" that, in the alchemical limbeck of Lady Macbeth's body, it has become nothing but a noxious fume (1.7.66-9).

Abject Foodstuffs: Invidious Consumption and the Witch

The physical properties of *Invidia* as it ravages the menopausal body are also present within the Witches' cauldron itself. Within its uterine and breast-shaped interior, ingredients are boiled and baked, thickened into slab, percolated with poisons, and cooled with blood. In fact, the cauldron mimics *Invidia*'s effects upon the body's entire excretory system of hunger, consumption, and elimination. This cycle seems to be endless, for the "hell broth" (4.1.19) always seems to be bubbling whenever the Witches appear. Like *Invidia*, the cauldron 'feeds' on children and other human and animal body parts, particularly the organs of speech and sight, blighting them with toxins. But the cauldron's

contents also suggest a terrible inversion of domestic cookery where, instead of wholesome sustenance, the Anti-Mother prepares food that is abject and diabolical.

In a woodcut from Francesco Maria Guazzo's 1608 treatise of the *Compendium Maleficarum*, two female witches are shown basting a baby on a spit over a fire whilst their two sister witches in the background endeavour to lower a baby into a smoking cauldron. In Jacques de Gheyn II's (1565-1929) drawing, four female witches gather around a cauldron; one background witch carries a platter loaded with infant body parts. The plate-carrying witch is depicted as elderly; her heavy, pendulous breasts sagging over the decapitated infants' heads. The angle of nipple to mouth highlight the engraving's spirit of perverse anti-nurture: the breasts which might have once offered sustenance to the living child now function to emphasise how the child's head will feed the witch's mouth. The menopausal witch's blighted organ of regeneration finds new expression in the terrifying re-imagining of her oral cavity. It does not take much to conceive of the nightmare of the "dashed" "brains" of Lady Macbeth's "toothless" (1.7.58) infant becoming the abject foodstuff of the witch. The mouth's connection to the womb and breast is indicative of a metonymic chain that places consumption, nurturance, and sustenance at the heart of the ageing humoral female in *Macbeth*. The ageing humoral body flooded with the desires of *Invidia* is, I argue, synonymous with the body of the witch.

When Lady Macbeth tells us that "she has given suck" (1.7.54), we do not know if her breasts still contain milk even in the wake of her infant's death. In this way, when Lady Macbeth exhorts the "ministers" to "take" her "milk for gall" (1.5.47), one might frame this injunction in the sense of '(mis)take' her milk as already *being* gall, for, as established, *Invidia* had the power to change humoral fluids into toxins. There is nothing in *Macbeth* to

indicate Lady Macbeth's actual biological age. In parish living, women could often serve to wet-nurse infants whose mothers could not or would not produce milk. Often this was an occupation that many women pursued long after their own childbearing had ceased (Fildes 1988 153). Whilst culturally improbable that a woman of Lady Macbeth's class might have served as a wet-nurse (Fildes 143), the notion of having lactating breasts without an actual child to nourish from them taps into the early modern anxiety that milk-bound women, regardless of their biological age, could offer their milk to surrogate 'babies' taking the form of demonic familiars. Once the witches' pact had been orally spoken, her familiar might seal the covenant by suckling at her breast or pseudo-breast, her witch's "teat" (Summers 46). In *Macbeth* the First Spirit comes to "fetch his dues, /A kiss, a coll, a sip of blood" (3.5.47-8). In the 1582 trial of Ursula Kemp, her eight-year-old son testified that his mother had a total of four familiars and at night they came to his mother to "suck blood of her upon her arms and other places of her body" (Borman 2013 148). Conversely, there was the fear that the hands of a menopausal witch could also dry up milk in the lactating mother: "I have seene them, who with onely laying their hands upon a nurses breastes, haue drawne forth all the milke, and dried them up" (Lambert Daneau. *A Dialogue of Witches* 1575). Whether full or empty, the old woman's breast became a powerful symbol and visual motif "expressing the evil of witchcraft and envy rolled into one" (Roper 2012 19).

The lactating woman who sold her services as wet-nurse was fundamental in establishing the exchange of humoral fluids as a viable commodity. Such vital fluids, though, also represented power and social agency, tangible systems of exchange (Roper 2004). It is perhaps for this reason that Gail Kern Paster has written so extensively of

milk and blood as being what she terms “fungible commodities” (cf. *The Body Embarrassed*). In her epic study of European witchcraft *Witch Craze* (2004), Lyndal Roper argues that the exchange of household supplies and small amounts of food were frequently cited in witchcraft trials as evidentiary of the envious and diabolical nature of the elderly woman who was seen to transgress cultural and social boundaries when she cursed those who would not give of their cache (2004 4). It was credible to believe, therefore, that the old woman might envy others who had easy access to such comestibles. The moral degeneration and physiological degeneration of the Macbeths is partially signalled in the play by the symbols of the “poisoned chalice” (1.7.11), food shortages (4.1.34), and interrupted feasts. As an expression of invidious urges, witches in Germany were often known as “milk thieves” (Roper 2012 5) because they coveted both cow’s and infant’s milk. Witches were frequently accused of enviously harming livestock and blighting crops; the one Weird Sister boasts that she has been away “killing swine” (1.3.2). Children and infants were at particular risk from envious attack from witches, not only because they were objects of pride and desire, but also because their flesh, fat, and blood could be consumed to extend a witch’s life and powers. Martin delRio (1558-1608) argued that witches would use the children’s flesh as a hideous foodstuff as well as providing them the fat for ointments (Roper 2004 9). Food and drink, therefore, played a prominent role in the community as it represented wealth, kinship, neighbourly obligation, as well as serving as the vector through which the envious witch might work her malefic magic.

As Dianne Purkiss has argued, the whole purview of magic was to deal with “borders, markers, distinctions, insides and outsides, the limits of bodies...exchanges of

objects through bodies and across thresholds...” (1996 120). This code of social exchange, how goods and services might cross thresholds, was the bedrock of hospitality that was rendered entirely suspect by the old woman: her body tested the limits of all that might invade or breach social or liminal boundaries. Whether feared for her ‘natural’ predisposition to diabolic behaviour or resented as a non-contributing member of the community, the old woman was often cast out and deprived of all of the benefits of hospitable kindness. In *Macbeth*, the begging of chestnuts from a sailor’s wife, an act born of envious desire but also hunger, is the only time that the epithet of “witch” is levelled against one of the Weird Sisters (1.3.7). In revenge, the Weird Sister seeks recompense in the form of the sailor’s vital fluids to the point of deadly desiccation: “I’ll drain him dry as hay” (1.3.14). There is undoubtedly a sexual undercurrent here to “drain[ing]” the sailor’s vital essence, one that plays into cultural fears of nocturnal visitations from witches and demons in the form of the dread succubus (*Malleus Maleficarum* Question IV 55). But the Weird Sister’s assertion here is interesting: her microcosmic powers over the sailor’s “bark” and her ability to drain his vital spirit are likened to the macrocosmic powers of the “tempest” itself (1.3.26). There seems to be an implicit recognition here that the witch’s diabolical powers may control the very weather itself (Behringer 1995 71). Such weather-magic was feared throughout Europe, because of the marked frequency of crop failures (Behringer 83). In a way, the witch’s body was adept at extending itself out of the boundaries of the body proper to control the entire macrocosm, “both the worlds” (3.2.18), as a means of serving the microcosmic needs of her own jealousies, resentments and need for sustenance. The demonic potency of the menopausal body is reflected in the topsy-turvy inversion of *Macbeth*’s natural world, the

“earth” that is “feverish and doth shake” (2.3.61-2) with its celestial darkness (2.1.5-6; 2.4.7-9), flesh-devouring horses (2.4.14-17), and unusually violent wind (2.3.1-2). The scenes around the cauldron represent the most hyperbolic considerations of managing humoral changes through consumption in *Macbeth*. This was the potency of *Invidia* – not only did it enter the body of the menopausal woman spreading poison and evil, but its pernicious need for ‘feeding’ encapsulated complex systems surrounding the early modern anxieties regarding the elderly woman and her diabolical connection to foodstuffs-as-commodity.

Conclusion

Lady Macbeth’s sleepwalking, the disordered opposite to sleep’s “balm of hurt minds” (2.2.37) and the “chief nourisher in life’s feast” (2.2.38), not only further drains her body of the vital humours that are already in rapid decline, but this psychosis of an “infected mind” (5.1.70) has “shut” her “sense[s]” (5.1.24), making her act out “performances” (5.1.12) of illusionary visions. The humoral chaos and disordered reasoning culminating in this “great perturbation of nature” (5.1.9) finds its apogee in Lady Macbeth’s return to the fear of the very blood she wished to see stoppered up with her initial demonic invocation. Her thoughts return to the surprise she felt at the sheer volume of blood that Duncan’s body contained (5.1.38), a shock that resonated so strongly with her because, like her own drying menopausal humours, the King’s aged body *should* have been similarly depleted. The “filthy witness” (2.2.46) now haunts her fantasies because it cannot be “wash[ed]” (5.1.59) from her imagination, a fearful vision of the humoral, reproductive body she had hoped to cast off. This, again, returns one to the emaciated

allegory of *Invidia* stalking through the darkness, a figure made repellent by what it wishes to feed upon and thus driven to the consumption of her own internal organs and fluids. In effect, because as a female she is denied the physiological ability to manage her own envious passions with reason, Lady Macbeth's political power diminishes in accordance with the deterioration of her physical self, whilst Macbeth's presence aggrandizes. Assuming a flawed but heroic grandeur, Macbeth's ascension comes at a cost to the once-symbiotic relationship he held with his "partner in greatness" (1.5.10). Although he ultimately claims to have overpowered the potency of his own imagination, nonetheless, Macbeth maintains a complete control of his body proper that "bear-like" and "tied...to a stake" (5.7.1-2) will "fight the course" and "try the last" (5.7.62). Macbeth's end is signalled only when the literal organ of his reason – his head – is severed from a body that had once been "lapped in proof" (1.2.52) like "Bellona's bridegroom" (1.2.52). Lady Macbeth's end is heralded only by the "cry of women" (5.5.8), an ignoble off-stage death of a now almost-invisible presence. As the figure of *Invidia*, then, Lady Macbeth has withered into nothingness: her very bodily integrity has been destroyed through an abject act of auto-consumption.

As much as Janet Adelman argues that *Macbeth* is a fantasy about males reproducing without females (*Suffocating Mothers*), with its manifold images of caesarean birth and murderous cleavings, I believe that it is also a play that rips open the female womb to full scrutiny. The fantasy here then is not so much how the male might regenerate without the female but how the menopausal womb might be handled in such a way as to contain, constrain, and eradicate its terrible potency. The menopausal body, with its festering menses and poisonous, heating humours presented a dire threat to the

bodies of others. Similarly, the ageing female body proper, invaded by the forces of *Invidia*, had the power to malevolently influence both the macrocosm and microcosm like her diabolical sisters. This image is particularly reinforced through *Invidia*'s connectivity, like that of the witch, to all forms of consumption. Inured to the passions of 'reason' or the advantages of other kingly virtues, a menopausal body defied moderation and control. Lady Macbeth's body was already fearful, abhorrent, and damned the minute that it achieved menopausal status by her invocation to evil spirits to "unsex" her (1.5.40). Shakespeare, in effect, *doesn't know what to do* with such a body except to have it succumb to horror, madness, and to ignobly kill it off. Certainly this physical and mental descent into delirium and death is congruent with *Invidia*'s humoral pathology, but dramatically, Lady Macbeth's end is a notable anti-climax. It is significant that Lady Macbeth's death happens off-stage: unseen and unmourned, she has become the embodiment of shame. Suddenly *Macbeth*'s awareness of the phenomenological shifts from the female body to that of the male's: to the heroic Macduff "untimely ripped" (5.7.46) from the womb, and the fearful Gorgoneion severed head of Macbeth, the "rarer monster[s]" (5.7.55). *Macbeth*'s conclusion sees the total erasure of the female body. Lady Macbeth's presence vanishes with those of the Witches, their statuses seemingly mingling as she is no longer even seen as human or female, becoming the "fiend-like" monster of nightmare (5.7.99) whose demise is signalled only by a "cry" of voices (5.5.8). Like the figure of Echo whose own body was self-consumed until only the remnants of speech remained, Lady Macbeth's body is similarly 'consumed' by a play that nullifies her invidious presence, ultimately rendering her into something "signifying nothing" (5.5.28).

CHAPTER 5: CLEOPATRA AND THE CYBORG WOMB

Introduction: Dreams of a New Heaven and Earth

What if, for one brief and fruitful moment at least, one could return to the maternal body without fear or anxiety? What if such a body was an ageing one, yet full of love and capable of sexual pleasure, enjoying an embodied *jouissance* where wrinkled flesh was neither abject nor grotesque? What if the metaphorization of this female body transcended that of the ‘break-down’ of a system; a body celebrated for its liminality, its fluid ability to transcend boundaries of gender, and myriad other systems of oppressive ideology? A body that could utilize technology, not for cultural prejudices of aesthetic and reproductive rejuvenation, but to heal, strengthen, and ameliorate the physical changes that come with a naturalized and fearless process of ageing? For the totality of this thesis, I have argued that the ageing women of the tragedies in question have generated myriad anxieties as written upon their bodies – in particular, this site of ambiguity has been the uterus, the anatomical and metaphorical signifier of the older woman. Such psychosocial and cultural anxiety, I have argued, is congruent with menopause. Shakespeare, however, creates a whole new potentiality with his character of Cleopatra. Familiar with her Galenic past and perhaps aware of the changing discourses and discoveries in anatomy, Shakespeare presents a pre-Mechanical, what I am terming ‘proto-Cartesian’ female that is momentarily embodied with hopeful promise. The bodily potential here is a coming together of male and female, a transcendence of age with “no winter in’ t” (5.2.88), with dreams of a menopausal body that might use nascent Mechanical Theory to ‘re-invent’ itself, especially in terms of sexual pleasure. It is in this

brief, liminal space that Cleopatra becomes a proto-Cartesian cyborg, a marriage of flesh and machine in a fantastical body where the “immortal longings” (5.2.281) and the “stuff” “of Nature” to “vie strange forms with fancy” (5.2.98-99) might at last be realised. This is the pre-Cartesian ‘Cyborg Mother’, the site of origin where gender and sexuality become fluid and unite together in glorious “bounty” (5.2.87) within Cleopatra’s body.

Shakespeare’s Cleopatra occupies a kind of transitional period, one that looks backwards to Galenic medicine but one that also anticipates the coming of Descartes. I do not wish to imply a kind of prescience on the part of Shakespeare but merely intend to highlight that, in terms of the sexualized female body of the ageing woman, he is already utilizing the language and conception of the machine as a powerful entry-point into this idea. ‘Proto-Cartesian’ use of the mechanical, then, is not detrimental to the menopausal body but liberating and full of inventive possibilities to manufacture “a wonderful / piece of work” (1.2.153-4). As a hybrid of Galenic flesh and early pre-Cartesian machine, Shakespeare explores Cleopatra’s menopausal body by placing it within an anatomical context whereby its sexuality might be conceived of, and celebrated, in terms of the language of physics: a brave experiment that ultimately cannot sustain itself by the conclusion of *Antony and Cleopatra* (1608).

I propose that these emergent re-conceptions of the menopausal body reveal themselves in *Antony and Cleopatra* through the metaphor of the machine. In particular, it is the clitoris’ emergence as a ‘new’ organ that focused newfound questions regarding sexual agency, the efficacy of female conception, and reproductive health, that I want to frame as forming an interesting parallel to the rise of Mechanical Theory and its re-conception of the female body. For a brief window in medical history, the transitional

period of the 'proto-Cartesian' body, it remained necessary to the medical health of the ageing female that her body became sexually aroused to orgasm, a physical, even mechanical act that was to have implications for the 're-discovery' of the clitoris. The revelation of this 'hidden' organ transpired when former Aristotelian models of natural philosophy were transitioning to become more informed by Mechanical Theory or Mechanical Philosophy. In *Antony and Cleopatra* we can see nascent Mechanical Theory creep into the conceptualization of the female body through the metaphorization of Cleopatra's body itself, and its particular application to the play's various uses of the mechanical 'tools' used to augment the menopausal female body, both in terms of its sexual health and agency.

The Cyborg Mother, as I am terming her, lives for sexual pleasure: orgasm becomes the mechanical means through which she sustains her health and potency. But the Cyborg's orgasm is not just from vaginal, phallic penetration, but transpires through clitoral manipulation as well, one of her many "becomings" (1.3.96). In this, ironically, the Cyborg Mother looks backwards more to the Galenic body than to the future Cartesian body: as will be explored, the Galenic body *required* the clitoral orgasm, whereas by the time of the fully-integrated Cartesian body, the female orgasm became irrelevant and unnecessary both to health and conception. As the Cyborg Mother, Cleopatra is the 'Egyptian cyborg' and she stands in complete opposition to her counter-persona, the 'Roman automaton': the automaton anticipates the coming Cartesian age, where, unlike the cyborg, flesh is divorced from machine. The Roman world, with its desire to conquer and materially possess by measuring and quantifying boundaries, already anticipates the spirit of full-blown Cartesian doctrine. In this sense, the Romans'

guiding *modus operandi* can be termed ‘pre-Cartesian’. The Roman pre-Cartesian value system stands in completely hostile opposition to the Egypt of Cleopatra, where a conflation of the body, land, machine, and *jouissance* (defined later) mark her as the Cyborg Mother, the “lass unparalleled” (5.2.316).

Cleopatra’s body exerts a powerful physical pull: Antony is always drawn back into its orbit, unable to “break off” from the “enchanted queen” (1.2.127). For the cyborg, the biological system is also a “biotic system” so that “there is no fundamental, ontological separation in our formal knowledge of machine and organism, of technical and organic”, and thus the cyborg heightens “our connection to our tools” (Donna Haraway 1991 163). It is this specific aspect of the mechanical tool, the cyborg prosthetic, that I see as the quintessential material and metaphorical expression of Cleopatra’s body: the ‘tool’ is at once phallus, dildo, sword, and measuring device. Collectively I term these aspects as the ‘loving phallus’. In collapsing strict binaries of gender, free from the as yet unrealised tyranny of Cartesian dualism, the Cyborg Mother can also use the male body as her prosthetic tool. To conjoin with the Cyborg Mother is to embrace her ‘loving phallus’ and to reject the Roman ‘war like phallus’. As the cyborg, however, Cleopatra is only as strong as the sum of her parts and although I identify Antony as her prosthetic ‘tool’, it does not imply any automaton subservience or inferiority on his part: indeed, once Antony willingly conjoins with Cleopatra’s cyborg body as the ‘loving phallus’, their integrated bodies make them inviolate and unconquerable, a “mutual pair” to “stand up peerless” (1.1.37-40). The proto-Cartesian phallus, the ‘loving phallus’, then, is one given to sexual *jouissance* and stands in complete opposition to the Mechanical phallus, the ‘war like phallus’ of the Roman

world, one that is bellicose, and heteronormative, concerned only with the patriarchal “mandate[s]” of power mocked by Cleopatra: “‘Do this, or this; / Take in that kingdom, and enfranchise that...’” (1.1.22-23). When Antony breaks away from the Mother Cyborg’s body, his phallus once again becomes impotent and ‘war-like’, his inner daemon cowering before Caesar’s (2.3.18-22). It becomes part of Caesar’s entire mission to physically sever Antony from Cleopatra’s body, the joint source of Antony’s power. In his “dislimn[ing]” (4.14.10), Antony’s final apotheosis, his marriage to the Cyborg Mother is violently arrested and he is reduced, “br[oken]” down (5.1.14) to become the Mechanical automaton: the ‘war like phallus’ becomes a suicidal implement of “penetrative shame” (4.14.75). By *Antony and Cleopatra*’s conclusion, at a time when the future Cartesian period is anticipated, Cleopatra’s cyborg body is rendered inert, defunct, her mechanical and sexual power eroded. The tragedy of *Antony and Cleopatra* is the tragedy of our post-Cartesian age where all menopausal cyborgs have, in the manner of Cleopatra, been transformed into the fleshless, sexless, impotent automaton.

Of Egyptian Cyborgs and Roman Automatons

In defining the cyborg, I am aware that, as a conceptual entity, it wasn’t a mechanistic being that featured in early modern consciousness. The automaton, however, had been both an imaginary being and an eventual Cartesian assemblage that had its origins as far back as the ancient Talus and Golem myths, as well as being a fictional character that roamed the landscapes of the medieval magician and sorcerer. The first automaton was credited to Hans Bullman of Nuremberg (d.1535), and then developed by Bullman’s contemporary, Gianello Torriano of Cremona (c.1515-1585) (Bedini 1964 51). The

automaton was a humanoid figure whose movements were initially propelled by the application of pneumatics and hydraulics (Silvio 24), thus articulating the early engineer's preoccupation with mimicking human movement. Descartes even constructed an automaton to resemble his illegitimate daughter Francine (Gaukroger 1995). Functioning only in accord to the laws of physics, the automaton is purely a machine, a simulacrum of the human being. Poised at the uneasy juncture between the appearance of life and death, the automaton relinquishes organic vitality and fleshly pleasures. Once Cleopatra is stripped of her sexual *jouissance*, a sensuality shared with Antony as a prosthetic extension of her own cyborg body, she is turned into the lifeless automaton, the Cartesian "puppet" (5.2.209) that anticipates the ageing female body as a deficient, obsolescent 'thing'. The automaton, by contrast to the cyborg, is an obsequious, fawning slave, servile in temperament and function and bound to social and mechanical rules set by its Master. As Rayna Jones writes, the word 'robot' in both Russian and Czech actually means serf labour with figurative meanings of servitude and drudgery (2017 340). Although the automaton is a simulacrum of life, there is "nothing" of life within it (5.2.239).

The conception of the automaton was recognized by both the ancients and the early moderns, but it is to the contemporary myth of the cyborg that I turn in order to make meaning of Cleopatra's hybridity between machine, woman, and proto-Cartesian being; for it is the cyborg incarnation that best exemplifies how this cybernetic blurring of boundaries can become a radical force for the social, sexual, political, and cultural freedom that comes with the marriage of biology and machine inside the ageing female. For this postmodern and posthuman incarnation, I turn to the cyborg as a creation of

Donna Haraway who wrote her seminal tract “A manifesto for cyborgs: Science, technology, and socialist feminism in the 1980s” in 1985, originally to articulate changing conceptions of the female body at the indices of war, capitalism, technology, and feminism (1991 149-181). As a creature of “social reality” as well as a “creature of fiction” (84), Haraway’s “chimera” straddles the boundaries between materialism and fantasy and thus offers the possibility of “restructuring” any “historical transformation” (85). The true cyborgian body is one that is fluid, a combination of flesh and mechanical parts that self-replicates, self-regenerates, and refutes age and gender, consolidating ideologies and systems of power at the same time as being equally open to exploiting them for its own purposes too. As a mechanism concerned with self-survival, the cyborg will utilize the ‘language’ of its enemies in order to best them (Haraway 163).

