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Women in the Days of Shakespeare and His Plays

—Education, Eloquence and Marriage—

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濱田あやのさんの博士論文刊行に寄せて 石井美樹子
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このたび濱田あやのさんの博士論文が、神奈川大学大学院外国語学研究科紀要の別冊として刊行される運びとなり、うれしくてなりません。濱田さんは2004年9月に神奈川大学に提出した論文により、神奈川大学外国語学研究科英語英文学専攻の初めての博士号を取得されました。濱田さんはわたしが課した幾つものハードルを乗り越え、長い道のりを歩み、博士号取得にいたっただけに、感無量です。

1995年度に、濱田さんの修士論文、*Transformation as a Metaphor of Alchemy in "The Tempest": 'A Sea-change into Something Rich and Strange'* (『テンペスト』における変容—錬金術の隠喩として)は、価値のない金属を金に変化させる中世・ルネサンスの錬金術のプロセスを、『テンペスト』の魔術師プロスペロの心の変容、絶対君主から深みのある人間性をたたえた主人公へ変身する過程にあてはめ、錬金術の物質の変化のプロセスと主人公の精神的な変容を二重写しにし、プロスペロの心の成長を追い求めたものです。この論文は高く評価されましたが、濱田さんは英語で論文を書くことの難しさを痛感されたと思います。

その後、濱田さんは博士課程後期に進み、英語力をつけるために、1998年から1999年にかけて、交換留学生として、アメリカのカンザス大