Cleopatra’s cybernetic potential to combine the pleasures of the flesh, ageing though that “waned” flesh might be (2.1.21), with prosthetic ‘tools’ by which she might collapse the phallically-inscribed binaries of gender, power, and sexual well-being, is ultimately destroyed by the Romans as the arbiters of Mechanical Theory’s desire to measure, quantify, and constrain boundaries. Thus I draw a distinction between the ‘automaton’ as a product of the Roman imagination and the ‘cyborg’ as embodied by Cleopatra. The cyborg’s strength is its adaptability and ambiguity, and it lives for pleasure. By contrast, the fleshless, sexless automaton is devoid of vitality and *jouissance* and cleaves only to a strict doctrine of physical, mathematical laws and intractable mechanical principles, “the masculinist dream of reproduction” (Haraway 152). I believe the cyborg to be an entity outside of historical time because, as it remains theoretical, it has never really *existed in time* and thus can be employed to articulate the complex and changeable conception of

Cleopatra in *Antony and Cleopatra*: “Age cannot wither her, nor custom stale / Her infinite variety” (2.3.245-6). By contrast, the automaton was bound to time: Albertus Magnus’ talking brass head, before it was destroyed by his student Thomas Aquinas, could not be re-built for another thirty-thousand years (Truitt 2015 93), and the ‘singing’ automaton built on the banks of the Nile as an “immortal tribute” (McCormack 2016 165) to the slain warrior Memnon, was, according to Strabo, nonetheless destroyed in an earthquake (Truitt 2015 3; LaGrandeur 2012 23). Early automatons in literature and natural science were created to protect cities and people, solve complex problems of calculation, and for entertainment purposes (LaGrandeur 2010 2-3). The unifying thread with the automaton is that it was created to serve man and thus self-individuation is antithetical to its conception (Hayles 1999 277-8).

In contrast to the servile automaton, the cyborg uses technology to liberate its own body and thus must have some sense of subjectivity (Hayles 4). Haraway’s cyborg can utilize technologies and biotechnologies as “tools to recraft[ing] our bodies” (102), a crucial concern to all women who seek to control the destinies of their own bodies. According to Haraway, modern medicine is also full of cyborgs and “couplings between organism and machine, each conceived as coded devices, in an intimacy and with a power that was not generated in the history of sexuality” (83). These technological tools imagine a radical reworking of the norms of sexual reproduction for “cyborg replication is uncoupled from organic reproduction” (83), and thus the cyborg is able to populate worlds that are simultaneously “ambiguously natural and crafted” (83). For this reason, cyborgs “signal disturbingly and pleasurably tight coupling” (86), a fact I see realized in the *jouissance* shared between Cleopatra and Antony as her prosthetic: “... a mutual

pair...in which I bind..." (1.1.37-8), and again: "My heart was to thy rudder tied by th' strings" (3.2.57). If, as Haraway has posited, cyborg "sex" is not about reproduction (83), then the cyborg sex act becomes one of pure pleasure, "stripped from the model of the organic family" (84). Thus the dream of a "new heaven and earth" (1.1.17) and the engendering of "a race of heaven" (1.3.37) can remain in Cleopatra's mind and body as paradoxically both a fantasy and a reality, an embodied sexual dream *beyond* material, reproductive, and harsh geo-political realities. It is the "dream" (5.2.96; 98) of Antony's impossible body that "bestrid[e] the ocean" (5.2.83) as a "demi-Atlas" (1.5.23), that ushers in Cleopatra's vision of a transcendent coupling composed of both organic "baser life" (5.2.290) that "palates the dung" (5.2.7), and the elements of "fire and air" (5.2.289) divorced from the physical limitations of human flesh (5.2.240). As a functional organ binding both *psyche* and *soma*, I believe that the clitoris would be an integral component of the cyborg. Wielding the dildo as a prosthetic 'tool' to stimulate orgasm, potentially divorced from heterosexual phallic significance, the cyborg knows clitoral orgasm is not solely predicated on vaginal penetration. The cyborg's prosthetic tools need not solely be immaterial objects: the proto-Cartesian cyborg knows how to augment its powers with other living entities. As Katherine Hayles has argued, the body is "the original prosthesis we all learn to manipulate" (1999 3). For the remainder of this Chapter, I distinguish between the 'war like phallus', that is, any mechanical tool utilized by the Romans to reinscribe patriarchal tropes and systems of power such as weaponry, measuring devices, and mechanisms used for domination and war, from Cleopatra's 'loving phallus', that is any tool that she uses to attain sexual orgasm and bodily pleasure, or measuring devices and implements used to enhance her body's (and therefore, her land's) fertility and

growth. Any lover that she chooses is free to join Cleopatra's cybernetic body in such a way as to transcend the historical, cultural, sexual, and reproductive limitations placed upon her flesh; her body-as-machine challenges organic longevity to augment, modify and extend it beyond "reckon[ing]" (1.1.20).

Cleopatra-as-cyborg, though, is all too mortal; the death of both Antony and Cleopatra is a destructive catalyst for what I believe to be the end of the Galenic humoral female body and its potential to use mechanical tools for both pleasure and as functional prostheses, and instead anticipates the fully-mechanized and inhuman body of the Cartesian worldview. This wonderful dream of sexual freedom and pleasure, where the phallus can become a tool of female agency, is brief: flesh all too readily becomes subordinate to emergent pre-Cartesian patterns of the sexless, genderless body-as-machine. Triggered by Antony's death, essentially the death of this *jouissance*, the future female body is envisioned as a fleshless machine powered by the domination of the phallus as a tool of masculine aggression. When there "is nothing of woman" (5.2.239-40) left in her, Cleopatra knows that the only incarnation remaining is the pre-Cartesian "marble constant" (5.2.241) death-in-life figure of the Roman automaton – the nightmarish mechanical body that is pure machine and exists without any recognition of sexual or vital impulse: "And there is nothing left remarkable / Beneath the visiting moon" (4.15.64-69). Knowing that she must "rush into the secret house of death" (4.15.85) and become the "puppet" (5.2.209) of Octavius, Cleopatra does a remarkable thing; she decides to embrace the dread figure of the automaton, even though its persona is anathema to all that she has represented. Perhaps there is a kind of limited agency where Cleopatra decides to embrace death on her own terms, to do "what's brave, what's

noble” (4.15.90) and to “make death proud” by dying “after the high Roman fashion” (4.15.91), but the pity is that she must emulate the phallogentric and patriarchal tropes indicative of Roman, and, therefore, pre-Cartesian thought in order to do so. This is a pyrrhic victory: by ending Cleopatra’s infinitely varied (2.2.246) life as the automaton, Shakespeare anticipates the domination of the full Cartesian body, one that will ultimately prove to be completely detrimental to the conception of health and sexuality in the ageing woman for centuries to come, the menopausal body as a machine that is faulty, obsolete, broken-down, and sexless, “the disused factory, the failed business, the idle machine” (Martin 2001 43).

A Very Roman Reckoning: Measuring and Quantifying the Female Body

The clitoris, as a ‘newly-discovered’ organ, proved itself to be unique to the female body thereby establishing an epistemology that underscored woman’s quintessential physical difference from that of her Galenic male counterpart. As an organ, the clitoris offered a unique means to preserve female health. Through mechanical manipulation, clitoral orgasm helped to release the pent-up female ‘sperm’ that caused complaints such as uterine suffocation, a particularly pernicious condition for older women who had no recourse to regular sexual intercourse (Hippocrates *Diseases of Women* 1.7). Stimulation of the clitoris was also recommended for uterine prolapse (Galen *On the Affected Places* Bk.VI. Ch. V). Clitoral manipulation could be facilitated by utilizing a dildo, functioning as both a tool of pleasure and as a therapeutic aid (Savonarola *Practica medicinae* 1497). Because pleasure in *Antony and Cleopatra* is materially embodied in the clitoris as a ‘new’ anatomical discovery, I want to suggest that the metaphoric language employed in

the play is not only sexualized, that is, preoccupied with phallic power or impotence, but also draws from the language of Mechanical Theory. Such explorations of mass, weight, and measurement to define the boundaries and workings of the human body are indicative factors of the emergent Mechanical Theory of the early modern period. This New Science (as Mechanical Theory was sometimes termed) was infused with the business of anatomy and dissection, as well as with the mathematical principles of measurement (Gaukroger 2010 60), the physics of movement, and the importance of inductive reasoning and observation. Thus the female body and its inner workings begin to be described and quantified in the metaphorical language of the mechanical instrument, a genesis that was to ultimately be fully realized in the later Cartesian worldview (Jacob 1996 157).

Mechanical thought's early development featured in the works of such philosophers and anatomists as Francis Bacon (1561-1626), William Harvey (1578-1657), and culminated in the work of René Descartes (1596-1650). *Antony and Cleopatra* was written in a year where tensions were still apparent between the humoralism of Galen and the iatrochemistry of Paracelsus, and other emergent systems that described the body as comprised of mechanized components. Such trends indicated a more regulated cosmos where spirit and matter, mind and body, occupied a distinct and separate scientific and philosophical dichotomy (Bos 2009 39). Mechanical philosophy was to eventually culminate with the Cartesian system which posited that the body was separate from the mind and functioned as a regulated clock or machine: "...the human body is a clock, but immense and constructed with such ingenuity and skill..." (*Traité de l'Homme* qtd. in Capra 1978 72).

The pre-occupation with being able to measure and quantify the female body via mechanical means is present right from the onset of *Antony and Cleopatra*. Cleopatra demands to know whether Antony's love for her can be measured or "reckoned" (1.1.15); concurrently there are fears that bodies might "o'erflow the measure" (1.1.2). The "full Caesar" is a man "knowing all measures" (3.13.5), his own father Julius, having "cropped" a son with Cleopatra (3.6.6), similarly "mused of taking kingdoms in" (3.13.84). This is reflective of the play's obsession with the mechanical physics of being able to measure and quantify the material aspects of Cleopatra's body as the incarnation of a woman who, not only engenders immeasurable "lust" (1.1.10; 2.1.22; 3.6.61), but also personifies the land of Egypt itself (3.2.58). To measure and 'know' the dimensions and essential qualities of the ageing female body is to control it: the tension in the play comes about because Cleopatra's body is unknowable, resistant to all known epistemologies. Because her body vacillates between the boundaries of flesh and machine, like Enobarbus' crocodile, it resists strict ontologies of being because it exists uniquely as itself: "it is shaped, sir, like itself" (2.7.410), and its Self transcends taxonomical distinctions to become a marvel of nature, a "strange serpent" (2.7.24). Like the crocodile, Cleopatra's cyborg body moves with its own cybernetic self-propelling movement: "and moves with / Its own organs." (2.7.42-3). When the crocodilian body fails, it "transmigrates" (2.7.44). Perhaps this allusion to the Pythagorean transmigration of souls suggests that any subsequent incarnation of the "strange serpent" (2.7.24) might find a new host body. And who better to 'upgrade' with a new replicant body than Cleopatra, the "serpent of old Nile" (1.5.25)? This new cyborg body might be remedially 'repaired' and 'fixed' as a "radically reconstituted body" (Sawday 1996 29), but it could

also be augmented and re-configured, thus thwarting the Roman impetus to measure, contain, and control such a body. Augmentation and transformation would suggest that this proto-Cartesian cybernetic body could be “radically reconstituted” to expand beyond limitations of the human body in physical space. In Cleopatra’s final re-making of Antony’s physical grandeur and puissance, she imagines him re-untied with the Cyborg Mother as a veritable Colossus of Rhodes, so massive in stature that his legs can “bestrid[e] the ocean” (5.2.83), his face reaching into the “heavens” (5.2.80). Such hyperbole also references the myth of Talus. Recorded by the ancient Greek philosopher Apollonius (b.295 BC) in his *Argonautica*, Talus was a gigantic bronze automaton fashioned by the gods to protect the harbour of Crete from invading armadas. Talus was eventually destroyed when the witch Medea convinced him to remove a precious pin from his foot with the promise that this act would turn his metal self into living flesh. Once the stopper was removed, Talus was rendered completely inanimate when his blood (*ichor*) drained away. Cleopatra evokes the image of the gigantic Talus as her lover numerous times: Antony strides the world and “the tunèd spheres” with such gigantic proportions that “realms and islands” fall like “plates dropped from his pocket” (5.2.83-93). This hyperbolic use of metonymy points, not only to a corporeal body poised between the known earth, the elements and the cosmos, but a form that defies the limits of known matter. Like Talus, the cyborg can assume any dimension and proportion, and like the mythological automaton, its dream is to achieve personhood through the flesh. Though Cartesian philosophy reimagined the body, not only as a functioning machine, but also one where the constitutive matter occupied material space in a whole new way (*The World* Ch. 4 86), it failed to address the reproductive body with any success

(Aucante 2006 66). The mechanistic language of the Cartesian worldview was now concerned more than ever with how the female body might be bound and constrained so that it might not “o’erflow[s] the measure” (1.1.2). Cleopatra’s body is increasingly seen as one that refuses to submit to those who would utilize certain mechanistic precepts to control and dictate her ‘being’ and ‘becoming’ (1.4.96), and subject her body to the processes of quantification and measurement.

The question remains: even if her constituent parts could be measured and quantified, who ultimately controls the cyborg? Cleopatra is feared, not for her mechanical cyborg body *per se*, but because it is she who has taken control of her own body and is able to augment and re-tool it according to her own fleshly desires. Unlike the “statue” (3.3.21) of the “holy, cold” Octavia (2.6.126), Cleopatra fashions her mechanistic frame with a powerful flesh-and-blood sexuality that makes her a truly “wonderful piece of work” (1.2.152-3). Self-awareness with the capacity for infinite replication and systemic upgrading, this is the ultimate fear of the female cyborg. The cyborg is the enemy of the automaton: Talus can only dream of autonomous, vital agency.

The Metaphorization of the Cartesian Body

The Cartesian operations of bodily matter as a regulated, mechanical system underscored a new series of metaphors whereby the body became analogous to a machine:

[T]he body of a man – insofar as it is a kind of
mechanism composed of and outfitted with bones,
nerves, muscles, veins, blood and skin – even if no

mind existed in it, the man's body would still have all
 the same motions that are in it now ... (*Meditations*,
 'sixth meditation' Trans. Donald. A. Cress 1999 96-7).

Even though they wrote before Descartes, one can see this emergent pre-Cartesian ontology at play within the work of Andreas Vesalius (1514-1564), François Rousset (1533-1590), and William Gilbert (1544-1603) amongst others. William Harvey (1578-1657) and Francis Bacon's (1561-1626) work with the body's physiology is notable in that both men employed the language of mechanistic structures to explain the body's operations: each scholar moved away from the humoral fluidity of the Galenic *corpus* in order to define the body as a complex system of pumps, valves, hydraulics and pulleys. In 1628, William Harvey compared the beating heart and the circulation of blood throughout the body "to what occurs in machines, in which, since one wheel moves another, all seems to move together" (*Exercitation Anatomica de Motu Cordis et Sanguinis* qtd. in Cavarero 2002 168). In his 'Anatomia Comparata', Francis Bacon criticized contemporary anatomical thought because it failed to inquire about the "diversities of the parts" of anatomy, "[not] the secrecies of the passages, and the seats or nestling of the humours..." (*The Major Works: Advancement of Learning* Bk. 2. 2008 211). For Jonathan Sawday, these mechanical metaphors that compared the secret passages within the body to resembling nests, enclaves or houses were distinctly pre-Freudian, "... the dwelling house was a substitute for the mother's womb, the first lodging, for which in all likelihood man still longs" (2007 2). Willis Overton, by contrast, argues that this imagery implies the simple machine with mechanisms "fundamentally uniform, fixed, restrictive, and linear" (1994 222). For Dahlia Judovitz, this embodied

mechanical metaphorization encapsulates the metaphysical and physical state of “being and becoming” (2001 67; 70). In addition to the mechanical metaphors describing the nervous system, the terms used to describe both male and female genitalia in the early modern period, as well as sexual intercourse, are remarkably mechanical in nature: “tool”, “case”, “cut”, “yard”, and “prick” (Traub 2015 207). Thus pre-Cartesian metaphors of the body-as-machine helped to shape, influence, and change received wisdom about the female body, particularly in terms of its sexual responsiveness and reproductive capabilities.

The place of the female reproductive body within the Cartesian system had always been problematic, as the human body itself refused to fully submit to the mechanistic vision, a fact that even Descartes himself recognized and articulated (cf. Smith 2006). In 1646, Descartes confessed, “The formation of all the parts of the human body...is something so difficult that I dare not undertake [to explain it] yet” (qtd. in Aucante 2006 66). The Cartesian theory of animal generation was problematic precisely because it failed to fully explain away earlier Aristotelian notions of conception such as the notion of animal spirits. In thinking of the human body as “nothing but a machine or statue made of earth” (*Treatise on Man* AT XI 1985 120), Descartes could only imagine that the body’s ‘animal spirits’ were pushed around by the heart and arteries into the brain “of our machine” “like the bellows of an organ” (*ibid* 104) and that these movements “follow from...the machine’s organs every bit as naturally as the movements of a clock or other automaton” (*ibid* 108).

“Be/Comings” and “No/things”: The Clitoris in the Gaps

Years before Descartes was attempting to align his theory with the ambiguities of the female *corpus* and its reproductive powers in particular (Aucante 66), the female body itself was to become radically re-constituted with the discovery of a new organ – the clitoris. Traditional Vesalian illustrations of the female anatomy that were copied from his seminal work *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* (1543) offered a simplified awareness of Vesalius’ text by depicting the vagina as the inverse of the penis, nonetheless, this representation of the anatomical model was long-lived. The Vesalian model’s most pertinent observation was that there was no room for any organ that failed to correspond with the inverse symmetry of the male’s genitalia; hence the fact that for a large portion of the sixteenth-century, the clitoris was ‘invisible’.

Prior to Gabrielis Fallopius’ (1523-1562) and Realdo Columbo’s (1516-1559?) claim that they had ‘discovered’ the clitoris (*Observationes anatomica* 1561; *De re anatomica* 1559), the Galenic tradition purported that the female reproductive organs were simply the inverse of the penis and testicles; the ‘nothing’, then, had been understood as the inverse of the ‘thing’, but now anatomy had to contend with the addition of a new thing – the clitoris. But with the addition of this organ, the existing Galenic tautological construct falls apart; the organ cannot simply “become / The opposite of itself” (1.2.125-6), it must exist *in and of itself*. If simple inversion or reversal fails in this accepted equation, then one is faced with the mutual cancelation of both ontological states of being: self-annihilation becomes the order of things, like the paradoxical action of the fanning Cupids on Cleopatra’s barge: “what they undid did” (2.3.15). Such anxieties about the status of the clitoris compliment the already unstable

ontology of the entire female reproductive system as a ‘no thing’ or ‘nothing’ as the *pudenda* had been traditionally named (Carroll 1993 110). As Valerie Traub argues, the use of “naught” or “nothing” to describe the female anatomy, whilst “producing the semblance of some *thing*” seems to imply that “this something is nothing, or nonsense, or inexpressible, or unintelligible” (2015 224). R. S. White has echoed Traub’s argument about the “nothing”, identifying its ambiguity as a “powerful and adaptable paradox” (2013 293). In terms of ontological conundrums in the play, as much as the action is focused on Cleopatra’s various “becomings” (1.3.97), Antony similarly strives to “be himself” (1.1.45) whilst he increasingly presents an unstable persona who “is not Antony” (1.1.57). Antony’s masculine identity, struggling as it does with these various states of dissolution, is contingent upon the display of proper masculine “properties” (1.1.58), usually symbolized in *Antony and Cleopatra* by ‘war like’ phallic power (concretized in his ‘sword’), or in its inverse state of impotence. This is the tyranny of “Roman thought” (1.2.82): Antony is pulled between the polarities of needing to be considered the bearer of the ‘war like phallus’ to be judged for his masculine worth by the Romans, and wanting to merge with Cleopatra’s cyborg body as a ‘loving phallus’. When his identity is not fixed, Antony dissolves, dislimns, and discandys. Commented on as being “transformed” (1.1.12), and “not Antony” (1.2.59), the aspersion cast by Antony’s fellow Romans is that, as a tool functioning to cool or heat Cleopatra’s lust, Antony is similarly operating as the “unseminared” (1.5.11) eunuchs do. With the stage direction ‘*Enter Antony, Cleopatra... Eunuchs fan[ning her]*’, an additional aspect of sexual vigour, gender identification, and emasculation becomes a part of that mechanical dimension, a fact that often causes confusion between both Romans and Egyptians as to

who is who when Antony and Cleopatra enter a scene (1.2.78-9). In Roman perception, Antony has been literally neutered by the role he plays for Cleopatra, a “strumpet’s fool” (1.1.13). When Cleopatra later tells Mardian that she can “take no pleasure / In aught a eunuch has” (1.5.9-10), it seems to establish phallocentrism as the true force for female sexual desire in *Antony and Cleopatra*, but there is a deeper complexity here at work. Certainly the play contains many bawdy jokes about the unsatisfactory nature of a ‘short’ penis in the heterosexual act of love: Antony is mocked by Philo for “com[ing] too short of that great property” (1.1.58); Cleopatra jokes with her eunuch that even if a good “will (*penis*)” is shown, if it “come too short”, then the man might attempt to “plead pardon” (2.5.7-9). But this superficial mocking of phallic impotency, rather than comfortably falling under the aegis of heteronormative male standards of what constitutes sexual masculinity and effeminacy, opens up gaps whereby the role of phallic penetration as the sole means to female orgasm might be queried. True female sexual pleasure in *Antony and Cleopatra* comes, I argue, not from the dominance or even the undermining of the phallus, most clearly represented by Antony’s sword, but by the *sharing* of the symbolic tool as a means ‘to play’. Conjoining of the ‘war like phallus’ to that of the ‘loving phallus’ housed within the body of the Cyborg Mother creates what Haraway calls the “dream of a finished whole, a city, and a cosmos” (100), the “new heaven and new earth” (1.1.17) of the utopian dream of mechanical potentialities. The sharing of this phallus, an action that generates joy, desire, and erotic playfulness outside the boundaries of the male or female heteronormative body, I am calling *jouissance*. I borrow the term *jouissance* from the psychoanalytic tradition of Jacques Lacan (1901-1981) but base my own definition more squarely in that offered by Luce Irigaray (1930-). It is a shared sexuality

where a woman does not have to sacrifice her own sexuality to the *phallus*: “It could be described as the moment of knowing oneself...at the same time knowing being an ‘I’ especially because of the presence of others who share this space” (Irigaray 1985 191). *Jouissance* is the sexual and feminine joy that comes from “the space of the other”: “It is an expansive joy, a complement of the other”, “a pure space as is pure spirit” (Jardine 1985 165-6). As Rosa Braidotti has described *jouissance*, the state is reflective of the fact that “woman is becoming” (qtd. in Lempiäinen 1997 105). Thus the transformative power of *jouissance*’s ‘becoming’ is echoed by Cleopatra’s sexual “becomings” (1.2.97). Cleopatra’s ‘becomings’ also suggest a body in continual material transformation. The *jouissance* that I acknowledge in the play is one that I see emanating from both the sexualized and ageing bodies of Antony and Cleopatra who come to share the ‘loving phallus’ as a material alternative to the ‘war like’ phallus-as-sword. The cyborg’s physical and physiological joy of clitoral orgasm celebrates the phallus as a material instrument of pleasure and consolidates the potentiality of the mechanised body in the form of the therapeutic dildo.

The defining qualities of Cleopatra’s sexual “be/comings” are almost obsessively focused upon her ‘nothing’; her particular form of dissolution is inextricably bound with the “dying” of female orgasm. Witness Enobarbus’ summation:

Under a compelling occasion let women
die. It were pity to cast them away for nothing, though
between them and a great cause they should be-
esteemed nothing. Cleopatra, catching but the least noise
of this, dies instantly; I have seen her die twenty times

upon far poorer moment. I do think there is mettle in
 death, which commits some loving act upon her, she
 hath such a celerity in dying (1.2.137-144).

The bawdy word play, punning and *double-entendre*, circle back with regularity in *Antony and Cleopatra* to the female orgasm as well as the *pudenda*. I'd like to suggest another possible way of interpreting Cleopatra's "be/comings" and the play's repeated use of the verb "playing" in light of the newly-discovered clitoris. The clitoris becomes central to certain medical treatments recommended for middle-aged women of the early modern period that were centred on the success of a perceived orgasm. The clitoris also offers an important alternative to phallic (vaginal) orgasm, thus creating a new metonymical and ontological construction of female sexuality and reproduction. In a play where the Romans are obsessed with dividing, measuring, and conquering the land into discreet quantifiable units, Cleopatra's orgasmic body, with its "gap[s]" (1.5.5; 2.2.228), resists the phallogentric ontology of the invader. Cleopatra's court of ladies and eunuchs offer tantalizing and non-binary means by which to interpret erotic female 'play'. *Antony and Cleopatra*'s frequent use of the verb 'to play' brings together both the sexual and the mechanical in terms of metaphorical constructs. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines 'to play' as meaning both "to keep in motion, esp. to operate or work (an instrument, tool etc.)", and also "to engage in amorous play, to have sexual intercourse with". Speaking to the construction of the clitoris "as the metonymic, material embodiment of same-gender desire", Traub argues that the "morphology of the clitoris" is "constituted by, and includes traces of, desires and anxieties about the meanings, possibilities, and prohibitions of female sexuality" (189 2002).

This thrust behind exploring the language of physics to explain the essential nature of the clitoris and the tautological ‘gaps’ it presents is predicated on the Cartesian notion that, if ‘nature abhors a vacuum’ (Descartes *The World* Ch. 4 86), that is, a void, hole, or gap of any means, then the emergent theoretical practice is to ‘fix’ or ‘plug’ those gaps by mechanical means (Descartes *The World* Ch. 6 90). With Cartesian thought, the ‘gap’ or void, was anathema: it had to be filled in some respect to make it materially complete (Mason 1962 43). Coupled with the psychosomatic conception of the body-as-machine, the filling of such gaps now held implications for how such a deficient, malfunctioning body might be fixed via mechanical means. The true Cartesian body, therefore, contained no boundary slippage for it was forged to fit very definite dimensions – even if it extended into infinite space, it remained proportional and prototypical. By the time of Shakespeare’s writing of *Antony and Cleopatra*, the true Cartesian body in its initial incarnation was yet to fully emerge, however the changes in conception between the former humoral body and its mechanical inheritor still ripple throughout the play. The seminal moment in *Antony and Cleopatra* that opens up possibilities to consider Cleopatra’s ageing body through this emergent epistemology is located in the report that Enobarbus gives of the moment that Cleopatra met Antony at Cydnus:

...From the barge
 A strange invisible perfume hits the sense
 Of the adjacent wharfs. The city cast
 Her people out upon her; and Antony,
 Enthroned I’ th’ marketplace, did sit alone,
 Whistling to th’ air; which, but for vacancy,

Had gone to gaze on Cleopatra too,
 And made a gap in nature

(2.2.221-28).

Enobarbus' comment that even the "air" had deserted the marketplace with the excited crowds in order to "gaze on Cleopatra too" and thus "made a gap in nature" (2.2.227-8) is fascinating. That the very "air" could be sucked out of a place seems to imply that, in the language of physics, a vacuum was created by the air's absence; on the other hand, it might imply that it is Cleopatra's physical presence elsewhere in space that generates this "gap" surrounding Antony's resting body. Because this "gap", this absence, is connected to the physical embodiment of Cleopatra, it begs the question as to what might 'plug' that gap to restore natural order. I want to suggest that the coalition of forces that worked to identify the female reproductive organs as the 'thing', traditionally focusing on the synecdochic 'mother' as the seat of anxiety and difference, now shift to the clitoris to address these "gaps".

As a "thing" operating within the transgressive "gap[s]" (2.2.228), Cleopatra's body references flesh and machine, phallus and clitoris, crocodile and cyborg. This is the true species hybridity of the cyborg: "The cyborg appears in myth precisely where the boundary between human and animal is transgressed" (Haraway 86 2010). These boundary transgressions, Cleopatra's various "becomings" (1.3.96) located in the "gap in nature" (2.2.228), can trace their origins in the Galenic flesh that can breed unnatural monsters. This notion of miscegenation leads inevitably to the cyborg: the hybrid woman that is imagined as a self-contained vessel that might generate children, reptiles, or

serpents beyond menopause, or in the artificial womb that can engender children outside of the female body.

“A cistern for scaled snakes”: The Mechanized Womb and Spontaneous Generation

The origins of the cyborg’s various “becomings” (1.3.96) from hybrid flesh to machine, finds its genesis in *Antony and Cleopatra*’s many allusions to spontaneous generation, a Paracelsan theory drawn from Aristotelian belief that the womb functioned only as a passive receptacle to engender life. In one of his more outlandish theories, Paracelsus maintained that the female womb could be bypassed altogether in the generation of life: a miniature human, or ‘homunculus’, could be grown from man’s sperm in any artificial uterus:

... let a man’s semen putrefy in a sealed vessel for forty days at the
highest possible temperature ... It will then resemble a human
shape... it will develop into a real human child ... (*De Natura Rerum*
Lib. I. qtd. in Pagel 117).

The growth medium for such a ‘little man’ was usually earth or dung, a belief that aligns the ‘natural’ womb of woman with that of *Antony and Cleopatra*’s “dung[y]” earth (5.2.7), the growth medium that generates manifold creatures: “Your serpent of Egypt is bred now of your mud / by the operation of your sun; so is your crocodile” (2.7.26-7). And again: “Much is breeding, / Which, like the courser’s hair, hath yet but life / And not a serpent’s poison” (1.2.191-3). Cleopatra’s own womb is both mechanistically and metaphorically transformed into the Paracelsan “sealed vessel” of “a cistern for scaled snakes” (2.5.94-5). Cleopatra’s potential for regeneration celebrates the alien matter of

“dungy earth” (1.1.35), “clay” (1.1.35), and “slime and ooze” (2.7.22). Thus the predominantly humoral theory of spontaneous generation becomes embodied in a totally novel way: the potential for “peopling” (2.1.78) a new race can be engendered equally from fly-blown “abhor[ent]” (5.2.60) flesh, or as matter forged from “fire and air” (5.2.289) with “nothing of woman” (5.2.239-40) in it. Familiarity with Plutarch’s *De Iside et Osiride* would mean that Shakespeare might make the natural link between the body of Cleopatra in her incarnation as Isis and the notion of spontaneous generation:

Just as they view the Nile as the efflux of Osiris,
they hold the earth to be the body of Isis, and they
do not mean the whole earth, but as much as the
Nile goes over, fructifying it and uniting with
it...(Bk. 38 177).

Plutarch notes that Isis “rejoices” when she is “pregnant” with “effluxes and likenesses” and “teems with procreations” (Bk. 53 204). Isis is also called “The place and receptacle of creation” (Bk. 56 209). Thus there is a clever blending of theories happening here: in the Platonic sense, Cleopatra, through virtue of her connection to Isis, is the ‘mother matter’ of all reproduction, as well as becoming the spiritual and biological force of all creation, one that is totally self-contained and physically driven by an almost Cartesian motion: “For they [the Egyptians] often give Isis the name Athena, which has some such meaning as this: *I came from myself*, which indicates self-impelled movement” (Bk.62 217). But the Isis mythos also explores the nature of female sexuality and reproductive power specifically through the phallus. According to Plutarch, when her husband Osiris was torn apart, Isis gathered the severed members and reconstructed them but was unable

to find Osiris' phallus. Isis manufactured her own phallic prosthesis and kept it in a box under her complete control (Plutarch Bk.18 145). The goddess no longer needed the organ of her husband's regenerative potency: by manufacturing her own phallus, the 'Queen of Heaven' had grafted his power onto her own body proper. It is the Isis and Osiris myth of the creation of the artificial phallus, a prosthetic 'tool' now utilized by the female body to restore male potency and regenerativity, that I find a concurrence with how Cleopatra as the Cyborg Mother absorbs Antony's 'war like phallus' into her own being. This image of *jouissance* is captured by the lovers' sharing of clothing and sword (2.5.22-3) and by being frequently mistaken for one another (1.2.75-6; 1.4.5-7). By using Antony as her 'tool', absorbing the bellicose potency of his phallus, Cleopatra augments and transforms it into an entirely new kind of appendage.

The potential of mass-manufacturing foetuses 'born' of spontaneous generation feeds into formative notions of the proto-Cartesian self-replicating cyborg. In her dealings with the Soothsayer, the mage who can "read" fortunes in "nature's infinite book of secrecy" (1.2.10-11), Charmian hopes that she might "have a child at fifty, to whom Herod / Of Jewry may do homage" (1.2.29-30). This is an interesting twist on the Marian womb of the Immaculate Conception: the product of an imagined womb might not only replicate the miraculous, but also be matter born of an organ whose workings transcend biological age. A little later in the scene, Charmian asks the Soothsayer to put a number on the "boys and wenches" (1.2.37) that her futuristic womb might bear. The mage's response is predictably cryptic: "If every one of your wishes had a womb, /And fertile every wish, a million" (1.2.38-9). Thus the imagined, fantastical womb can not only function beyond the *diktats* of a woman's natural biology, but is also capable of producing a kind of offspring

that might number into the millions. Partnered with the images of the miraculous and the science of Nature's "secrecy" (1.2.10), the exchange between the Soothsayer and Cleopatra's handmaids becomes eerily prescient of the possibilities of a reproductive technology that, taken to its extreme, might generate a veritable assembly line of infants. This notion would be anathema to Roman thought, as it would destroy the notion of patrilineal purity and the convention of inheritance. Caesar is repulsed by Antony's desire to make "an unlawful" race (3.6.7) of children with a woman who shamelessly displays her children, born of multiple fathers (including his own) publicly (3.6.3-11). Charmian's assertion that chastity or fecundity can be 'read' in the body's machinery, in this case the secretions of an oily palm (1.2.51), thus finds common expression with the physics of the "o'erflowing Nilus" whose readings "presageth famine" (1.2.49) as well as with the Cartesian body's "pipes", "valves", "devices", and "springs" that regulate the body's other physiological processes (*Treatise on Man* XI: 130, 131, 132):

...when a rational soul is present in the machine it will have
its principal seat in the brain, and reside there like the
fountain-keeper who must be stationed at the tanks to which
the fountain's pipes return if he wants to produce, or
prevent, or change... (*Treatise* XI 101).

That the physical processes of the Cartesian body might be controlled by the rational will of the mother, like a fountain keeper regulating the flow and power of water through a valve or sluice gate, opens up the process of reproduction itself to the possibilities of a new sort of internalized control that functions, at least theoretically, according to mechanistic principals. Given that the Cartesian 'will' of the mother might aid in the

shaping of such infants, the Cyborg Mother, who has no need of the Aristotelian male as the provider of form or seed, might shape her own hybrid offspring according to desire:

“Cyborg replication is uncoupled from organic reproduction” (Haraway 150).

The union of mechanical and erotic metaphors in *Antony and Cleopatra* initially function to presage the ageing female body’s transition into eventual Cartesian incarnation by defining, quantifying, and elaborating upon the metonymic “nothing” of the Galenic pudenda. It is only once the ‘nothing’ becomes a ‘thing’ that it can be potentially measured, a pre-occupation of Mechanical theory. Before Descartes, the name most associated with significant departures from Aristotelian theory, thus advancing learning and science in “a brilliant way” (Grant 2007 278), was Francis Bacon (1561-1626). It was Bacon, along with the likes of Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo, and Newton that were to make the concept of an Aristotelian cosmos “untenable”, thus paving the way for the eventual Mechanical Philosophy of Descartes (Grant 283). In this sense, a mechanical universe metaphorized as a machine relied on scientific instruments in order to examine its parts and the relationship between those components: it became essential, therefore, to use instruments to try to experiment with, and define the qualities of the unseen nature of both the body and the elements. This impetus lead to the invention of the microscope by Antoni van Leeuwenhock (1632-1723), and further instruments such as the telescope, the thermometer, the barometer, and the air pump by the conclusion of the seventeenth century. Synecdochically identified as Egypt, the depiction of Cleopatra’s “high pyramides” (5.2.61), directly connect her body to that of a measuring instrument:

... they take the flow o’ th’ Nile

By certain scales i’ th’ pyramid. They know

By th' height, the lowness, or the mean, if dearth
 Or foison follow. The higher Nilus swells,
 The more it promises; as it ebbs, the seedsman
 Upon the slime and ooze scatters his grain,
 And shortly comes to harvest (2.7.17-23).

The “slime” and “ooze” of the Nile, measured by its “swell[ing]” tidemark upon mathematical scales etched upon the pyramid, conflates this structure itself with Cleopatra’s womb: its fluid excess denotes that it is time for the “seedsman” to “scatter” his seminal fluid so that she might “come[s] to harvest” (2.7.23). This is reminiscent of Agrippa’s earlier statement that Cleopatra was “ploughed” by Caesar and “cropped” (2.2.238). Cleopatra’s body becomes a mechanical device to measure her own, and, therefore, her land’s fertility. This is an important expression of her body as the ‘loving phallus’ standing in opposition to the Roman ‘war like phallus’ whose mechanical usage is only to measure in order to quantify, dividing the world into “third[s]” (2.2.68) so that Caesar might “get[s] money” (2.1.13). The metaphorization of Cleopatra’s body as an actual machine is developed in full by her conflation with her barge at Cydnus.

The rhetorical artistry of the description of Cleopatra’s golden barge is a feast for the visual senses: the sails release the olfactory delights of perfume; the “tissue, cloth of gold” is a tactile delight where “fancy outwork[s] nature”, and the silver oars “beat” the water to the “tune of flutes” in an aural ecstasy (2.2.198-224). But beyond the spectacle, there is a definite underlying mechanical image here. The fans, bellows, oars, flutes, and sails are aerial instruments that give articulation to the hidden ventricles, arteries, ducts, and alveoli of the female body. Cleopatra is pictured supine and inert, surrounded by

mythological attendants, especially the Mermaids, Cupids, and Nereides (2.2.213-14) who would not look out of place on the kind of automatronic ‘nefs’ (table utensils shaped like ships) created by Hans Schlottheim (1545-1625). The regulated rhythm of the oars is matched by the beat of “divers-coloured fans” (2.2.213) whose billowing “wind” reminds one that Antony’s body had previously been metonymised as serving the same function to “become the bellows and the fan / To cool a gypsy’s lust” (1.1.10). That same air, being suffused with “strange invisible” perfume (2.2.222) and currents from the fans, the “swell[ing]” “silken tackle” (2.2.219), oscillates and builds with its own kind of entropic force, “cast[ing]” out the city’s people and leaving Antony “whistling to th’ air” (2.2.223-28). With its metaphors of ‘swelling’, ‘beating’, ‘stroking’, ‘heating’, ‘glowing’, and ‘playing’, the language here is decidedly sexual, climaxing in the statement that the cumulative actions of the barge and its inhabitants “what they undid did” (2.2.212). This is the “undoing” of female sexual reticence by the “doing” of the sex act; the barge, like Cleopatra herself, is a perpetual sex-machine. In both incidences of attempting to measure and quantify Cleopatra’s body as the synecdochic pyramid and barge, it is an abject failure because the physics of measurement cannot quantify her body’s mysteries, those “gap(s)” (1.5.5; 2.2.228) containing her “greater storms and tempests than almanacs can report” (1.2.148-9).

“The Seate of Pleasure”: Clitoral Orgasm, Masturbation, and other Prosthetic Tools

Having established that Cleopatra’s body becomes the locus of emergent forces that transform her body from that of the Galenic towards the proto-Cartesian mechanistic body, the mechanical metaphors used to describe both her age and sexuality can be

applied directly to that of clitoral orgasm and its relationship to the phallus. In arguing that Cleopatra has become a cyborg, it is important to note that any mechanistic ‘tools’ she may utilize from this point onwards in *Antony and Cleopatra* are to remedy both the anatomical shortcomings that plague an ageing body, as well as to enhance sexual pleasure, specifically the clitoral orgasm necessary for maintaining the health of the menopausal body. The “pinch” of a lover’s kiss (5.2.295-6), as well as the “amorous pinches of Phoebus” on a “black[ened]” body “wrinkled deep in time” (1.5.28-9), prepares one to expect Cleopatra’s somatic and sexualized experiences as those that shall be enjoyed by ageing flesh. It is in the “lap of Egypt’s widow” (2.1.37), therefore, that such somatic pleasure can be centred.

The ‘re-discovery’ of the clitoris, an accomplishment claimed by both rival surgeons Realdo Columbo (1516-1559?) in his *De re anatomica Venise* (1559), and Gabrielis Fallopius (1523-1562) in his *Observationes anatomicae* (1550) is, of course, a fallacy. Early Greek, Persian, and Arabic writers had long since identified it in their treatises (Stringer et al. 2010 132). In the Middle Ages, Guy de Chauliac (1300-1368) wrote about the womb having a “prive poynte [*tentigo*]” (Jacquart et al. 1998 45). Charles Estienne (1504-1564) had described this “shameful member” in 1545, and Pietro d’Abano (c.1250-1316) in 1476 described an “upper orifice near the pubis” which, when “rubbed”, would “bring them [women] to orgasm” (Stringer et al.132). The rivalry displayed by both Columbo and Fallopius speaks to the investment that male physicians had in claiming the female body as new territory. The female orgasm had always been of importance because, as an understood physiological response, it “was held to be indispensable to reproduction” (Harvey 2001 321). Conception transpired when, during

orgasm, the ‘female seminal ducts’ released female semen directly into the myometrium of the uterus where it was believed to ‘concoct’ with male semen. Although Aristotle firmly denied the existence of female semen, nonetheless, the Galenic belief still persevered well into the sixteenth century (Herrlinger et al. 2019 339). Helkiah Crooke was the first English physician to write about clitoral pleasure in his *Mikrokosmographia* (1615): “[The clitoris] both stirs up lust that gives delight in copulation, for without this, the fair sex neither desire nuptial embraces nor have pleasure in them, nor conceive by them” (238). By the time Jane Sharp’s *The Midwives Book* (1671) was published, the known connection between clitoral stimulation and pleasure was common knowledge in both the vernacular and academic annals of medicine: “The *Clitoris*...will stand and fall as the Yard doth, & makes women lustfull, and take delight in Copulation, and were it not for this they would have no desire nor delight, nor would they ever conceive” (44).

Commensurate with the necessity of female orgasm to conception, the expulsion of pent-up semen in order to remedy uterine strangulation, prolapse, and hysteria was of supreme importance to overall health. The ‘re-discovery’ of the clitoris offered new ways in which to stimulate a woman to successful orgasm even if there was no man to have intercourse with. Retention of female semen posed a particular pernicious problem for “virgins, widows, and nuns” (Sharp 325). Realdo Columbo documented that the direct application of pressure or friction to the clitoris caused an automatic release of semen that “swifter than air flies this way and that on account of the pleasure...” (*De re anatomica* 447-8). Coupled with the known belief of female sperm being released during more traditional vaginal intercourse, therapeutic masturbation became the acceptable means to engender orgasm without penile penetration. Although it is not exactly clear whether this

‘sperm’ was in fact secretion released during the ovular phase or vaginal lubrication, nonetheless, because so many physicians underscored the psychosomatic experience of ‘pleasure’, it seems clear that it was important for men and women to believe that orgasm had transpired as evidenced by the ‘signs’ of female semen.

Physicians left detailed instructions on how to conduct therapeutic masturbation, usually taking the form of manual stimulation using fingers, hands, or, more relevant to this Chapter, unidentified ‘objects’. In his *On the Affected Places*, Galen relates how a midwife told him of a widow in middle age who, because she was suffering from retained seed, suffered painfully from her womb being “drawn up” (Bk.VI. Ch.V). The midwife advised the widow to make use of the “customary remedies” which caused the sensations of “pain and pleasure” associated with sexual intercourse, and thus “much thick seed was expelled” (Trans. King 2011 218). It seems logical to assume that Galen’s anecdote describes the technique of therapeutic masturbation, either by the patient herself or via the hands of the midwife.

As a means to deal with uterine prolapse, manual masturbation by a midwife was advocated by Constantine the African in 1516; the medieval Trotula manuscript; Arnald of Villanova (1240-1311); and John of Gaddesden (1280-1361) (Jacquart et al. 174-6). Writing in 1610, François Ranchin (1560-1641) alluded to the Galenic anecdote adding, “From this grew the practice that most [women] use instruments skilfully hollowed out and similar in form to the male penis in order to provoke voluntary pollution and guard against hysterical symptoms” (qtd. in King 236). Clearly by this time, an instrument resembling a dildo was added to the arsenal of ways in which to manually stimulate orgasm. Michele Savonarola (1385-1468) elaborated upon this notion that whilst some

women applied “lubricated fingers” to themselves, other women enjoyed therapeutic masturbation in the presence of one another: “There are some women who contrive to have intercourse with each other with an instrument similar to the male organ and they derive pleasure and benefit from this” (*Practica medicinae: sive de egritudinibus* 1497). Indeed, as an embodiment of the ‘tool’ itself, both Antony and Cleopatra’s combined body can function to give *both* phallic and clitoral erotic pleasure, as well as providing therapeutic relief, “Even to a Lethe’d dullness” (2.1.27).

As clitoral orgasm offered ageing women a means of relief from the pain of retained sperm, it was also believed that it could help with the debilitating problem of uterine prolapse. For the menopausal woman of the early modern era, whether she had given birth multiple times over the course of her reproductive years or widowed early, one of the most excruciating medical conditions she could suffer was uterine prolapse or “precipitation of the Mother” as it was known (Downing 2012 2). As the ligaments that surrounded the uterus weakened through childbirth or the ageing process, the result was that the uterus could drop into the cervical canal and, in some extreme cases, slip out of the vagina itself. This slippage of the uterus required that the errant organ be put back into its place, surgically excised, or bolstered via mechanical means. Documented since ancient times, uterine prolapse remained one of the only female pathological conditions that required specific mechanical means of treatment. By ‘mechanical’, I mean that the medical amelioration of the condition required the woman’s body to be either augmented by devices such as the pessary; suspended from a ladder or frame as in the technique known as succussion; or stimulated into a sexual response using tools or hands.

The earliest mention in recorded history of a prosthetic device used for the condition of a prolapsed uterus is that of the pessary. Taking its name from the Greek word ‘pessos’, meaning the ‘oval stone’ of the kind used in games, pessaries were devices inserted into the vagina to bolster the uterus into its rightful position. Uterine prolapse was extreme enough to warrant François Rousset’s metaphor that it resembled a “large wine gourd” hanging between the legs (*The hysterotomotokie* 1581 79). Pessaries were described as far back as the Ebers papyrus (1550 BC), and in the Kahun papyrus (circa.1835 BC) they are used for “a woman whose posterior, belly, and branching of her thighs are painful...it is the falling of the womb” (Downing 2012 11). The famous obstetrician of Byzantium, Aetius of Amida (AD 6th century), argued in the sixteenth book of his *Tetrabiblus* that the causes of uterine prolapse were varied but it was a condition most experienced by women in old age (Lazaris et al. 2009 1310). Whilst the pessaries of the Egyptians, the Hippocratics, and Soranus consisted of mainly natural substances, Celsus (25 BC) wrote of pessaries fashioned through mechanical means and made of inorganic materials. In his *De Medicina*, Celsus describes a bronze vaginal pessary, cone-shaped, complete with a circular plate from which a band could be attached and then tied around the body to keep it *in situ* (Shah et al. 2009 171). The surgeon Ambroise Paré devised oval-shaped pessaries made of brass and waxed cork; he attached waxed thread to facilitate easy removal (Downing 2). Anointed with honey and laurel oil, some pessaries could be left in the womb in order to ease the removal of a stillborn foetus: “for even if there were a dead child in the womb, it would bring it out” (Riddle 1992 137). This is another aspect to the pessary: as a mechanical prosthesis it could also function as a kind of abortifacient device to render the womb’s environment inhospitable

to the retention of dead foetal matter: might it also have been used as a means to abort live foetuses? When the fictional Cleopatra calls down a terrible curse to “smite” any future babies in utero (3.13.162-3), she summons up the mythos connected to her historical counterpart who, according to a Jewish tradition, held that Cleopatra VII extended her own gynaecological research into embryology by dissecting her pregnant slaves (Flemming 2007 *note* 269). The historical Cleopatra is also associated, through works such as the *Pessaria Cleopatrae*, the *Gynaecia Cleopatra*, and the *Kosmētikon of Cleopatra*, with the development and usage of the pessary for both herself and her sister Arsinoë (Flemming 276). The historical Cleopatra’s association with the pessary might simply be an interesting socio-historical coincidence, but it does indicate that in the early modern period, the name ‘Cleopatra’ was still associated with surgical and prosthetic innovation. But perhaps the most remarkable interpretation of the pessary as being an instrument of mechanical engineering comes from the description of its efficacy as described by François Rousset in *The hysterotomotokie or Caesarian birth* (1581):

... no treatment is as effective as the insertion of a pessary,
 ...which is to prevent the house from coming out through
 the door... We call it *pesse* or *pessaire* ... Some might want
 to call it a valve, in analogy to that part of water pumps:
 one supports the uterus within the body, just as the other
 lifts water in the pump (Part 4 94).

In this analogy, Rousset employs both domestic and aquatic engineering metaphors to describe the female body as both “house” and “door”, as well as the pessary acting as a “valve” within the “water pump” of the body proper.

Eventually, the move towards the Cartesian body would occupy itself, not just with *who* was giving the female orgasm, but *how* it might be delivered with regularity, consistency, and ‘measurability’. The discovery of the fallopian tubes, though, and the realization that female sperm was a falsehood signalled the end to conception and pleasure as being a mutual, shared experience. Indeed, as Thomas Laqueur has argued in his seminal book promoting his ‘one sex body’ theory *Making Sex: Body and gender from the Greeks to Freud* (1990), after 1600, belief that the female orgasm was needed for conception was beginning to be considered unnecessary and immaterial. As Nancy Tuana has stated, “What Columbus [Columbo] had put together, Freud would cast asunder” (2004 217). The age of the womb “skip[ping]... for joy” (Lazarus Riverius) was over; the rise of the male phallic ‘machine’ was to reign for the next three centuries.

Dildos, *olisbos*, or *godemichés*, have circulated since ancient times (Murray 1996 199). Their first recorded use comes to us from illustrations of women using them on red-figure vases from Greece in early fifth century BC (Younger 2008 58). These phallic-shaped tools were designed to arouse sexual response but are most associated with use by females, either to pleasure themselves or to pleasure other women. Dildos were fashioned from a number of different materials: wood, marble, leather, and even hollow glass designed to hold warm liquids (Van Driel 2012 65). In *The Winter’s Tale* (1611), dildos are amongst the trinkets that the travelling salesman Autolycus offers to housewives (4.4.190-8). Sir Isaac Newton’s (1642-1727) contemporary, the master-counterfeiter William Chaloner, was said to have made and sold dildos as a lucrative side-business in London; he was even said to have perfected a dildo that was completely mechanical (Levenson 2009).

When physicians talked of the possibility of releasing female seed through orgasm provoked by “an instrument”, it seems logical to deduce that such an instrument might have been a dildo, but the record remains unclear. In material terms, though, the dildo, like the uterine pessary, was a functional mechanical *tool*. As a tool, the dildo is singular in that it can also be seen as an instrument of therapeutic importance via a mechanism of sexual orgasm. Therefore the early modern dildo as a mechanical tool designed to ameliorate menopausal suffering through orgasmic stimulation identifies it as a ‘loving phallus’. Stripped of its identity as the heteronormative Freudian phallus, what I have here termed the Roman ‘war like phallus’, the dildo becomes a cybernetic prosthesis whose functionality in healing, strengthening, and rejuvenating the menopausal body is based primarily (though not exclusively) in gynocentric sexual pleasure. Thus it would be feared by the Romans, not only for its perceived usurpation of male domination in intercourse but also because the female orgasm, like the cyborg body of Cleopatra that experiences it, cannot be ‘measured’. As Jeanne M. Hamming has written, the need for a “post modern dildo” is one that would “confront the history of the phallus as ...evidence of a masculine order...a universal of power” and remake it “as a post gender, non-phallic signifier... as a prosthetic” (2001 330-1). I suggest, therefore, that the complex nexus of therapeutic masturbation for uterine complaints common to the ageing woman; female-to-female touch in order to generate orgasm; the use of ‘instruments’ (dildos); and the exclusion of men from this process (Jacquart et al. 1988 176), coalesce to form the early modern social and cultural conditions out of which embodied female pleasure would continue to generate patriarchal anxiety.

As “The Rack Dislimns”: The Breakdown of the Cyborg Mother

That female pleasure and embodied ‘health’ might be experienced as clitoral orgasm and offer a divergence from the domination of male (Roman) power and sexuality is worked through *Antony and Cleopatra* with a corollary dramatic impetus that mirrors that of the fall of Cleopatra’s body-as-cyborg. Initially, there is a mutual sexual delight generated by both Cleopatra and Antony as each ‘share’ the phallus, this is their shared *jouissance*. In this way, Cleopatra uses Antony as a tool augmenting her Cyborg Mother’s body, but it is a gynocentric usage that elevates, pleasures and celebrates the male outside of patriarchal and phallogocentric notions of masculinity: “For his bounty, / There was no winter in’t...His delights were dolphinlike...” (5.2.87-90). If Antony is the phallic power of *Antony and Cleopatra*, in other words, the wielder of the ‘war-like phallus’, then one has to consider how his fellow Romans judge that power’s usage, for it is clear that the Romans perceive a detrimental change in that potency (1.1.59-61). Even before the lover’s triumphant entrance, Demetrius and Philo tell us that Antony functions as a mere plaything for Cleopatra’s sexual fancies. It is understood that Cleopatra has usurped the bellicose power of his “sword” and has “transformed” his body into a “fool”/ tool designed only as a female plaything (1.1.12-13). Antony is hyperbolically reported to be so filled with amorous longings that where once his very “captain’s heart” had, in the heat of the battlefield, “burst / The buckles on his breast” (1.1.7-8), his “dotage” for the “tawny front[ed]” queen (1.1.6) now “o’erflows the measure” (1.1.2) of his body, not for war, but for “lust” (1.1.1-10; 2.1.38). But such perceived masculine failures are materially imaged through very definite mechanical means: he has been transformed into “the bellows and the fan / To cool a gypsy’s lust” (1.1.9-10). This same analogy is

essentially proto-Cartesian: the body, whilst it became metonymised as “our machine”, featured “heart and arteries...as being like the bellows of an organ which pushes air into wind-chests...” (*Treatise on Man* AT. XI.119.104). As one of the metonymic constructs of Antony’s body, however, a ‘bellows’ would function as a tool to engender heat whereas a ‘fan’ functions in a reverse manner to cool. This seeming physical contradiction is repeated in the image of the fans used by the boy-Cupids on Cleopatra’s barge: “With divers-coloured fans, whose wind did seem / To glow the delicate cheeks which they did cool, / And what they undid did” (2.2.210-12). As part of the *jouissance* of Cleopatra’s “becomings” throughout *Antony and Cleopatra*, these sets of opposing physical states (heating/cooling, doing/undoing, flowing/overflowing) function to underscore, not only the instability of matter, but also how Cleopatra’s presence acts as a catalyst for change: contrary states of being can concurrently exist within her for she “becomes every thing” (1.1.49) and “makes hungry where / Most she satisfies” (2.2.245). As her prosthetic ‘tool’, Antony’s body as a pseudo-dildo replicates female therapeutic orgasm in the same mechanical manner associated with the physics of the bellows and fan: first Cleopatra’s body would be heated in sexual arousal until the release of seed, and then cooled down to maintain a homeostatic caloric temperature post-orgasm.

Increasingly, as the play’s tensions force Antony to choose between the ‘war like phallus’ and that of the ‘loving phallus’ in order to bring him back to “Anthony” (1.2.59), this triggers a breakdown or malfunction in the shared body of the Cyborg Mother. For the Romans, Antony’s phallic sword is the metonymic extension of the masculine, bellicose body and any ‘sharing’ of such device connotes emasculation and a ‘disintegration’ of the proper male “propert[ied]” body (1.1.58). Although he initially feels the chaffing of

Cleopatra's "fetters" and fears losing himself in "dotage" (1.2.116-7), Antony willingly embraces a shared sexual mutuality, an "annex[ation]" (4.15.17), but the tragic action of *Antony and Cleopatra* is, I argue, that Antony reneges on that position to be wooed back to the "Roman thought[s]" (1.2.82) of honour : "If I lose mine honor, I lose myself" (3.4.22-3). In order to become the sole wielder of the sword again as warmongering Mars (1.1.4), that masculine insistency involves a disavowal of being "women's men" (3.7.70). This transcendence of gender and sexual boundaries causes nothing but myriad anxieties for the Romans. The ultimate incarnation of this anxiety is Cleopatra's cybernetic body itself: because of this fear, hers is that same "rar[ified]" (2.2.228) body that needs must be dismantled, turning Cleopatra into a Cartesian automaton by the play's conclusion.

The failure at the Battle of Actium is marked as the ultimate humiliation for Cleopatra and Antony's shared *jouissance*; it is here that the break-down and malfunction of the Cyborg Mother begins and Shakespeare's experiment with designing a proto-Cartesian entity that might celebrate the ageing female body, where body and machine might "melt" together (1.1.33), begins to fail and falter. What is interesting about this failure, however, is that Cleopatra is as much at fault for the dissolution of the visionary Cyborg Mother as Antony is. Antony's failure to commit fully to the 'loving phallus' of the Mother is a fear of rejecting Roman masculinity defined by the 'war like phallus', as witnessed by his wounded sense of male pride: "See how I convey my shame out of thine eyes" (3.2.52). But it is equally Cleopatra's turn to the 'war like phallus' that presages her own demise. As established, Cleopatra's cyborg body was not built for war: its original power lay in its indifference to the political world of men save in what physical pleasure it might derive from such games of statesmanship. Ambassadors and Caesars are only there to be seduced

(1.5.72; 2.2.230-8; 2.6.65-70), whipped (2.5.65), or lulled into an intoxicated stupor (2.1.23-7; 2.2.187-8). Shakespeare has shown us all along that when menopausal women such as Volumnia and Lady Macbeth deal in politics, it ends badly for them (and their men). Cleopatra's glorious cyborg body, once metonymised as the mechanical barge at Cydnus, is transformed into a ridiculous warship going "a-ducking" (3.7.64) with Cleopatra herself recast from "Venus" (2.2.210) to the hen of Antony's "doting mallard" (3.10.20).

Before the actual sea-battle, Antony's soldier swears by his own "sword" (3.7.63), that the only chance for success is for them all to fight by land. Appearing now as the goddess Thetis, Cleopatra enters into the fight dressed as a man (3.7.17-18), thus appropriating the 'war like phallus' in the same manner in which she once wore Philipian (2.5.23). Her body-as-charge is now transformed into the equally mechanical warship. Cleopatra's metonymic vessel continues to draw Antony towards her with an inescapable compulsive attraction (3.1.57). Canidius laments that "Had our general / Been what he knew himself, it had gone well" (3.10.26-7), and similarly Scarus blames Cleopatra's "magic" (3.10.19) for Antony's disastrous decision to flee the battle:

I never saw an action of such shame;
Experience, manhood, honor, ne'er before
Did violate so itself (3.10.22-24).

Antony's men view his actions as "ignorance", having been "kissed away" (3.1.7) by an effeminacy that has turned upon itself in an act of auto-violation that "wound[s]" (3.10.36) and "sickens" (3.10.17). Antony's rejection of the 'war-like phallus', his "sword made weak by [my] affection" (3.11.67) anticipates his eventual attempted re-appropriation of that sword in order to challenge Octavius to a duel where he

fervently hopes that his “sword will earn our chronicle” (3.13.175). Enobarbus, now deeming his master to be “leaky” like a woman (3.13.65), scoffs to hear of the folly of Antony’s challenge to Caesar: “When valor preys on reason, / It eats the sword it fights with” (3.13.199-200). Thus the former ‘war-like phallus’ can never really be re-appropriated by Antony, its final usage as the weapon that “once / Quartered the world” (4.14.57-8) can only herald the “penetrative shame” (4.14.75) of a tragicomic suicide.

Noting that his own “heart” had once been completely “annexed” to Cleopatra’s body (4.14.17), Antony views Cleopatra’s political machinations as the definitive act that severs his body from hers: “she has robbed me of my sword” (4.14.23). In anticipation of the Roman conquest of Egypt, Cleopatra realizes that the ‘war-like phallus’ and the ‘loving phallus’ have both ‘failed’. The once-powerful cyborg body has been rendered impotent and non-sexualized; a phallic failing that nullifies gender, age, and the mysteries of the female ‘no/thing’:

The crown o’ th’ earth doth melt. My lord!
 O, withered is the garland of the war;
 The soldier’s pole is fallen. Young boys and girls
 Are level now with men. The odds is gone,
 And there is nothing left remarkable
 Beneath the visiting moon (4.15.64-69).

In his own form of sexualized ‘dying’, Antony brings to climax the end to a body that, with its casting off of the ‘loving phallus’, had already begun to mechanically fail and materially disembody: “...now thy captain is / Even such a body: here I am Antony, / Yet cannot hold

this visible shape..." (4.15.13-14). His dissolving body, "As water is in water" (4.15.11) becomes, like the "indistinct" air, a "sign[s]" of "black vesper's pageants" (4.15.6-7). As he tells Eros that "The rack dislimns" (4.15.10), one can also hear it as 'the rack dis-limbs', a disturbing image that suggests a body on a torture device, mechanically dismembered as a cruel inversion of Antony's opening wish that "There's not a minute of our lives should stretch / Without some pleasure now" (1.1.48-9).

After his believed loss of Cleopatra, Antony "condemn[s]" himself for his "lack" (4.15.59), his own "case" (4.15.59) failing to replace their broken, shared phallus, his flesh becoming "mangled" (4.2.28): "Come then, – for a wound I must be cured. / Draw that thy honest sword..." (4.15.77-8). Where once he felt that he was the "master", Antony must now be "t[aught]" by Love (*Eros*) how to die an appropriate warrior's death (14.14.96-97). Antony's fatal "stroke" (4.15.91), the "break[ing] of so great a thing" (5.1.14-15), signals the moment when the shared phallus falls off completely from the Cyborg Mother. This disengagement is captured through mechanical metaphors: "breaking", "cracking", "failing", "falling" and "dislimning". The cast-off Antony is now re-configured as the lifeless automaton, a "man of steel" (4.55.33): "I am full of lead" (3.11.72).

The "Odd Worm": The Phallus as Mechanical Tool of Death

The mechanical breakdown of the bodily integrity of the Cyborg Mother without Antony as her essential prosthetic extension is ushered in by similar disruptions in the laws of physics as time itself undergoes a strange suspension. As the advent of Caesar's chaste, sexless "Time of universal peace" (4.6.4) draws apace, Antony equates his own end as culminating in "the long day's task is done / And we must sleep" (4.15.35-6). This ending of life as the

ending of chronological time had been foretold by his soldiers' assertion that "the star is fall'n" (4.15.107) and the "time is at his period" (4.15.108). This apocalyptic image of the ultimate fallibility of the physical laws of time and space becomes an embodied experience within the *petit mort* of female orgasm: not only is her "lamp ... spent" (4.16.85) and "the bright day is done" (5.2.192) on this "declining day" (5.1.37), but Cleopatra "rush[es] into the secret house of death" (4.16.82) with multiple verbal ejaculations of "com[ing]" (4.16.38-9; 4.16.91; 5.2.286) and "dy[ing]" (4.16.20; 4.16.44; 4.16.57; 5.2.70; 5.2.286) that match those of Antony's. The final "instrument" (5.2.236) of death becomes the phallus that is transformed into a warped hybrid of death (the 'war-like phallus') and sexuality (the 'loving phallus'): the "pretty worm" (5.2.244). This hybrid, though, mocks the *jouissance* of the cyborg body for there is no possible outcome but death of the flesh. When the Clown wishes Cleopatra "the joy of the worm" (5.2.279), it is an ironic comment for the phallic worm's pleasure is to ultimately consume the "marr[ed]" woman (5.2.277). The Devil is now cast as the figure of *Natura Artifex* manufacturing five defective women to every ten created (5.2.276). This mortal tool signals the complete death of the proto-Cartesian female cyborg and all its mechanical possibilities for the worm is "not to be trusted" (5.2.265) for there is "no goodness in it" (5.2.266).

The sheets that once held the promise of orgasm in erotic play transform themselves into winding sheets by *Antony and Cleopatra*'s conclusion. The "long life" that Charmian hopes to enjoy "better than figs" (sex) (1.2.32) becomes the "immortal" (5.2.241) bite of death brought inside in a basket of figs (5.2.234). Thus the "dying" of orgasm becomes re-imagined as the "joy" (5.2.259) delivered by the newly transformed phallic tool of death, the "odd worm" (5.2.257) who is "liber[ating]" (5.2.237) and "will do his kind"

(5.2.262). The final death scene mimics the erotic play that transpired in Cleopatra's bedroom, for the text clearly states that she dies, not on a throne as in traditional theatrical stagings, but in a "bed" (5.2.354). Cleopatra imagines Antony as "curlèd" (5.2.300) in the same manner in which he first prepared to have "supper" with her (2.2.231), and "rous[ed]" (5.2.283), ready to "make demand" of any woman in his presence by "spend[ing]" a "kiss" (5.2.301). In waiting for the worm's "joy[full]" (5.2.278) kiss to activate its deadly poison, Cleopatra bestows her lips' "last warmth" on Charmian and Iras before being "possess[ed]" by her new lover Death (5.2.313). As much as the worm is her lover, it is also her child for its kiss mocks the tableau of Isis or Mary with her infant at her breast (5.2.309). In spite of this death-drive, in fixing Cleopatra's skewed crown, Charmian considers her final act of love as being a prelude to the "immortal longings" (5.2.280) of eternal *jouissance*: "I'll mend it, and then play" (5.2.317). When the guard asks Charmian, "Is this well done?" (5.2.323), she affirms, "it is well done" (5.2.324): 'playing' and 'doing' constitute a sexualized reminder of the *petit-mort* of female orgasm, a "perform[ance]" (5.2.329) that Dolabella and the other men "com[e] to see" as a "dreaded act" (5.2.329).

Caesar's words constitute *Antony and Cleopatra*'s final pun about the female orgasm: "Most probable / That she so died, for her physician tells me / She hath pursued conclusions infinite / Of easy ways to die" (5.2.352-354). Caesar's need for assurance that he has been victorious in hollowing out the mysteries of the female body reveals itself as a bawdy joke, taunting the female orgasm. But such facile mockery is a weak attempt at masking the power of the Cyborg Mother: the 'loving phallus' has performed as a tool both of sexuality and power, a means to subdue and overpower the aggressive masculine drive, as well as a mechanical tool that might remedially protect the ageing female body. *Antony and*

Cleopatra's mechanical metaphors serve to underscore just how radical this proto-Cartesian vision of the menopausal female *could* be: if only for a brief moment in history. But by the play's conclusion, the anxieties generated by the shared mechanical phallus, both in its war-like and in its sexual incarnation, are too much to bear. This anxiety is embodied by the power of the Romans who, in their quest to 'measure' and thus constrain *Cleopatra*'s body, must destroy her cyborg body and all connected to it – including Antony. As Caesar tells *Cleopatra*, "the injuries you did us", are "written in our flesh" (5.2.119-20). This will herald the return to the patriarchal stability that will usher in the eventual Cartesian "time of universal peace" (4.6.5) where the body, as Dalia Judovitz defines it, "...no longer references the reality of the lived body as an embodied entity but rather the certitude of a mathematical system that schematises the body...an artificial, mechanical one" (2001 88; 92). In this new world, the "paltry" Caesar can never dream of "palat[ing]" the fecund, female "dung" of the Galenic past (5.2.7).

Conclusion: "I am Marble Constant", the End of the Cyborg Dream

Even in death, though, the penetrability and the measurability of *Cleopatra*'s body remains a complex proposition; for in her final moments, *Cleopatra* actually casts off the erotic, biological, and physiological embodiment that had made her "a lass unparalleled" (5.2.314) in order to embrace the genderless, sexless, and ageless future Cartesian body, the obdurate and "immortal" (5.2.281) automaton:

My resolution's placed, and I have nothing
Of woman in me. Now from head to foot
I am marble constant; now the fleeting moon

No planet of mine (5.2.239-242).

This act, though, is only done out of necessity, for Cleopatra cannot abide to carry on living knowing that Caesar intends to “hoist[ed] up” her body as a “puppet” for show (5.2.55). Cleopatra, divorced from her “husband” (5.2.286), finds herself bodily “spent” (4.16.86) with a “nothing” now “left [un]remarkable” (4.16.69). When the “pole is fall’n” (4.16.67), the sexual game of *jouissance* is over: the flesh can no longer offer any possibilities where the female might enjoy equality with the male. Shakespeare initially offers us the figure of Cleopatra, a “wonderful piece of work” (1.2.152-3), who has the potential to wield the power of a mechanical body to embrace erotic pleasure outside of procreative concerns, and ‘fix’ the medical problems of an ageing uterus. Cleopatra casts off all vestiges of the gendered body, one subject to physical pain, digestion and excretion, and the menstrual cycles of the “terrene moon” (3.13.154; 4.15.69; 5.2.241), to become elemental spirit *sans* matter: “I am fire and air; my other elements / I give to baser life” (5.2.289-90). By giving flesh, her earthy and watery humours back to the “dungy earth” (5.2.7) the final body that we are left with is a cold and lifeless automaton.

The “longings” (5.2.281) that every woman of the twenty-first century harbours mirror the potentialities embodied by the cyborg: the desire to take complete control of her body, her gender, her sexual preferences, and her reproduction. Like Cleopatra, the cyborg body never stops fantasizing of the possibilities of new worlds and bountiful lovers “past the size of dreaming” (5.2.98). The Cyborg Mother is freed from those ‘Roman’ pre- and post-Cartesian psychoses, those “stakes in the border war” of the body where “the territories of production, reproduction, and imagination” (Haraway 150) have justified and facilitated Western science, ethics and bio-politics. The cyborg body is immortal but not inviolate: it is

a body that still experiences the ageing that comes with being an animate bio-organism. In the world of proto-Cartesian possibilities, the imagined era summoned by Shakespeare's imagination, the fertility, flow, mysteries and ambiguities that once defined the Galenic body might have been re-imagined, re-calibrated and re-tooled. The body of the cyborg could be augmented, healed, and fortified to meet the challenges of the menopausal body, but not in order to 'conquer' nature, but to embrace its inexorable march "till doomsday" (5.2.233). The cyborg body might have been able to 'upgrade' with new tools and prosthetics used *for* and not *against* the body proper in the spirit of *jouissance* that should accompany menopause and ageing.

CONCLUSION

It is apt that Cleopatra dies mid-sentence, torn between worlds and existences as the “lass unparalleled” (5.2.316), the older woman who, in death, will be immortalised as a Colossus or the mythological goddess Isis. For, of course, Cleopatra’s transition into death, the literal moment of her ultimate “becoming” (1.3.96), is an essential paradox: to “stay” (5.2.314) in the world would mean ageing, yes, but also recognising a lost youth, the end of an era, with “salad days” (1.5.74) already a distant memory. To “rush into” death (5.1.85), however, again is a suspension of the life-force, an act of immortalization where the remembered lovers never get old, forever “clip[ped]” (5.2.358) in each others’ arms as when they first met at Cydnus (5.2.229). *Menopause* is aptly named, for it, too, is a suspension of time, a brief biological moment in the life of a female yet a liminal socio-cultural borderland as well. For, unlike Cleopatra, the early modern woman shares with her contemporary descendant an ignorance of what comes next: where does she ‘fit’? What is her power and position (or lack thereof)? What is her use beyond babies and sexuality?

As my thesis has shown, these are the same concerns that Shakespeare was grappling with when he created the charismatic ageing characters of Gertrude, Volumnia, Tamora, Lady Macbeth, and Cleopatra. I have made this claim based on the following evidentiary criteria: although not expressly defined as a physiological condition, menopause is evident in Shakespeare’s characters by the many latent fears and anxieties that ripple outwards in the plays themselves and find their origins within the uterus itself, thus concretizing menopausal fears within the maternal site of origin as essentially

reproductive fears. These anxieties are not limited to the dramatic action of the plays themselves but mirror larger sociocultural, medical, and religious concerns about the place of the ageing woman within the early modern era itself. Such fears that identify and define 'menopause' are explored, articulated and reinforced through various literary devices as well as cross-disciplinary allusions to the world of art, folklore, mythology, medicine, and classical and Renaissance doctrinal texts. Once Shakespeare has created these formidable female characters and their respective tragedies' dramatic action underscores their power and potential, he chooses to 'silence' these women, often through violent means, as a strategy to eradicate their presence.

This wilful act of rendering the menopausal woman 'invisible' is one that has myriad implications for today's twenty-first century woman. Much as the concerns taken to anoint, modify with diet and bed rest, purge with clysters and bloodletting, perfume with odiferous smoke, apply pessaries and leeches, bind and 'frighten' the ageing body with hot irons have disappeared, so, too, has the care and attention taken to ensure uterine health in the contemporary older woman, especially remedial techniques dealing with sexual well-being. In fact, as Emily Martin points out, all the metaphors associated with menopause in modern medical texts conceptualize the body as a machine that has 'broken down', 'worn out', or is 'obsolete' (2001 45). In leaving behind the mysteries of its Galenic and Hippocratic identity, the uterus has become the natural inheritor of the Cartesian worldview, a mere component part of the bodily machine. As such, not only does the menopausal womb suffer in conception as a defunct and worn-out mechanism, but it is also part of a larger sexual reproductive system to which orgasmic pleasure and clitoral stimulation are completely irrelevant to pregnancy or health. The Galenic body,

therefore, shouldn't be mocked; although strange and alien to contemporary medical thought, nonetheless, it once concerned itself with the unique mysteries of female anatomy whereas today medical studies are almost completely predicated on the model of the universal male body (Moore 2020). More esoteric aspects of Galenic and Paracelsan praxis, however, can still find their historical tracings in treatment options for the menopausal woman. Women are still encouraged to consume plants such as yam, evening primrose, and black cohosh as homeopathic treatments (Borrrelli et al. qtd. in Melby 2011 54), wear so-called 'menopause magnets' in their underwear, and are treated with a variety of chemically manufactured hormones, many derived from horses' urine (Melby et al. 2011 54). Cancerous tumours and cysts as well as prolapse were recognised by the early moderns and subject to intensive treatment. Today, the decision to treat menopausal growths resulting from prolapse, endometriosis and adenomyosis usually involves a complete hysterectomy followed by a chemically induced menopause (Melby et al. 2011 54). As Germaine Greer has noted, a hysterectomy is a far more dangerous, risky and debilitating operation than mastectomy even though the former surgical procedure is viewed much more as a 'routine' operation than the latter (2018 56). A 'faulty' menopausal uterus is simply cut out and tossed away with cold, clinical indifference: all of the attendant mysteries, concerns, and debates that surrounded the early modern womb have vanished, and contemporary medical literature confirms that each menopausal body, "a product of decades of physiological and anatomical responsivity to an environment... has been largely ignored by research" (Melby and Lampl 2011 63). Shakespeare's great menopausal women afford us the chance to explore and confront such on-going medical, social, and cultural ambiguities at their artistic source. Such confrontation would

elucidate our commonalities and sisterhood across the ages, thus precluding any and all attempts at silencing today's menopausal 'unruly woman.'

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Chapter 1: Gertrude and the Petrified Womb

- Piazza della Sinoria; view showing Perseus standing over... the decapitated body of Medusa. 1299-1382. Artstor, library.artstor.org/asset/SCALA_ARCHIVES_10310475075 Page 280
- Heinrich Aldegrever. *Wrath*. From: *The Vices*, Artstor, library.artstor.org/asset/27019958 Page 281
- Perseus Beheading Medusa (Persée tranchant la tête de Méduse)*. 17th century. Artstor, library.artstor.org/asset/AWSS35953_35953_30944373 Page 282
- Woodcut (1582) by Jean Cousin (1501? -1589) of Columba Chatry, from *Iconographia Gyniatrix*, Harold Speert, 1972. Page 283
- Albrecht Dürer. *Sun, the Moon and a Basilisk*. c. 1512. Artstor, library.artstor.org/asset/LESSING_ART_1039901558 Page 284
- Erhart, Gregor, 1465?-1540. *Allegory of Vanitas*. 1500. Artstor, library.artstor.org/asset/ARTSTOR_103_41822000512093 Page 285
- Peter Paul Rubens. *Head of Medusa*. c. 1618. Artstor, library.artstor.org/asset/LESSING_ART_10310119925 Page 286
- Created by Jeremias Falck (Polish, ca. 1609 - 1677), Possibly after Johann Lys (Dutch, 1600-1657), Possibly after Bernardo Strozzi (Italian, 1581-1644). *The Old Woman before the Mirror*. ca. 1597-1629. Artstor, library.artstor.org/asset/ADAVISONIG_10313989988 Page 287
- Lust (Luxuria)*, riding a bear, talks to the devil Asmodeus who flies a banner featuring a basilisk. From *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*. 1446-66. Artstor, library.artstor.org/asset/AWSS35953_35953_31695918. Page 288

Chapter 2: Volumnia and the Animal Womb

- Vesalius, Andreas. *An anatomical dissection being carried out by Andreas Vesalius, attended by a large group of observers*. Woodcut, 1543. [June 1543]. Artstor, library.artstor.org/asset/24835018 Page 289
- Woman wearing a Scold's Bridle*. Artstor, library.artstor.org/asset/24802074 Page 290
- Chart: venesection, 15th century manuscript*. Artstor, library.artstor.org/asset/24798854 Page 291
- A Nun (Sister of Charity) bloodletting a seated patient*. Line engraving. Artstor, library.artstor.org/asset/24839971 Page 292
- Globe Theatre (Southwark, London, England). Ref.: *bull and bear-baiting in the Fechthaus*, Nuremburg c.1690. Artstor, library.artstor.org/asset/ARTSTOR_103_41822001677457 Page 293
- Albrecht Dürer, German, 1471-1528, European; Northern European; German. *Witch Riding Backwards on a Goat*. 1500-1501. Artstor, library.artstor.org/asset/ARTSTOR_103_41822001677457 Page 294
- Anonymous Artists. *Witch Riding on a Wolf, TRACTATUS VON DEN BÖSEN WEIBERN, Treatise on Witches*. 1490. Artstor, library.artstor.org/asset/BARTSCH_5170032 Page 295
- Abraham Aubry, after a design by Johann Wilhelm Baur. *Hecuba Polymnestorem Oculis Priuat (Hecuba plucks out Polymestor's eyes; Hecuba changed into a dog), book XIII, plate 124*. 1685; Baur's etching from 1639, first published in Vienna in 1641; this edition published in 1688. Artstor, library.artstor.org/asset/AWARBURGIG_10311762917 Page 296
- A Lamia*. Artstor, library.artstor.org/asset/24722985 Page 297
- Virgil Solis. *Hecuba Gouges Out Polymestor's Eyes (Met. XIII.545-7), Metamorphoses Ovidii, Ovid's Metamorphoses*. Artstor, library.artstor.org/asset/BARTSCH_3040027 Page 298

Chapter 3: Tamora and the Vegetable Womb

- 'Mere Nature' / 'Temps', French miniature ca. 1400 (location unknown). Originally published by E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconography* 1979, Artstor, library.artstor.org/asset/AWSS35953_35953_31696382 Page 299
- George Wither *A Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Moderne* (1635), The emblems are printed from plates originally engraved by Crispijn van de Passe the elder for "Nucleus emblematorum" by Gabriel Rollenhagen. <http://eebo.chadwyck.com> Page 300
- The Allegory of Nature in Cesaire Ripa's *Iconologia* (1603), Wing (CD-ROM, 1996) / R1528A Page 301
Early English books tract supplement interim guide / Harl.5929 [337]
- Lady Fortune*, miniature from a 1503 edition of *Remedies for Fortune Fair and Foul*, by Petrarch. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Bridgeman Images. Page 302
- Albrecht Dürer (1471 - 1528), Stecher. *Nemesis (Das große Glück)*. Artstor, library.artstor.org/asset/BERLIN_DB_10313798165 Page 303
- Spigelius, *De format foeto* (1627), Artstor, library.artstor.org/asset/24742799 Page 304
- From Theodor Kerckring's *Spicilegium Anatomica* (1670), *Frontispiece: woman skinning a man*. 1729. Artstor, library.artstor.org/asset/ARTSTOR_103_41822001016268 Page 305
- Astrea or Justice, De signis caeli cum figuris*, fol. 85r. XII. Artstor, library.artstor.org/asset/AWSS35953_35953_31692274 Page 306
- Venus in her guise as Fortuna*, the Bodleian Library, *Boke of Astronomy and off (sic) Philosophie*, Folio #: fol. 031v. 15th century, third quarter. Artstor, library.artstor.org/asset/BODLEIAN_10310371674 Page 307
- Antonio del Pollaiuolo, about 1432 - 1498. *Apollo and Daphne*. probably 1470-80. Artstor, library.artstor.org/asset/ANGLIG_10313767551 Page 308
- Workshop of Michael Wolgemut and Wilhelm Pleydenwurff. Page 309

Sol; Diana; Ceres [right, lower]; *Lineage of Semiramis, Queen of Assyria*, folio 25r. 1493. Artstor, library.artstor.org/asset/AWARBURGIG_10313246471

Antonio Tempesta. *The Fury Tisiphone at the Palace of Athamas, The Metamorphoses*. published 1606. Artstor, library.artstor.org/asset/BARTSCH_2500039 Page 310

Chapter 4: Lady Macbeth and the Envious Womb

Jacques de Gheyn II, *Four Witches cooking body parts*, early 17th century. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Page 311

Invidia from Alciato's *Emblemata*, 1621. Page 312

Invidia by Jacob De Gheyn II (1596-7), The British Museum. Page 313

Invidia by Giotto circa 1306, Padova. Page 314

Francesco Maria Guazzo, *Compendium Maleficarum*, Milan: Apud Haeredes August Tradati, 1626 Page 315

vermeld op object prentmaker: Pencz, Georg, naar eigen ontwerp van: Pencz, Georg. *Afgunst (Invidia), Invidia meipsam tabefacio (titel op object), Zeven Hoofdzonden (serietitel)*. 1520 - 1527. Artstor, library.artstor.org/asset/AWSS35953_35953_23301195 Page 316

Minerva and Invidia, Crispijn van de Passe (1602-1607) engraving. Page 317
<https://rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/RP-P-1958-64>

Chapter 5: Cleopatra and the Cyborg Womb

Thomas Bartholin *Bartholinus Anatomy* (1653/1668), *vulva and clitoris*. From *Iconographia Gyniatrix*, Harold Speert, 1972. Page 318

Helkiah Crooke's *Microcosmographia* 1615, a hybrid of Galenic inversion and the newly identified clitoris, marked 'm' on diagram. From *Iconographia Gyniatrix*, Harold Speert, 1972. Page 319

Esias zur Linden (master 1609, died 1632). *Ship (Nef)*. ca. 1609-20. Artstor, library.artstor.org/asset/SS7731421_7731421_11049462 Page 320

Illustration of a *Greek Hetaera using two dildos*, from a cup Page 321

fragment by Epiktetos, Leningrad 14611, ARV 75, 60

Illustration of 16th century Pessaries, egg shaped, of cork - covered with wax. <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/t6aekktd>

Taken from Amir B., Bent A. (2009) "Surgery for Pelvic Organ Prolapse: An Historical Review". In: Badlani G.H., Davila G.W., Michel M.C., de la Rosette J.J.M.C.H. (Eds.) *Continence*. Springer, London.

Page 322

Illustration of Hippocratic succussion method. Speert, Harold.
Iconographia Gyniatrica: A Pictorial History of Gynecology and Obstetrics. Philadelphia: F.A. Davis Company, 1973. Print.

Page 323

From Aretino's *Loves of the Gods*, 'Dido and Aeneas.' Taken from Gilles Néret, *Erotica: 17 th - 18 th Century*, Taschen Books. 2001.

Page 324

From Aretino's *Loves of the Gods*, 'Antony and Cleopatra.' Taken from Gilles Néret, *Erotica: 17 th - 18 th Century*, Taschen Books. 2001.

Page 325

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Introduction:

Adelman, Janet. *Suffocating Mothers: Fantasies of Maternal Origin in Shakespeare's*

Plays, Hamlet to The Tempest. New York: Routledge, 1992. Print.

Ashley, Kathleen M. Ed. *Victor Turner and the Construction of Cultural Criticism*.

Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990. Print.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. *Rabelais and his World*. Trans. Hélène Iswolsky. Bloomington:

Indiana University Press, 1984. Print.

Benjamin, Mariana. *The Middlepause: On Turning Fifty*. London: Scribe Publications,

2016. Print.

Bever, Edward. "Old Age and Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe." *Old Age in*

Preindustrial Society. Ed. Peter N. Stearns, 1982. Print.

Botelho, Lynn and Thane, Pat. Eds. *Women and Ageing in British Society since 1500*.

London: Longman Books, 2001. Print.

Briggs, Robin. *Witches and Neighbours: The Social and Cultural Context of European*

Witchcraft. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996. Print.

Byville, Eric. "How to do Witchcraft Tragedy with Speech Acts." *Comparative Drama*.

45.2 (Summer 2011): 1-33. Print.

Callaghan, Dymphna. *Shakespeare without Women*. London: Routledge, 2000. Print.

Cavarero, Adriana. *Horrorism: Naming Contemporary Violence*. Trans. William

McCuaig. New York: Columbia University Press, 2007. Print.

Conboy, Katie et al. Eds. *Writing on the Body: Female Embodiment and Feminist Theory*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997. Print.

--- Bordo, Susan. "The Body and the Reproduction of Femininity."

--- Martin, Emily. "Medical Metaphors of Women's Bodies: Menstruation and Menopause."

Crawford, Patricia. "Attitudes To Menstruation in Seventeenth-Century England." *Past and Present*. 91.1 (May 1981): 47-73. Print.

Crawford, Patricia and Mendleson, Sara, Eds. *Women in Early Modern England 1550-1720*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999. Print.

Cressy, David. "Gender Trouble and Cross-Dressing in Early Modern England." *Journal of British Studies*. 35.4 (Oct.1996): 438-465. Print.

Crooke, Helkiah. *Mikrokosmographia*.1615 ed. <http://eebooks.chadwyck.com>. Web.

Dean-Jones, Lesley. *Women's Bodies in Classical Greek Science*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994. Print.

Diamond, Elin. "Brechtian Theory/Feminist Theory: Toward a Gestic Feminist Criticism." *TDR*. 32.1 (Spring 1988): 82-94. Print.

Dolan, Francis E. "Readers, Evidence, and Interdisciplinarity." *Shakespeare Studies*. 30 (2002): 26-30. Print.

Dollimore, Jonathan and Alan Sinfield. Eds. *Political Shakespeare: New Essays in Cultural Materialism*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985. Print.

--- Dollimore, Jonathan. "Introduction: Shakespeare, Cultural Materialism and the New Historicism." Print.

--- McLuskie, Kathleen. "The Patriarchal Bard: Feminist Criticism and Shakespeare: King Lear and Measure for Measure." Print.

Douglas, Mary. *Purity and Danger*. London: Routledge, 1966. Print.

Feinson, Marjorie Chary. "Where are the Women in the History of Aging?" *Social Science History*. 9.4 (1985): 429-452. Print.

Fiedler, Leslie. *The Stranger in Shakespeare*. London: Croom Helm, 1973. Print.

Forman, Simon. "Matrix and the Pain Thereof: A Sixteenth-Century Gynaecological Essay." Barbara H. Traister. *Medical History*. 35(1991): 436-451. Print.

Fox, Alice. "Obstetrics and Gynecology in Macbeth." *Shakespeare Studies*. 12. (Jan. 1979): 127-141. Print.

Freeman, E.W. et al. "Hormones and menopausal status as predictors of depression in women in transition to menopause." *Arch Gen Psychiatry*. 61 (2004): 62-70. Print.

Garner, Stanton B. Jr. *Bodies Spaces: Phenomenology and Performance in Contemporary Drama*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994. Print.

Gibaldi, Joseph. *MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers*. 5th ed. New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1999. Print.

Gilleard, Chris. "Ageing and the Galenic tradition: a brief overview." *Ageing and society*. 35.3 (2015): 489-511. Print.

Graff, Harvey J. "Literacy Studies and Interdisciplinary Studies: Reflections on History and Theory." *Valences of Interdisciplinarity: Theory, Practice, Pedagogy*. Ed. Raphael Foshay. Edmonton: AU Press, 2011. Print.

Greer, Germaine. *The Change: Women, Aging, and the Menopause*. London: Bloomsbury Books, 2018. Print.

Grosz, Elizabeth. *Volatile Bodies: Toward a Corporeal Feminism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994. Print.

Gusdorf, George. "Past, Present, and Future in Interdisciplinary Research." *International Social Science Journal*. 29 (1977): 580-600. Print.

Hinsliff, Gaby. "As the lockdown bites, it's women who are taking the strain." *The Guardian*. 17 Ap. 2020. Web.

Hippocrates. *Vols. 1-4*. Trans. W.H.S. Jones. London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1962. Print.

Horodowich, Elizabeth. "Introduction: Speech and Oral Culture in Early Modern Europe and Beyond." *Journal of Early Modern History*. 16. 4-5 (2012): 301-313. Print.

Hunter, Lynette. "Being in-between: Performance studies for sustaining interdisciplinarity." *Cogent Arts and Humanities*. 2 (2015): 1124481. Print.

Hutson, Lorna. Ed. *Feminism and Renaissance Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999. Print.

--- Kelly, Joan. "Did Women have a Renaissance?"

---Maclean, Ian. "The Notion of Woman in Medicine, Anatomy, and Physiology."

--- Zemon Davis, Natalie. "Women on Top."

Karim-Cooper, Farah. *Cosmetics in Shakespearean and Renaissance Drama*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006. Print.

Kiefer, Frederick. *Shakespeare's Visual Theatre: Staging the Personified Characters*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. Print.

Kocher, Paul H. "Lady Macbeth and the Doctor." *Shakespeare Quarterly*. 5.4 (1954): 341-349. Print.

Kolin, Philip C. Ed. *Titus Andronicus: Critical Essays*. New York: Garland Publishers Ltd., 1995. Print.

--- Asp, Carolyn. "'Upon her Writ Doth Earthly Honor Wait': Female Agency in Titus Andronicus."

--- Willbern, David. "Rape and Revenge in Titus Andronicus".

--- Hiles, Jane. "A Margin for Error: Rhetorical Context in Titus Andronicus."

Kristeva, Julia. *Powers of Horror: An Essay in Abjection*. Trans. Leon S. Roudiez. New York: Columbia University Press, 1982.

--- *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*. Trans. Thomas Gora et al. New York: Columbia University Press, 1980. Print.

Lemnius, Levinus. *The touchstone of the complexions expedient and profitable for all such as bee desirous and carefull of their bodily health*. 1633 ed.

<http://eebooks.chadwyck.com>. Web.

Levin, Carole. *The Heart and Stomach of a King*. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009. Print.

Lewalski, Barbara Kiefer. "Anne of Denmark and the Subversions of Masquing." *Criticism*. 35.3 (Summer 1993): 341-355. Print.

Loomba, Ania. *Gender, Race and Renaissance Drama*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989. Print.

McCray Beier, Lucinda. *Sufferers and Healers*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987. Print.

Melby, Melissa K. and Michelle Lampl. "Menopause, A Biocultural Perspective."

Annual Review of Anthropology. 40 (2011): 53-58. Print.

Moore, Anna. "Why does medicine treat women like men?" *The Guardian*. 24 May.

2020. Web.

Oldridge, Darren. Ed. *The Witchcraft Reader*. London: Routledge, 2002. Print.

--- Behringer, Wolfgang. "Weather, Hunger and Fear."

--- Briggs, Robin. "The Experience of Bewitchment."

--- Clark, Stuart. "Inversion, Misrule and the Meaning of Witchcraft."

--- Jackson, Louise. "Witches, Wives and Mothers."

--- Muchembled, Robert. "Satanic Myths and Cultural Realities."

Orgel, Stephen. *Impersonations: The Performance of Gender in Shakespeare's England*.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996. Print.

Ortiz-Ospina, Esteban et al. "Economic inequality by gender." Ourworldindata.org. 2019.

Web.

Ottaway, Susannah. *The decline of life: old age in eighteenth-century England*.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. Print.

Reynolds, Bryan. *Performing Transversally: Reimagining Shakespeare and the Clinical*

Future. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. Print.

Paré, Ambroise. *On Monsters and Marvels*. Trans. Janis L. Pallister. Chicago: University

of Chicago Press, 1982. Print.

Paster, Gail Kern. *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early*

Modern England. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993. Print.

--- *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004. Print.

Plato. *Timaeus*. Trans. Harold Tarrant. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. Print.

Poska, M and McIver, K. *The Ashgate Research Companion to Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*. Eds. J. Couchman et al. Farnham: Ashgate, 2012. Print.

Pseudo-Albert. *Women's Secrets: A Translation of Pseudo-Albertus Magnus's 'De Secretis Mulierum', with Commentaries*. New York: SUNY Press, 1992. Print.

Rocheus, Nicolaus. *De morbis mulierum curandis*. 1542 ed. EEB Wellcome Records.

Retrieved from <https://search-proquest-com.ezproxyd.bham.ac.uk/docview/2090360603?accountid=8630>. Web.

Rowlands, Alison. "Witchcraft and Old Women in Early Modern Germany." *Past and Present*. 173 (2001): 50-89. Print.

Rubin, Stanley. *Medieval English Medicine*. Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1974. Print.

Rüeff, Jakob. *The expert midwife*. 1637 ed. <https://eebo.chadwyck.com>. Web.

Schmidt, Jan C. "Towards a philosophy of interdisciplinarity." *Poiesis and Praxis*. 5 (2008): 53-69. Print.

Shakespeare, William. *Hamlet: Revised edition*. Eds. Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor. London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2016. Print.

Sievert, Lynette Leidy. *Menopause: A Biocultural Perspective*. Newark: Rutgers University Press, 2006. Print.

- Siraisi, Nancy. *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990. Print.
- Sowers, Maryfran R. "Menopause: Its Epidemiology." *Women and Health*. Cleveland: Elsevier, 2013. Web.
- Sprenger, Jakob and Kramer, Henry. *Malleus Maleficarum*. Trans. M. Summer. London: Pushkin Press, 1951. Print.
- Stolberg, Michael. "A Woman Down to her Bones. The Anatomy of Sexual Difference in Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries." *Isis*. 94.2 (June 2003): 274-299. Print.
- Traub, Valerie. *Desire and Anxiety: Circulations of Sexuality in Shakespearean Drama*. New York: Routledge, 1992. Print.
- Trotula. *Trotula: A Medieval Compendium of Women's Medicine*. Trans. Monica H. Green. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001. Print.
- Turner, Frederick. "'Hyperion to a Satyr': Criticism and Anti-Structure in the Work of Victor Turner." *Victor Turner and the Construction of Cultural Criticism*. Ed. Kathleen M. Ashley. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990. Print.
- Turner, Victor. *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual*. London: Cornell University Press, 1967. Print.
- *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. 2nd ed. New Brunswick: Aldine Transaction, 2008. Print.
- Utian, Wulf H. "Menopause-related Definitions." Cleveland: Elsevier B.V. (2004): 133-138. Web.

Van Gennep, Arnold. *The Rites of Passage*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1960. 2nd ed. 1992. Print.

Viljoen, Hein. *Beyond the Threshold: Explorations of Liminality in Literature*. New York: Pater Lang, 2007. Print.

Von Nettersheim, Agrippa. *Three books of occult philosophy, translated out of the Latin into the English tongue by J.F.* 1651 ed. [https:// www.eebo.chadwyck.com](https://www.eebo.chadwyck.com). Web.

Webster, Charles. Ed. *Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971. Print.

--- Forbes, Thomas R. "The Changing Face of Death in London."

--- Pelling, Margaret and Charles Webster. "Medical Practitioners."

Wingert, Pat and Kantrowitz, Barbara. *The Menopause Book*. New York: Workman Publishing, 2009. Print.

Woodward, Kathleen. "Instant Repulsion: Decrepitude, the Mirror Stage, and the Literary Imagination." *The Kenyan Review*. 5. 4 (Autumn 1983). Print.

--- "Youthfulness as Masquerade." *Discourse*. 11. 1 (Fall-Winter 1988-9): 119-142. Print.

--- "Performing Age, Performing Gender." *NSA Journal*. 18. 1 (Spring 2006): 162-189. Print.

Zamir, Tzachi. "Watching Actors." *Theatre Journal*. 62.2 (May 2010): 227-243. Print.

Zender, Karl F. *Shakespeare, Midlife and Generativity*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2008.

Chapter 1: Gertrude and the Petrified Womb

Adelman, Janet. *Suffocating Mothers: Fantasies of Maternal Origin in Shakespeare's*

Plays, Hamlet to The Tempest. New York: Routledge, 1992. Print.

Albertus, Magnus. *De Secretis mulierum*. Trans. John Quincy. 1725 ed.

<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>. Web.

Apollodorus. *The Library, Vol. II: Book 3.10-end. Epitome*. Trans. James G. Frazer. Loeb

Classical Library. London: Harvard University Press, 1921. Print.

Apollonius. *Argonautica*. Trans. William H. Race. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University

Press, 2014. Print.

Aristotle. *Generation of Animals*. Trans. A. L. Peck. Loeb Classical Library. MA:

Harvard University Press, 1953. Print.

--- *On Dreams*. Trans. J.I. Beare. Blacksburg: Virginia Tech, 2001. Print.

Barnes, Barnabe. *Parthenophil and Parthenophe Sonnettes*. 1593 ed.

<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>. Web.

Berger, Allan S. "The Evil Eye: An Ancient Superstition." *Journal and Religion and*

Health. 51.4 (Dec. 2012): 1098-1103. Print.

Boguet, Henry. *An Examen of Witches*. Trans. Montague Summers. New York: Dover

Publications Inc., 2009. Print.

Bos, Gerrit. "Ibn Al-Jazzar on Women's Diseases and their Treatment." *Medical History*.

37(1993): 296-312. Print.

Breiner, Laurence A. "The Career of the Cockatrice." *Isis*. 70 (1979): 30. Print.

Burton, Robert. *The Anatomy of Melancholy*. Eds. Thomas C. Faulkner et al. 1632 ed.

Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994. Print.

Carter, Sarah. *Ovidian myth and sexual deviance in early modern English Literature*.

Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. Print.

Carvallo, Sarah. "Ageing in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries." *Science in Context*. 23.3(2010): 267-288. Print.

Crawford, Patricia. "Attitudes To Menstruation in Seventeenth-Century England." *Past and Present*. 91.1 (May 1981): 47-73. Print.

Dawson, Lesel. *Lovesickness and Gender in Early Modern English Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Print.

Dean-Jones, Lesley. *Women's Bodies in Classical Greek Science*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994. Print.

Della Porta, Giambattista. *Natural Magic*. Boston Public Library. 1658 ed.

<https://www.archive.org>. Web.

Demaitre, Luke. *Medieval Medicine: The Art of Healing from Head to Toe*. Santa Barbara: Praegar, 2013. Print.

Donne, John. "Niobe." *Epigrams. Works by John Donne: Vol.1*. Ed. Herbert J.C. Grierson. <http://www.oxfordscholarship.com>. Web.

DuBois, Page. *Sowing the Body: Psychoanalysis and Ancient Representations of Women*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991. Print.

Du  , Casey. *The Captive Woman's Lament in Greek Tragedy*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006. Print.

Dundes, Alan. "Wet and Dry, the Evil Eye." *The Evil Eye: A Casebook*. Ed. A. Dundes. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981. Print.

Durling, R. J. "The Innate Heat in Galen." *Medizinhistorisches Journal*. 23. 3-4 (1988):

210-212. Print.

Euripedes. *Hecuba*. Trans. Tony Harrison. London: Faber and Faber, 2005. Print.

--- *Ion*. Trans. Robert Potter. <https://www.perseus.tufts.edu>. Web.

Ferrand, James. *Erotomania, or A treatise discoursing of the essence, causes, symptoms, prognostics, and cure of love or erotic melancholy*. 1645 ed.

<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>. Web.

Freeman, E.W. et al. "Hormones and menopausal status as predictors of depression in women in transition to menopause." *Arch Gen Psychiatry*. 61(2004): 62-70. Print.

Floyd-Wilson, Mary. *Occult Knowledge, Science, and Gender on the Shakespearean Stage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013. Print.

Garencières, Theophilus. *The True Prophecies or Prognostications of Michael Nostradamus* London 1672 ed. <https://eebo.chadwyck.com>. Web.

Gender Equality Monitor (GEM). <http://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk> 2020 Web.

Gilleard, Chris. "Ageing and the Galenic tradition: a brief Overview." *Ageing and Society*. 35.3 (March 2015). Print.

Goscilo, Helena. "The Mirror in Art: Vanitas, Veritas, and Vision." *Studies in 20th & 21st Century Literature*. 34. 2 (2010): 282- 398. Print.

Graves, Robert. *The White Goddess*. London: Faber, 1999. Print.

--- *The Greek Myths Vols.1 and 2*. London: Penguin Books, 1990. Print.

Gregory, Joshua C. "Magic, Fascination, and Suggestion." *Folklore*. 63.3 (1952): 143-151. Print.

Harlow, Siobán et al. "Menopause: Its Epidemiology." *Women and Health*. Cleveland:

Elsevier Inc. (2013): 371-387. Print.

Hesiod. *Theogony and Works and Days*. Trans. Dorothea Wender. Harmondsworth:

Penguin Books, 1973. Print.

Hinsliff, Gaby. "As the lockdown bites, it's women who are taking the strain." *The*

Guardian. 17 April 2020. Web.

Hippocrates. *Aphorisms*. Trans. W.H.S. Jones. London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1962.

Print.

--- *Diseases of Women I-2*. Trans. Paul Potter. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University

Press, 2018. Print.

--- *Diseases of Women XI*. Trans. Paul Potter. London: Harvard University Press, 2012.

Print.

--- *Generation of the Child Loeb Classical Library X*. Trans. Paul Potter. London:

Harvard University Press, 2012. Print.

Homer. *Iliad*. <https://www.classics.mit.edu>. Web.

Jose, Laura. "Monstrous Conceptions: Sex, Madness and Gender in Medieval Texts."

Comparative Critical Studies. 5. 2-3 (2008): 153-163. Print.

Kassell, Lauren. *Medicine and Magic in Elizabethan London*. Oxford: Clarendon Press,

2005. Print.

Kennedy, Gwynne. *Just Anger: Representing Women's Anger in Early Modern England*.

Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000. Print.

Lachman, N. et al. "Lithopedion: a case report." *Clinical Anatomy*. 14 (2001): 52-54.

Print.

Laoutaris, Chris. *Shakespearean Maternities: Crises of Conception in Early Modern England*. Edinburgh: EUP, 2008. Print.

Lupić, Ivan. "The Mobile Queen: Observing Hecuba in Renaissance Europe." *Renaissance Drama*. 46.1(2018): 25-56. Print.

Maclean, Ian. "The Notion of Women in Medicine, Anatomy, and Physiology." *Feminism and Renaissance Studies*. Ed. Lorna Hutson. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999. Print.

--- *The Renaissance Notion of Women: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980. Web.

Macmath, James. *The expert mid-wife: a treatise of the diseases of women with child, and in child-bed*. 1694 ed. <https://eebo.chadwyck.com>. Web.

Magnus, Albertus. *Women's secrets: a translation of Pseudo-Albertus Magnus's de secretis mulierum with commentaries*. Trans. Helen Rodnite Lémay. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992. Print.

Martial. *Epigrams*. Trans. Henry Killigrew. 1695 ed. <https://eebo.chadwyck.com>. Web.

Martin, Emily. *The Woman in the Body: A Cultural Analysis of Reproduction*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2001. Print.

Melby, Melissa K. and Lampl, Michelle. "Menopause: A Biocultural Perspective." *Annual Review of Anthropology*. 40 (211): 55-58. Print.

Miranda, Efrain M. "Lithopedion." *Medical Terminology Daily*. www.clinicalanatomy.com. 30 Mar. 2017. Web.

More, John. *Lively Anatomie of Death*. 1596 2nd. ed. <http://eebo.chadwyckcom>. Web.

- Newman, William R. "Bad Chemistry: Basilisks and Women in Paracelsus and pseudo-Paracelsus." *Ambix*. 67.1 (2020): 30-46. Print.
- Northrup, Christine. *Women's Bodies, Women's Wisdom: Creating Physical and Emotional Health and Healing*. New York: Bantam Books, 1998. Print.
- Nummedal, Tara. "Alchemy and Religion in Christian Europe." *Ambix*. 60.4(2013): 311-322. Print.
- Office for National Statistics. <https://www.ons.gov.gov.uk>. Sep. 2019. Web.
- Ortiz-Ospina, Esteban and Roser, Max. "Economic inequality by gender." <https://www.OurWorldindata.org>. 2019. Web.
- Ovid. *Metamorphoses*. Trans. A.D. Melville. London: Penguin Books, 2008. Print.
- Paré, Ambroise. *On Monsters and Marvels*. Trans. Janis L. Pallister. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982. Print.
- Paster, Gail Kern. *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004. Print.
- "The pith and marrow of our attribute: dialogue of skin and skull in Hamlet and Holbein's The Ambassadors." *Textual Practice*. 23.2(April 2009): 247-265. Print.
- Pechey, John. *The compleat midwife's practice*. 1698 ed. <https://eebo.chadwyck.com>. Web.
- Pliny. *Natural History Books 8-11*. Trans. H. Rackham. Loeb Classical Library. MA: Harvard University Press, 1940. Print.
- Pollard, Tanya. "What's Hecuba to Shakespeare?" *Renaissance Quarterly*. 64. 4 (Dec. 2012): 1060-1093. Print.2012

- Poole, Kristen. *Supernatural Environments in Shakespeare's England: Spaces of Demonism, Divinity and Drama*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011. Print.
- Poska, M and K. McIver et al. Eds. *The Ashgate Research Companion to Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2012. Print.
- Pseudo-Hyginus. *Star Myths of the Greeks and Romans: a sourcebook containing the Constellations of Pseudo-Eratosthenes and the Poetic Astronomy of Hyginus*. Trans. Theony Condos. Grand Rapids: Phanes Press, 1997. Print.
- Purkiss, Diane. *The Witch in History: Early Modern and Twentieth-Century Representations*. London: Routledge, 1996. Print.
- Oliver, John. "Present for Teeming Women." 1688 ed. <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>. Web.
- Quillet, Claude. *Callipaedia: Or, The Art of Getting Beautiful Children*. Hathi Trust Digital Library. 15 Mar. 2020. Web.
- Northrup, Christiane M.D. *Women's Bodies, Women's Wisdom*. New York: Bantam Books, 1998. Print.
- Ramos-Andrade, Daniel. "An unusual cause of intra-abdominal calcification: A lithopedion." *European Journal of Radiology Open*. 1 (2014): 60-63. Print.
- Ripat, Pauline. "Roman Women, Wise Women, and Witches." *Phoenix*. 70.1-2 (Spring-Summer 2016): 104-128. Print.
- Roob, Alexander. *Alchemy and Mysticism: The Hermetic Museum*. Trans. Shaun Whiteside. Roseburg: Taschen Books, 1997. Print.

- Rothenberg, Alan B. "Infantile Fantasies in Shakespearean Metaphor: Scopophilia and Fears of Ocular Rape and Castration." *Psychoanalytic Review*. 60.4 (Winter 1973): 533-550. Print.
- Rous, Francis. *Thule, or Vertues Historie*. <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>. Web.
- Ruëff, Jacob. 1554 *The Expert Midwife, Or An Excellent and Most Necessary Treatise of the Generation and Birth of Man*. 1637 ed. London: E Griffin for S. Burton. <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>. Web.
- Sennert, Daniel. *Practical Physick*. 1664 ed. <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>. Web.
- Scot, Reginald. *A Discovery of Witchcraft*. Princeton Theological Seminary Library. 1886.ed. <http://www.archive.org>. Web.
- Shakespeare, William. *Hamlet: Revised Edition*. Eds. Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor. The Arden Shakespeare. London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2016. Print.
- Siraisi, Nancy. *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990. Print.
- Spenser, Edmund. *The Faerie Queene*. Eds. Thomas P. Roche and C. Patrick O'Donnell. London: Penguin Books, 1979. Print.
- Smith, Rebecca. "A Heart Cleft in Twain: The Dilemma of Shakespeare's Gertrude." *The Woman's Part: Feminism Criticism of Shakespeare*. Eds. Carolyn Ruth Swift Lenz et al. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980. Print.
- Topsell, Edward. *The history of four-footed beasts*. 1607 ed. <http://eebo.chadwyck.com> Web.
- Traister, Barbara H. "Simon Forman's 'Matrix and the Pain Thereof': A Sixteenth-Century Gynaecological Essay." *Medical History*. 35 (1991): 436-451. Print.

Unknown. *Carmina Priapeia*. Trans. Leonard C. Smithers and Sir Richard Burton. 1890 ed. <http://www.sacred-texts.com> Dec. 2000. Web.

Wanley, Nathaniel. *The Wonders of the Little World*. 1774 ed. <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>. Web.

Winston, Jessica. "Seneca in Early Elizabethan England." *Renaissance Quarterly*. 59.1 (Spring 2006): 29-58. Print.

Wright, Thomas. "The Passions of the minde in general. Corrected, enlarged, and with sundry new discourses augmented." 1604 ed. [http:// www.eebo.chadwyck.com](http://www.eebo.chadwyck.com). Web.

Yeats, William Butler. "The Second Coming." *Selected Poems: Penguin Modern Classics*. London: Penguin Books, 2000. Print.

Chapter 2: Volumnia and the Animal Womb

Adams, Thomas. *The Taming of the Tongue*. 1615 ed. <http://eebooks.chadwyck.com>. Web.

Adelman, Janet. *Suffocating Mothers: Fantasies of Maternal Origin in Shakespeare's Plays, Hamlet to The Tempest*. New York: Routledge, 1992. Print.

Aebischer, Pascale. *Shakespeare's Violated Bodies: Stage and Screen Performance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994. Print.

Allestree, Richard. *The government of the tongue by the author of the whole duty of man*. 1615 ed. <http://eebooks.chadwyck.com>. Web.

--- *The Ladies Calling*. 1673 ed. <http://anglicanhistory.org>. Web.

--- *A new almanacke and prognostication*. 1618 ed.

<http://eebooks.chadwyck.com>. Web.

Aristotle. *Generation of Animals*. Ed. T.E. Page. Loeb Classical Library. MA: Harvard University Press, 1953. Print.

Aristotle. *History of Animals Books VII-X*. Trans. D.M. Balme. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991. Print.

Bailie, Gil. *Violence Unveiled: Humanity at the Crossroads*. New York: Crossroads Publishing, 1997. 30-41. Print.

Berengario da Carpi, Jacopo. *Mikrokosmographia*. 1644 ed.

<http://eebooks.chadwyck.com>. Web.

Bloom, Harold. Ed. *William Shakespeare's Coriolanus*. New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1988. Print.

--- Waith, Eugene M. "The Herculean Hero."

--- Rabkin, Norman. "The Polity in Coriolanus."

--- Nuttall, A.D. "Shakespeare's Imitation of the World."

--- Cavell, Stanley. "Coriolanus and Interpretations of Politics."

Boehrer, Bruce Thomas. *Shakespeare Among the Animal: nature and society in the drama of early modern England*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002. Print.

Boose, Lynda. "Scolding Brides and Bridling Scolds: Taming the Woman's Unruly Member." *Shakespeare Quarterly*. 42.2 (1991): 179-213.

Botelho, Lynn and Thane, Pat. Eds. *Women and Aging in British Society Since 1500*. Harlow: Longman, 2001. Print.

Brain, Peter. *Galen on Bloodletting: A Study of the Origins, Development and Validity of his Opinion, with a Translation of the Three Works*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986. Print.

Brome, Richard. *The Antipodes*. Eds. David Scott Kastan and Richard Proudfoot. London: Nick Herne, 2000. Print.

Burton, Robert. *The Anatomy of Melancholy*. Eds. Thomas C. Faulkner et al. 1632 ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994. Print.

Caius, John. *De Canibus Britannicus of Englishe Dogges*. <http://gutenberg.org>. Web.

Callaghan, Dymrna. *Women and Gender in Renaissance Tragedy: A Study of King Lear, Othello, The Duchess of Malfi and The White Devil*. Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989. Print.

--- Traub, Valerie. "Gendering Mortality in Early Modern Anatomies."

Carlino, Andrea. *Books of the Body: Anatomical Ritual and Renaissance Learning*. Trans. John Tedeschi and Anne C. Tedeschi. London: The University of Chicago Press, 1994. Print.

Cavarero, Adriana. *Stately Bodies: Literature, Philosophy and the Question of Gender*. Trans. Robert de Lucca et al. Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1995. Print.

Cole, Lucinda. *Imperfect Creatures: Vermin, Literature, and the Science of Life, 1600-1740*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016. Print.

Conboy, Katie et al. Eds. *Writing on the Body: Female Embodiment and Feminist Theory*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997. Print.

--- Braidotti, Rosi. "Mothers, Monsters, and Machines."

--- Martin, Emily. "Medical Metaphors of Women's Bodies: Menstruation and Menopause."

Creed, Barbara. *The Monstrous-Feminine: Film, Feminism and Psychoanalysis*. Oxford: Routledge, 1993. Print.

Crooke, Helkiah. *Mikrokosmographia*. 1615 ed. <http://eebooks.chadwyck.com>. Web.

Curth, Louise L. "Ancient Equine Medicine." *Society and Animals*. 8.1(2000): 71-86. Print.

Crystal, David. *The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. Print.

Dawson, Lesel. *Lovesickness and Gender in Early Modern Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Print.

Dean Jones, Lesley. *Women's Bodies in Classical Greek Science*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994. Print.

Della Porta, Giambattista. *Magia naturalis*. 1658 ed. <http://eebooks.chadwyck.com>. Web.

Demand, Nancy H. *Birth, Death and Motherhood in Classical Greece*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994. Print.

Dittman, Joo Young. "'Tear him to pieces': De-Suturing Masculinity in Coriolanus." *English Studies*. 90.6 (Nov.2009): 653-672. Print.

Donne, John. "To Edward Herbert, at Juliers." *Vol. 1 The Text of the Poems with Appendixes*. Ed. Herbert J.C. Grierson. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. Print.

Douglas, Mary. *Purity and Danger*. London: Routledge, 1966. Print.

- Drayton, Michael. *Poly-Albion: New Perspectives*. Eds. Andrew MacKae and Philip Schwyzer. Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2020. Print.
- <http://poly-olbion.exeter.ac.uk>. Web.
- Eagleton, Terry. *Radical Sacrifice*. Yale: Yale University Press, 2018. Print.
- Faroane, Christopher. "New Light on Ancient Greek Exorcisms of the Wandering Womb." *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*. 144(2003): 189-197. Print.
- Fernel, Jean. *On the Hidden Causes of Things: Forms, Souls, and Occult Diseases in Renaissance Medicine*. Eds. John Forrester and John Henry. Leiden: Brill, 2004. Print.
- Fildes, Valerie. *Breasts, Bottles, and Babies: A History of Infant Breastfeeding*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1986. 84-5. Print.
- Floyd-Wilson, Mary. *Occult Knowledge, Science, and Gender on the Shakespearean Stage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013. Print.
- Foster, Charles. *Being a Beast*. London: Profile Books, 2016. Print.
- Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Trans. Alan Sheridan. New York: Vintage Books, 1979. Print.
- Franco, Cristiana. *Shameless: The Canine and the Feminine in Ancient Greece*. Trans. Matthew Fox. California: University of California Press, 2014. Print.
- Fudge, Erica. *Brutal Reasoning: Animals, Rationality, and Humanity in Early Modern England*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006. Print.
- "Renaissance Animal Things." *New Formations*. 76 (2012): 86-100, 150. Print.
- "The Animal Face of Early Modern England." *Theory, Culture and Society*. 30.7-8 (2013): 177-198. Print.

--- "Milking Other Men's Beasts." *History and Theory, Theme Issue*. 52 (Dec. 2013): 28-33. Print.

Galen. "Galen: On the Affected Parts." *Annals of Internal Medicine*. 87.1 (1977): 143. Print.

Girard, René. *The Scapegoat*. Trans. Y. Freccero. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1986. Print.

Gowing, Laura. "Women, Status and the Popular Culture of Dishonour." *Transaction of the Royal Historical Society*. 6 (1996): 225-234. Print.

Guillemeau, Jacques. *Child-birth or, The Happy delivery of women*. 1635 ed. <http://eebooks.chadwyck.com>. Web.

Henschen, Folke. *The Human Skull: A Cultural History*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1965. Print.

Herbrechter, Stefan and Callus, Ivan. "What is a posthumanist reading?" *Angelaki*. 13.1(Aug. 2008): 95-111. Print.

Hippocrates. *Major Works*. Trans. W.H.S. Jones. London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1962. Print.

Höfele, Andreas. *Stage, Stake, and Scaffold: Humans and Animals in Shakespeare's Theatre*. <http://www.oxfordscholarship.com>. Web. 2012.

Horodowich, Elizabeth. "Introduction: Speech and Oral Culture in Early Modern Europe and Beyond." *Journal of Early Modern History*. 16. 4-5 (2012): 301-313. Print.

Inwood, Brad. Ed. *The Poems of Empedocles: A Text and Translation with a Commentary*. Toronto: Toronto Press, 2000. Print.

- Iza Erriti, Aneider. "Resemblance Operations and Conceptual Complexity in Animal Metaphors." *Revista de Lingusitica y Lenguas Aplicadas*. 2012.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.4995/rlyla>. Web.
- Jagendorf, Zvi. "Coriolanus: Body Politic and Private Parts." *Shakespeare Quarterly*. 41.4 (Winter 1990): 455-469. Print.
- Jorden, Edward. *A briefe discourse of a disease called the suffocation of the mother*. 1603 ed. <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>. Web.
- Joubert, Laurent. *Erreurs populaires au fait de la médecine et regime de santé*.
<http://eebooks.chadwyck.com>. Web.
- Kahn, Coppèlia. *Roman Shakespeare: Warriors, Wounds and Women*. London: Routledge, 1997. Print.
- Keller, Eve. "'that Sublimest Juyce in our Body': Bloodletting and Ideas of the Individual in Early Modern England." *Philological Quarterly*. 86.1 (2007): 97-122. Print.
- King, Helen. "Once Upon a text: Hysteria from Hippocrates to Freud." *Hysteria beyond Freud*. Eds. Sander Gilman et al. Berkley: University of California Press, 1993. Print.
- Kordecki, Lesley. "True Lore and the Nonhuman: Shakespeare's dog Crab and the animal/human connection." *Social Alternatives; Brisbane*. 32.4 (2013): 28-33. Print.
- Kristeva, Julia. *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*. Trans. Leon S. Roudiez. New York: Columbia University Press, 1982. Print.
- Lachman, N et al. "Lithopedion: a case report." <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov> Web.

Lehnhof, Kent R. "Acting, Integrity, and Gender in *Coriolanus*." *Shakespeare Bulletin*.

31.3 (Fall 2013): 353-373. Print.

Lemnius, Levinus. *The touchstone of the complexions expedient and profitable for all*

such as bee desirous and carefull of their bodily health. 1633 ed.

<http://eebooks.chadwyck.com>. Web.

Levin, Carole. *The Heart and Stomach of a King*. Pennsylvania: University of

Pennsylvania Press, 1994. Print.

Lincoln, Elizabeth Clinton, Countess of. *The Countesse of Lincolnes nurserie*. 1622 ed.

<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>.

Livy, Titus. *History of the Romans. Books I-III*. Trans. John Henry Freese et al. 1904 ed.

<http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/10828>. Web.

Loomba, Ania. *Gender, Race and Renaissance Drama*. Oxford: Oxford University Press,

1989. Print.

Lowe, Lisa. "'Say I Play the Man I Am': Gender and Politics in *Coriolanus*." *The*

Kenyon Review. 8.4 (Autumn 1986): 86-95. Print.

Macfaul, Tom. *Shakespeare and the Natural World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University

Press, 2015. Print.

MacInnes, Ian. "Mastiffs and Spaniels: Gender and Nation in the English Dog." *Textual*

Practice. 17.1 (Nov.2003): 21-40. Print.

McLaren, Dorothy. "Marital Fertility and Lactation, 1570-1720." *Women in English*

Society, 1500-1800. Ed. Mary Prior. London: Routledge, 2005. Print.

Macmath, James. *The expert mid-wife a treatise of the diseases of women with child, and*

in child-bed. <http://eebooks.chadwyck.com>. Web.

- Magnus, Albertus. *On Animals: A Medieval Summa Zoologica*. Trans. Kenneth I. Kitchell Jr. et al. 2 Vols. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999. Print.
- Mattern, Susan P. "Panic and Culture: Hysterike Pnix in the Ancient Greek World." *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Science*. 70.4 (2014): 491-515. Print.
- Mazzio, Carla. "Sins of the Tongue in Early Modern England." *Modern Language Studies*. 28. 3-4 (Autumn 1998): 93-124. Print.
- McCray Beier, Lucinda. *Sufferers and Healers*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987. Print.
- McGinnis, Jon. *Avicenna*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. Print.
- Moss, Stephanie and Peterson, Kaara L. Eds. *Literary and Scientific Cultures of Early Modernity*. Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2004. Print.
- Orland, Barbara. "Why Could Early Modern Men Lactate?" *Women and Gender in the Early Modern World: Medieval and Renaissance Lactations: Images, Rhetorics, Practices*. Ed. Jutta Gisela Sperling et al. London: Routledge, 2013. Print.
- O'Shea, Andrew. *René Girard and Charles Taylor on the Crisis of Modernity*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2012. Print.
- Ovid. *Metamorphoses*. Trans. A.D. Melville. London: Penguin Books, 2008. Print.
- Palaver, Wolfgang. *René Girard's Mimetic Theory*. Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 2013. Print.
- Paré, Ambroise. *On Monsters and Marvels*. Trans. Janis L. Pallister. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982. Print.

Park, Katherine. *Secrets of Women: Gender, Generation, and the Origins of Human Dissection*. New York: Zone Books, 2010. Print.

Paster, Gail Kern. *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993. Print.

--- "The Unbearable Coldness of Female Being: Women's Imperfections and the Humoral Economy." *English Literary Renaissance*. 28.3(1998): 416-440. Print.

Plato. *Timaeus*. Trans. Harold Tarrant. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. Print.

Pliny. *Natural History*. Trans. W.H.S. Jones. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963. Print.

Plutarch. *Lives: Volume 4*. Trans. Aubrey Stewart and George Long. 2013.

www.gutenberg.org. Web.

--- *The moral philosophe*. Trans. Philemon Holland. 1603 ed.

<http://eebooks.chadwyck.com>. Web.

Raber, Karen. "Shakespeare and Animal Studies." *Literature Compass*. 12.6 (2015): 286-298. Print.

Raleigh, Walter. *The historie of the world, in five books*. <http://eebooks.chadwyck.com>. Web.

Ramos-Andrade, Daniel et al. "A Unusual cause of Intra-Abdominal Calcification: A Lithopedion." *PubMed Central*. 2014. <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov> Web.

Raynalde, Thomas. *The Birth of Mankind* 1560 ed. <http://eebooks.chadwyck.com>. Web.

Reineke, Martha J. *Sacrificed Lives: Kristeva on Women and Violence*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997. Print.

- Ritvo, Harriet. *The Animal Estate*. MA: Harvard University Press, 1989. Print
- Roberts, Jeanne Addison. *The Shakespearean Wild: Geography, Genus, and Gender*.
Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991. Print.
- Rose, Mary Beth. "Where are the Mothers in Shakespeare? Options for Gender Representation in the English Renaissance." *Shakespeare Quarterly*. 42.3 (Autumn 1991): 291-341. Print.
- Rousseau, G.S. "'A Strange Pathology': Nerves and the Hysteria Diagnosis in Early Modern Europe." *Nervous Acts: Essays on Literature, Culture and Sensibility*.
London: Palgrave Books, 2004. Print
- Rubin, Stanley. *Medieval English Medicine*. Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1974.
Print.
- Ruetenik, Tadd. "Sacrifice and Flesh Eating in Judeo-Christian Tradition." *Contagion: Journal of Violence, Mimesis, and Culture*. 22 (Spring 2015): 141-152. Print.
- Serjeantson, Richard. "The Soul." *The Oxford Handbook of Philosophy in Early Modern Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. Print.
- Shakespeare, William. *Coriolanus*. Eds. Jonathan Bate and Eric Rasmussen. New York: The RSC Shakespeare, 2011. Print.
- Shakespeare, William. *Coriolanus: The Oxford Shakespeare*. Ed. R.B. Parker. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994. Print.
- Sheen, Erica. "'Why should a dog, a horse, a rat, have life, and then no breath at all?': Shakespeare's Animations." *Renaissance Beasts: Of Animals, Humans, and Other Wonderful Creatures*. Ed. Erica Fudge. Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2004.
Print.

- Soranus, of Ephesus. *Soranus' gynecology*. Trans. Oswei Temkin. ALS Humanities ebook. 1991. <https://hdl-handle-net.ezproxye.bham.ac.uk/2027/heb.04290>. Web.
- Siraisi, Nancy G. *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: an Introduction to Knowledge and Practice*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990. Print.
- Smith, Rebecca. "A Heart Cleft in Twain: the Dilemma of Shakespeare's Gertrude." *The Woman's Part: Feminist Criticism of Shakespeare*. Eds. Gayle Green et al. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1983. Print.
- Sprenger, Jakob and Kramer, Henry. *Malleus Maleficarum*. Trans. M. Summer. London: Pushkin Press, 1951. Print.
- Stolberg, Michael. "A Woman Down to her Bones. The Anatomy of Sexual Difference in Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries." *Isis*. 94.2 (June 2003): 274-299. Print.
- Stephens, John. *Essayes and characters, ironically, and instructive: The second impression*. 1615 ed. <http://eebooks.chadwyck.com>. Web.
- Topsell, Edward. *The history of four-footed beasts*. 1607 ed. <http://eebo.chadwyck.com> Web.
- Traub, Valerie. *Desire and Anxiety: Circulations of Sexuality in Shakespearean Drama*. New York: Routledge, 1992. Print.
- Turner, Brian S. *The Body in Society: Explorations in Social Theory*. London: Blackwell Publishing, 1984. Print.
- Turner, Victor. *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual*. London: Cornell University Press, 1967. Print.

--- *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. 2nd ed. New Brunswick: Aldine Transaction, 2008. Print.

Vienne-Guerrin, Nathalie. *The Unruly Tongue in Early Modern England: Three Treatises*. Fairleigh Dickinson University Press. <http://www.proquest.com>. 2012. Web.

Viljoen, Hein et al. Eds. *Beyond the Threshold: Explorations of Liminality in Literature*. New York: Peter Lang, 2007. Print.

Watson, Robert N. *Back to Nature: The Green and the Real in the Later Renaissance*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006. Print.

Webster, Charles, Ed. *Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971. Print.

--- Forbes, Thomas R. "The Changing Face of Death in London."

--- Pelling, Margaret et al. "Medical Practitioners."

Willis, Thomas. *Two discourses concerning the soul of brutes which is that of the vital and sensitive of man*. <http://eebooks.chadwyck.com>. Web.

Chapter 3: Tamora and the Vegetable Womb

Aristotle. *Great Books of the Western World*. Trans. W.D. Ross. Ed. Robert Maynard Hutchins. Vol. 8. Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1952. Print.

Bacon, Francis. *Natural History*. Eds. James Spedding et al. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011. Print.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. *Rabelais and his World*. Trans. Hélène Iswolsky. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984. Print.

- Billington, Sandra and Green, Miranda. Eds. *The Concept of the Goddess*. London: Routledge, 1996. Print.
- Billington, Sandra. "Fors Fortuna in Ancient Rome."
- Blank, Andreas. "Julius Caesar Scaliger on Plant Generation and the Question of Species Constancy." *Early Science and Medicine*. 15.3(2010): 267-286. Print.
- Botelho, Lynn. "Old Women in Early Modern Europe: Age as an Analytical Category." Eds. Poska, M and K. McIver et al. *The Ashgate Research Companion to Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2012. Print.
- Breuer, Horst. "Theories of Generation in Shakespeare." *European Studies*. 20.80 (1990): 325-342. Print.
- Carney, Jo Eldridge. "'I'll Find a Day to Massacre Them All': Tamora in Titus Andronicus and Catherine de Médicis." *Comparative Drama*. 48.4 (Winter 2014): 415-435. Print.
- Carter, Anthony John. "Myths and Mandrakes." *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*. 96 (March 2002): 144-147. Print.
- Carter, Sarah. "Titus Andronicus and Myths of Maternal Revenge." *Cahiers Elisabéthains: A Journal of English Renaissance Studies*. 77.1(2010): 37-49. Print.
- Cicero. *Rhetorica and Herennium*. Trans. Harry Caplan. Loeb Classical Library. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1954. Print.
- Clark, Stuart. *The Nude: A Study in Ideal Form*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990. Print.

- Cohen, Simona. "Transformations of Time and Temporality in Medieval and Renaissance Art." ProQuest Ebook Central. Brill: 2014. Accessed 2019-11-19. Web.
- Cox, George W. *Alien Species and Invasion*. London: Island Press, 2004. Print.
- Creed, Barbara. *The Monstrous Feminine: Film, Feminism, Psychoanalysis*. London: Routledge, 1993. Print.
- Dalby, Andrew. *Geoponica: farm work: a modern translation of the Roman and Byzantine farming handbook*. Totnes: Prospect, 2011. Print.
- Daly, Peter et al. *The English Emblem Tradition: Vol. 2*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993. Print.
- Daston, Lorraine and Vidal, Fernando, Eds. *The Moral Authority of Nature*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004. Print.
- Daston, Lorraine and Park, Katherine. *Wonders and the Order of Nature 1150-1750*. New York: Zone Books, 1998. Print.
- Della Porta, Giambattista. 1658 ed. *Magia naturalis*. <http://eebooks.chadwyck.com>. Web.
- Demaitre, Luke. *Medieval Medicine: The Art of Healing from Head to Toe*. Santa Barbara: Praegar, 2013. Print.
- Dionis, (Monsieur). *A General Treatise of Midwifery*. 1719 ed. <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>. Web.
- Eagleton, Terry. *Radical Sacrifice*. Yale: Yale University Press, 2018. Print.
- Feerick, Jean. "Botanical Shakespeares: The Racial Logic of Plant Life in 'Titus Andronicus'." *South Central Review*. 20.1-2 (Spring/Summer 2009): 82-102. Print.

Francis, Jill. "Order and Disorder in the early Modern Garden 1558- C. 1630." *Garden History*. 36.1 (Spring 2008): 22-35. Print.

Frazer, James. *The Golden Bough: A Study in Religion and Magic*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985. Print.

Gerard, John. *The herbal or General historie of plantes*. 1633 ed.
<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>. Web.

Gowing, Laura. "Secret Births and Infanticide in Seventeenth-Century England." *Past and Present*. 156 (Aug.1997): 87-115. Print.

Graves, Robert. *The Greek Myths*. London: Penguin Books, 1979. Print.

--- *The White Goddess: A Historical Grammar of Poetic Myth*. Ed. Grevel Lindop.
London: Faber and Faber, 2010. Print.

Grieco, Allen J. "The Social Politics of Pre-Linnaean Botanical Classification." *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance*. 4 (1991): 131-149. Print.

Hall, Matthew. "Dogma and Domination: Keeping Plants at a Distance." *Plants as Persons: A Philosophical Botany*. New York: State University of New York Press, 2011. Print.

Hankins, John E. "Hamlet's 'God kissing Carrion': A Theory of the Generation of Life." *PMLA*. 64.3 (Jun. 1949): 507-516. Print.

Hesiod. *Theogony and Works and Days*. Trans. Dorothea Wender. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973. Print.

Hill, William. *The infancie of the soule*. 1605 ed. <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>. Web.

Hughes, Ted. *Tales from Ovid*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999. Print.

- Hünemörder, Christian. "Aims and Intentions of Botanical and Zoological Classification in the Middle Ages and Renaissance." *History and Philosophy of the Life Sciences*. 5.1 (1983): 53-67. Print.
- Hunt, Ailsa. "Elegiac Grafting in Pomona's Orchard: Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 14. 623-771." *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici*. 65 (2010): 43-58. Print.
- Inwood, Brad. Ed. *The Poems of Empedocles: A Text and Translation with a Commentary*. Toronto: Toronto Press, 2000. Print.
- Irigaray, Luce and Marder, Michael. *Through vegetal being: two philosophical perspectives*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2016. Print.
- Kiefer, Frederick. *Shakespeare's Visual Theatre: Staging the Personified Characters*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. Print.
- Kolin, Philip C. Ed. *Titus Andronicus: Critical Essays*. New York: Garland Publishers Ltd., 1995. Print.
- Asp, Carolyn. "'Upon Her Wit Doth Earthly Honor Wait': Female Agency in *Titus Andronicus*."
- Kehler, Dorothea. "That Ravenous Tiger Tamora."
- Kolin, Philip C. "Performing Texts in *Titus Andronicus*."
- Lawson, William. *A most profitable new treatise...of the art of propagating plants*. 1618 ed. <http://www.eebo.chadwyck.com>. Web.
- Lucretius. *De Rerum Natura*. Trans. W.H.D. Rouse. Loeb Classical Library. Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2014. Print.

- Lloyd-Bowen, Glenys. "Nemesis and Bellona." *The Concept of the Goddess*. Eds. Billington and Green. London: Routledge, 1996. Print.
- Macmath, James. *The expert mid-wife a treatise of the disease of women with child*. 1694 ed. <http://www.eebo.chadwyck.com>. Web.
- Marder, Michael. "Plant intentionality and the phenomenological framework of plant intelligence." *Plant Signaling and Behaviour*. 7.11 (2012): 1365-1372. Print.
- "Saint Hildegard's Vegetal Psycho-Physio-Theology." *Religions*. 9. 353 (2018). Print.
- "What is Plant-Thinking?" *Klesis Review Philosophique*. 25 (2012): 124-143. Print.
- Marramao, Giancomo. *Kairos: Towards an Ontology of Due Time*. London: The Davies Group Publishers, 2006. Print.
- Mauriceau, François. *The Diseases of Woman with Child*. <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>. Web.
- Mirandola, Giovanni Pico della. *Oration on the Dignity of Man: A New Translation and Commentary*. Eds. Francesco Borghesi et al. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012. Print.
- Mukherjee, Ayesha. "Flores Paradise: Hugh Platt and the Economy of Early Modern Gardening." *Early Modern Gardening*. 25.1 (2010): 1-26. Print.
- Pagel, Walter. *Paracelsus: An Introduction to Philosophical Medicine in the Era of the Renaissance*. Basel: S. Karger, 1958. Print.
- Paglia, Camille. *Sexual Personae: Art and Decadence from Nefertiti to Emily Dickinson*. New York: Vintage Books, 1990. Print.
- Panofsky, Erwin. *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in The Art Of The Renaissance*. New York: Routledge, 1975. Print.

Paxson, James J. "Personification's Gender." *Rhetorica*. 16.2 (Spring 1998): 149-179.

Print.

Raynalde, Thomas. *The Birth of Mankind: Otherwise Named, The Woman's Book*. Ed.

Elaine Hobby. Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2009. Print.

Pliny, the Elder. *Natural History*. Trans. H. Rackham. London: Heineman, 1949. Print.

Plutarch. *De Iside et Osiride*. Trans. John Gwyn Griffiths. London: University of Wales

Press, 1970. Print.

Rees, Graham. "Francis Bacon's biological ideas: a new manuscript source." *Occult and*

Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance. Ed. Brian Vickers. Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press, 1984. Print.

Reid-Bowen, Paul. *Goddess of Nature: Towards a Philosophical Theology*. London:

Taylor and Francis Group, 2007. Print.

Roberts, Jeanne Addison. *The Shakespearean Wild: Geography, Genus, and Gender*.

Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991. Print.

Royster, Francesca T. "White-Limed Walls: Whiteness and Gothic Extremism in

Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*." *Shakespeare Quarterly*. 51.4 (2000): 432-455.

Print.

Ruëff, Jacob. *The Expert Midwife, Or An Excellent and Most Treatise of the Generation*

and Birth of Man. 1637 ed. <http://www.eebo.chadwyck.com>. Web.

Russo, Mary. *The Female Grotesque*. New York: Routledge, 1994. Print.

Rusu, Doina-Cristina. "Rethinking *Sylva Sylvarum*: Francis Bacon's Use of Giambattista

Della Porta's *Magia Naturalis*." *Perspectives on Science*. 25. 1(Jan-Feb 2017): 1 -

35. Print.

- Samson, Alexander. *Locus Amoenus: Gardens and Horticulture in the Renaissance*. West Sussex: Wiley and Sons, 2012. Print.
- Savoia, Paola. "Nature or Artifice? : Grafting in Early Modern Surgery and Agronomy." *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Science*. 72.1(2016): 67-86. Print.
- Sawday, Jonathan. *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture*. London: Routledge, 1995. Print.
- Serjeantson, Richard. *The Oxford Handbook of Philosophy in Early Modern Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. Print.
- Sharp, Jane. *The Compleat midwife's companion*. 1671 ed. New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1985. Print.
- Sipiora, Philip and Baumlin, James S. Eds. *Rhetoric and Kairos: Essays in History, Theory, and Praxis*. New York: State University of New York Press, 2002. Print.
- Baumlin, James S. and Baumlin, Tita French. "Chronos, Kairos, Aion: Failures of Decorum, Right-Timing, and Revenge in Shakespeare's Hamlet."
- Sipiora, Phillip. "The Ancient Concept of Kairos."
- Smith, John E. "Time and Qualitative Time."
- Stewart, Stanley. *The Enclosed Garden: The Tradition and the Image in Seventeenth-Century Poetry*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966. Print.
- Slatkin, Laura. "Measuring Authority, Authoritative Measures: Hesiod's Works and Days." *The Moral Authority of Nature*. Eds. Lorraine Daston et al. Chicago: University of Chicago. Print.
- Theophrastus. *De Causis Plantarum*. Trans. Benedict Einarson and K.K. Link. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990. Print.

Udall, Nicholas. *Respublica: The Oxford anthology of Tudor drama*. Ed. Greg Walker.

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014. Print.

Vickers, Brian. *Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance*. Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press, 1984. Print.

Watson, Robert N. *Back to Nature: The Green and the Real in the Late Renaissance*.

Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2006. Print.

White, Eric Charles. *Kaironomia: On the Will to Invent*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press,

1987. Print.

Wingert, Pat and Kantrowitz, Barbara. *Is It Hot in Here? Or Is It Me? : The Complete*

Guide to Menopause. Cleveland: Benjamin Rose Lib, 2006. Print.

Wither, George. *A Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Moderne* 1635 ed.

<http://www.eebo.chadwyck.com>. Web.

Zamir, Tzachi. "Wooden Subjects." *Literary History*. 39.2 (Spring 2008): 277-300. Print.

Chapter 4: Lady Macbeth and the Envious Womb

Alciato, Andrea. *Emblemata*. 1621 ed. <http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk>. Web.

Alyagon Darr, Oma. *Marks of an Absolute Witch: Evidentiary Dilemma in Early Modern*

England. Israel: Ashgate, 2011. Print.

Aristotle. *The Complete Works of Aristotle*. Revised Oxford Translation. Princeton:

Princeton University Press, 1984. Print.

Bacon, Francis. "On Envy." *The Major Works*. Ed. Brian Vickers. London: Penguin

Books, 2008. Print.

Ball, Philip. "Alchemical Culture and Poetry in Early Modern England."

Interdisciplinary Science Reviews. 31.1 (2006): 77-92. Print.

Barrough, Philip. *De Melancholia*. 1596 ed. <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>. Web.

Behringer, Wolfgang. "Weather, Hunger, and Fear: Origins of the European Witch Hunts in Climate, Society and Mentality." *German history*. 13.1(1995): 1-27. Print.

Bond, Ronald B. "Vying with Vision: An Aspect of Envy in 'The Faerie Queene'."

Renaissance and Reformation. 8.1 (Feb. 1984): 30-38. Print.

Borman, Tracy. *Witches: James I and the English Witch-Hunts*. London: Vintage Books, 2013. Print.

Breitenberg, Mark. *Anxious Masculinity in Early Modern England*. Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press, 1996. Print.

Bright, Timothie. *The Anatomy of Melancholy*. 1612 ed. <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>. Web.

--- *A Treatise of Melancholie*. 1586 ed. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940.

Print.

Burton, Robert. *The Anatomy of Melancholie*. Eds. Thomas C. Faulkner et al. Oxford:

Clarendon, 1994. Print.

Callaghan, Dymrna et al. *The Weyward Sisters: Shakespeare and Feminist Politics*.

Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994. Print.

--- Helms, Lorraine. "The Theatricality of Witchcraft."

Chillington Rutter, Carol. "Remind me: How Many Children had Lady Macbeth?"

Shakespeare Survey. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. 38-53. Print.

Clark, Stuart. *Thinking with Witches*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997. Print.

Crooke, Helkiah. *Mikrokosmographia*. 1615 ed. <http://eebooks.chadwyck.com>. Web.

Daneau, Lambert. *A Dialogue of Witches*. Trans. Thomas Twyne. 1575 ed.

<http://eebooks.chadwyck.com>. Web.

Dante, Alighieri. *Dante's Purgatorio: the vision of purgatory from The Divine Comedy*.

Trans. Rev. H.F. Cary. Minneapolis: First Avenue Editions, 2015. Print.

De Sousa, Geraldo, N. "Cookery and Witchcraft in Macbeth." *Macbeth: The State of Play*. Ed. Ann Thompson. London: Bloomsbury, 2014. Print.

Du Laurens, André. *A discourse of the preservation...* Trans. Richard Surphlet. 1599 ed.

<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>. Web.

Eidinow, Esther. *Envy, Poison, and Death: Women on Trial in Classical Athens*. Oxford:

Oxford University Press, 2016. Print.

Ellerbe, Erin. "Adoption and the Language of Horticulture of All's Well that Ends

Well." *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*. 51. 2 (Spring 2011): 305-326.

Print.

Elliot, John H. *Beware the Evil Eye: The Evil Eye in the Bible and the Ancient World,*

Greece and Rome (Vol. 2). <http://www.proquest.com>. 2016. Web.

Fairfax, Edward. *Daemonologia: A facsimile reprint*. London: Frederick Muller Ltd, 1971. Print.

Fildes, Valerie. "The English wet-nurse and her role in infant care 1538-188." *Medical History*. 32.1 (Ap. 1988): 142-173. Print.

Floyd-Wilson, Mary. *Occult Knowledge, Science, and Gender on the Shakespearean Stage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. Print.

Fox, Alice. "Obstetrics and Gynecology in Macbeth." *Shakespeare Studies*. 12 (Jan.1.1979): 127-141. Print.

- Gyer, Nicholas. *The English Phlebotomy*. 1592 ed. <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>. Web.
- Hammond, Paul. *Milton's Complex Words: Essays on the Conceptual Structure of Paradise Lost*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017. Print.
- Hippocrates. *Volume X: Generation*. Trans. Paul Potter. Loeb Classical Library. Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2012. Print.
- Hoeniger, David F. *Medicine and Shakespeare in the English Renaissance*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1992. Print.
- Howe, Katherine. *The Penguin Book of Witches*. London: Penguin Books, 2014. Print.
- Hutts, Linda C. *The Witch as Muse: Art, Gender, and Power in Early Modern Europe*. Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2005. Print.
- Jacobi, Jolande. Ed. *Paracelsus: Selected Writings*. Trans. Norbert Guterman. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1951. Print.
- Jouanna, Jacques. "At the Roots of Melancholy: Is Greek Medicine Melancholic?" *Greek Medicine from Hippocrates to Galen*. Ed. Philip van der Eijk. London: Brill, 2012. Print.
- Kennedy, Gwynne. *Just Anger: Representing Women's Anger in Early Modern England*. Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000. Print.
- LaBelle, Jenijoy. "'A Strange infirmity': Lady Macbeth's Amenorrhea." *Shakespeare Quarterly*. 31(1980): 381-82. Print.
- Ladenson, Elizabeth. "Invidia's Snake." *Women's Studies Quarterly*. 34.3/4(2006): 65-81. Print.

Lemnius, Levinus. *The touchstone of the complexions expedient and profitable fro all such as bee desirous and carefull of their bodily health*. 1633 ed.

<http://eebooks.chadwyck.com>. Web.

Levin, Joanna. "Lady Macbeth and the Daemonologie of Hysteria." *ELH*. 69.1 (2002): 21-55. Print.

Limberis, Vasiliki. "The Eyes Infected by Evil: Basil of Caesarea's Homily, 'On Envy'." *The Harvard Theological Review*. 84.2 (April 1991): 163-184. Print.

Kocher, Paul H. "Lady Macbeth and the Doctor." *Shakespeare Quarterly*. 5.4 (1954): 341-349. Print.

Maclean, Ian. "Medicine, Anatomy, Physiology." *Feminism and Renaissance Studies*. Ed. Lorna Hutson. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Print.

Milton, John. *The Poetical Works of John Milton*. Ed. Helen Darbishire. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966. 138-46. Print.

Moss, Stephanie and Peterson, Kaara L. Eds. *Disease, Diagnosis, and Cure on the Early Modern Stage*. Vermont: Ashgate, 2004. Print.

--- Moss, Stephanie. "Transformation and Degeneration: The Paracelsan/ Galenic Body in Othello."

Newman, William R. "Art, Nature, Alchemy, and Demons: The Case of the Malleus Maleficarum and the Medieval Sources." *The Artificial and the Natural: An Evolving Polarity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. Print.

Orgel, Stephen. *Impersonations: The Performance of Gender in Shakespeare's England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996. Print.

- Pagel, Walter. *Paracelsus: an introduction to philosophical medicine in the era of the Renaissance*. Basel: S. Karger, 1958. Print.
- Paster, Gail Kern. *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993. Print.
- Perkins, William. *The Whole Treatise of the Cases of the Conscience*. 1630 ed.
<http://eebo.chadwyck.com>. Web.
- Plutarch. *Moralia: Table Talk*. Trans. P. A. Clement and H. B. Hoffleit. Loeb Classic Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969. Print.
- Purkiss, Dianne. *The Witch in History: Early Modern and 20th Century Representations*. London: Routledge, 1996. Print.
- Raden, Jennifer. *Melancholic Habits: Burton's Anatomy and the Mind Sciences*.
<http://www.oxfordscholarshiponline.com>. Web. 2016.
- Roper, Lyndal. *The Witch in the Western Imagination*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012. Press.
- *Witch Craze: Terror and Fantasy in Baroque Germany*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004. Print.
- Royster, Francesca T. "White-Limed Walls: Whiteness and Gothic Extremism in Shakespeare's Titus Andronicus." *Shakespeare Quarterly*. 51.4 (Winter 2000): 432-455. Print.
- Schiesan, Juliana. *The Gendering of Melancholia: Feminism, Psychoanalysis, and the Symbolics of Loss in Renaissance Literature*. London: Cornell University Press, 1992. Print.

Shakespeare, William. *Macbeth*. Ed. Nicholas Brooke. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Print.

--- *Othello*. Ed. Kenneth Muir. London: Penguin Books, 2005.

Spenser, Edmund. *The Faerie Queene*. Ed. Thomas P. Roche, Jr. Middlesex: Penguin
Books, 1978. Print.

Sprenger, Jacob and Kramer, Henry. *Malleus Maleficarum*. Trans. Montague Summers.
North Charleston: Createspace, 2016. Print.

Sullivan, Erin. *Beyond Melancholy: Sadness and Selfhood in Renaissance England*.
<http://www.oxfordscholarshiponline.com> .Web.

Summers, Montague. *A popular history of witchcraft*. 1937 ed. London: Routledge, 2011.
Print.

Taylor, John. *A Juniper Lecture*. 1652 ed. <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>. Web.

Thomas, Keith. *Religion and the Decline of Magic*. London: Penguin Books, 1971. Print.

Von Nettersheim, Agrippa. *Three books of occult philosophy, translated out of the Latin
into the English tongue by J.F.* 1651 ed. [http:// www.eebo.chadwyck.com](http://www.eebo.chadwyck.com). Web.

Walzer, R. and Frede, M. Trans. *Galen: Three Treatises on the Nature of Science*.
Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1985. Print.

Wright, Thomas. "The Passions of the minde in general. Corrected, enlarged, and with
sundry new discourses augmented." 1604 ed. [http:// www.eebo.chadwyck.com](http://www.eebo.chadwyck.com).
Web.

Zika, Charles. "Cannibalism and Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe: Reading the Visual
Images." *History Workshop Journal*. 44 (1997): 77-105. Print.

Chapter 5: Cleopatra and the Cyborg Womb

Apollonius. *Argonautica*. Trans. E.V. Rieu. London: Penguin Books, 1959. Print.

Bacon, Francis. *Francis Bacon: The Major Works*. Ed. Brian Vickers. London: Penguin Books, 2008. Print.

Becker, Ines and Stringer, Mark D. "Columbo and the clitoris." *European Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology and Reproductive Biology*. 151(2010): 130-133. Print.

Bedini, Silvio A. "The Role of Automata in the History of Technology." *Technology and Culture*. 5.4. (Winter 1964): 24-42. Print.

Bos, Jacques. "The Rise and Decline of Character: humoral psychology in ancient and early medical theory." *History of the Human Sciences*. 22.3 (2009): 29-50. Print.

Braunstein, Nestor A. *The Cambridge Companion to Lacan*. Ed. Jean-Michel Rabaté. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. Print.

Cadden, Joan. "Western Medicine and Natural Philosophy." *A Handbook of Medieval Sexuality*. Eds. Vern L. Bullough and James A. Brundage. London: Garland Publishing Inc., 1996. Print.

--- Murray, Jacqueline. "Twice Marginal and Twice Invisible: Lesbians in the Middle Ages."

Capra, Fritjof. "The New Physics as a Model for a New Medicine." *Social Biological Structure*. 1 (1978): 71-77. Print.

Carroll, William C. "The Virgin Not: Language and Sexuality in Shakespeare." *Shakespeare Survey*. 46 (1993): 107-120. Print.

Carvallo, Sarah. "Ageing in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries." *Science in Context*. 23.3 (2010): 267-288. Print.

Cavarero, Adriana. *Stately Bodies: Literature, Philosophy, and the Question of Gender*.

Trans. Robert de Lucca and Deanna Shemek. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002. Print.

Crawford, Patricia. "Attitudes to Menstruation in Seventeenth-Century England." *Past and Present*. 91(May 1981): 47-73. Print.

Columbo, Matteo Realdo, *De re anatomica libri XV*. 1559 ed.

[http:// www.eebo.chadwyck.com](http://www.eebo.chadwyck.com). Web.

Conboy, Katie et al. *Writing on the Body: Female Embodiment and Feminist Theory*.

New York: Columbia University Press, 1997. Print.

--- Russo, Mary. "Female Grotesques: Carnival and Theory."

--- Irigaray, Luce. "The Sex which is Not One."

Demaitre, Luke. *Medieval Medicine: The Art of Healing from Head to Toe*. Santa

Barbara: Praeger, 2012. Print.

Descartes, René. *The World and the Treatise on Man*. Trans. John Cottingham.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985. Print.

--- *Meditations*. Trans. A. Cress. 1990. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1999. Print.

Downing, Keith T. "Uterine Prolapse: From Antiquity to Today." *Obstetrics and Gynecology International*, 2012. Print.

Elia, John P. "History, Etymology and Fallacy: Attitudes Toward Male Masturbation in the Ancient Western World." *Journal of Homosexuality*. 14. 3-4 (1987). Print.

Evans, Jennifer. "Female barrenness, bodily access and aromatic treatments in seventeenth-century England." *Historical Research*. 87. 237 (Aug.2014). Print.

Fallopian, Gabrielis. *Observationes anatomicae ad Petrum Mannum*. 1562.

<http://eebochadwyck.com>. Web.

Feiner, Edith and Herrlinger, Robert. "Why did Vesalius not Discover the Fallopian Tubes?" 25 Mar. 2019. <https://www.cambridge.org/core>. Web.

Fissell, Mary E. *Vernacular Bodies: The Politics of Reproduction in Early Modern England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. Print.

Flemming, Rebecca. "Women, Writing and Medicine in the Classical World." *The Classical Quarterly*. 57.1 (May 2007): 257-279. Print.

Fletcher, Angus. *Time, Space, and Motion in the Age of Shakespeare*. Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2007. Print.

Galen. *On the Affected Parts. Translation from the Greek*. Trans. Siegel R.E. Basel: Karger, 1976. Print.

Gaukroger, Stephen. *The Collapse of Mechanism and the Rise of Stability: Science and the Shaping of Melancholy, 1680-1760*. <http://www.oxfordscholarship.com>. Web.

Gilbert, William. "On the Loadstone." *Great Books of the Western World* 28. Ed. Mortimer J. Adler. Chicago: William Benton Publishers, 1952. Print.

Graves, Robert. *The White Goddess*. London: Faber and Faber, 1997. Print.

Hayles, Katherine. *How We Became Posthuman: Virtual Bodies in Cybernetics, Literature, and Informatics*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1999. Print.

Hamming, Jeanne E. "Dildonics, Dykes and the Detachable Masculine." *The European Journal of Women's Studies*. 8.3(2001): 329-341. Print.

Haraway, Donna J. *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature*. London: Free Association Books, 1991. Print.

- Harvey, Elizabeth D. "Anatomies of Rapture: Clitoral Politics/ Medical Blazons." *Signs: Journal of Women and Culture in Society*. 27.2 (2001): 315-346. Print.
- Henry, John. "Occult Qualities and the Experimental Philosophy: Active Principles in Pre-Newtonian Matter Theory." *History of Science*. 24 (1986).
- Hernigo, Philippe. "Ambroise Paré IV: The early history of artificial limbs (from robotics to prostheses)." *International Orthopaedics*. 37(2013): 1195-1197. Print.
- Herrlinger, Robert and Feiner, Edith. "Why did Vesalius not discover the Fallopian tubes?" <https://www.cambridge.org>. Accessed 25 March 2019.
- Hippocrates. *XI: Diseases of Women 1-2*. Ed. Jeffrey Henderson. Trans. Paul Potter. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018. Print.
- Houtzager, H.J. "Historical Review: Cesarean Section Till the End of the 16th Century." *European Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology*. 13 (1982): 57-58. Print.
- Irigaray, Luce. *Speculum of the Other Woman*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985. Print.
- Jacob, Margaret C. "The Materialist World of Pornography." *The Invention of Pornography: Obscenity and the Origins of Modernity, 1500-1800*. Ed. Lynn Hunt. New York: Zone Books, 1993. Print.
- Jacquart, Danielle, and Thomasset, Claude. *Sexuality and Medicine in the Middle Ages*. Trans. Matthew Adamson. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988. Print.
- Jalobeanu, Dana and Anstey, Peter R. Eds. *Vanishing Matter and the Laws of Motion: Descartes and Beyond*. London: Routledge, 2011. Print.
- Jones, Rayna. "Archaic man meets a marvellous automaton: posthumanism, social robots, archetypes." *Analytical Psychology*. 62.3 (2017): 338-355. Print.

Judovitz, Dalia. *Body in Theory: Histories of Cultural Materialism*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2001. Print.

King, Helen. "Galen and the widow: towards a history of therapeutic masturbation in ancient gynaecology." *Journal on Gender Studies in Antiquity*. 1(2011): 205-235. Print.

Klèber Monod, Paul. *Solomon's Secret Arts: The Occult in the Age of Enlightenment*. Princeton: Yale University Press, 2013. Print.

Laoutaris, Chris. *Shakespearean Maternities: Crises of Conception in Early Modern England*. Edinburgh: EUP, 2008. Print.

Laqueur, Thomas. *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud*. London: Harvard University Press, 1990. Print.

Lazaris, Dimitrios P. et al. "Surgical Disease of the Womb According to Aetius of Amida (6 th Century A.D)." *World Journal of Surgery*. 33(2009): 310-317. Print.

Lempiäinen, Kirsh. "With you but different: Jouissance and feminist writing." *Nordic Journal of Women's Studies*. 5.2 (1997): 105-118. Print.

Levenson, Thomas. *Newton and the Counterfeiter: The Unknown Detective Career of the World's Greatest Scientist*. London: Faber and Faber, 2009. Print.

Marchitello, Howard and Tribble, Evelyn. Eds. *The Palgrave Handbook of Early Modern Literature and Science*. London: Palgrave Macmillan Limited, 2017. Print.

--- Noble, Louise. "A Mythography of Water: Hydraulic Engineering and the Imagination."

--- Hyman, Wendy Beth. "'Deductions from Metaphors': Figurative Truth, Poetical Language, and Early Modern Science."

- McCormack, Ryan. "The Colossus of Memnon and Phonography." *Sound Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*. 2.2 (2016): 165-187. Print.
- Nash, Thomas. "The Choise of Valentines: Or the Merie Ballard of Nash his Dildo." <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>. Web.
- Néret, Gilles. *Erotica: 17th - 18th Century, From Rembrandt to Fragonard*. Köln: Taschen Books, 2001. Print
- Overton, Willis F. "The Arrow of Time and the Cycle of Time: Concepts of Change, Cognition, and Embodiment." *Psychological Inquiry*. 5.3 (1994): 215-237. Print.
- Park, Katherine. *Secrets of Women: Gender, Generation, and the Origins of Human Dissection*. New York: Zone Books, 2010. Print.
- Plutarch. *De Iside et Osiride*. Trans. John Gwyn Griffiths. London: University of Wales Press, 1970. Print.
- Plutarch. "The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans (extract)." Trans. Thomas North. 1579. *Oxford Edition: Antony and Cleopatra*. Ed. Michael Neill. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994. Print.
- Riddle, John M. *Contraception and Abortion From the Ancient World to the Renaissance*. E-book, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992. Web.
- Roberts, Elizabeth Baer. *Golem Redux: From Prague to Post-Holocaust Fiction*. Michigan: Wayne State University Press, 2012. Print.
- Rose, Jacqueline. "Introduction." *Feminine Sexuality: Jacques Lacan and the École Freudienne*. Eds. Juliet Mitchell and Jacqueline Rose. New York: Norton, 1982. 25-57. Print.

Rousset, François. *The hysterotomotokie or Caesarian birth*. Trans. Ronald M. Cyr. 1581 ed. London: RCOG Press, 2010. Print.

Pratt Marr, James. "Historical Background of the Treatment of Placenta Praevia." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*. 1st. Jan. 1941. Print.

Savonarola, Michele. *Practica medicinae: sive de egritudinibus*. <http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de>. Web.

Sawday, Jonathan. *Engines of the Imagination: Renaissance Culture and the Rise of the Machine*. London: Routledge, 2007. Print.

Sawday, Jonathan. *The Body Emblazoned: Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture*. London: Routledge, 1996. Print.

Sawday, Jonathan. "Towards the Renaissance Computer." *Technology in the First Age of Print*. Eds. Jonathan Sawday and Neil Rhodes. London: Taylor and Francis, 2007. Print.

Schaffer, Simon. "'Godly Men and Mechanical Philosophers': Souls and Spirites in Restoration Natural Philosophy." *Science in Context*. 1.1(1987): 55-85. Print.

Shah, Sheetle M. et al. "The history and evolution of pessaries for pelvic organ prolapse." *International Urogynecologist Journal*. 17(2006): 170-175. Print.

Sharp, Jane. *The Midwives Book (1671)*. New York: Garland Publishing. Inc., 1985. Print.

Smith, Justin E.H. Ed. *The Problem of Animal Generation in Early Modern Philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

--- Aucante, Vincent. "Descartes' Experimental Method and the Generation of Animals."

- Soranus of Ephesus. *Gynecology*. Bk. III. Trans. Owsei Temkin. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991. Print.
- Speert, Harold. *Iconographia Gyniatrica: A Pictorial History of Gynecology and Obstetrics*. Philadelphia: F.A. Davis Company, 1973. Print.
- Stringer, Mark D. and Becker, Inês. "Colombo and the clitoris." *European Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology and Reproductive Biology*. 151 (2010): 130-33. Print.
- Talvacchia, Bette. Ed. *A Cultural History of Sexuality in the Renaissance*. Vol. 3. Oxford: Berg, 2011. Print.
- Thomas Crane, Mary. "John Donne and the New Sciences." *The Palgrave Handbook of Early Modern Literature and Science*. Eds. Howard Marchitello and Evelyn Tribble. London: Palgrave Macmillan Ltd., 2017. Print.
- Thomson, Leslie. "Antony and Cleopatra, Act 4, Scene 16: 'A Heavy Sight'." *Shakespeare Survey*. 41(1989): 77-90. Print.
- Thomson, Ann. "Animals, Humans, Machines and Thinking Matter, 1690-1707." *Early Science and Medicine*. 15. 1-2 (2010): 3-37. Print.
- Thorstensen, Erik. "Creating Golems: Uses of Golem Stories in the Ethics of Technologies." *Nanoethics*. 11 (2017): 153-168. Print.
- Toulalan, Sarah. *Imagining Sex: Pornography and Bodies in Seventeenth-Century England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017. Print.
- Traister, Barbara H. " "Matrix and the Pain Thereof": A Sixteenth-Century Gynaecological Essay." *Medical History*. 35 (1991): 43-351. Print.
- Traub, Valerie. *The Renaissance of Lesbianism in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. Print.

Traub, Valerie. "The Psychomorphology of the Clitoris." *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*. 2. 1-2 (1995): 81. <http://read.dukeupress.edu>. Web.

Traub, Valerie. *Thinking Sex with the Early Moderns*. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015. Print.

Truitt, E.R. *Medieval Robots: Mechanism, Magic, Nature and Art*. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015. Print.

Walker, Barbara G. *The Women's Encyclopedia of Myths and Secrets*. New York: Harper Collins, 1983. Print.

Wheeler, Michael. "God's Machine: Descartes on the Mechanism of the Mind." *The Mechanical Mind in History*. Eds. Phil Husbands et al. Michigan: M.I.T. Press, 2008. Print.

White, R.S. "Making Something out of 'Nothing' in Shakespeare." *Shakespeare Survey*. 66 (2013): 232-45. Print.

Younger, John. Ed. *Sex in the Ancient World from A to Z*. London: Taylor and Francis, 2006. Print.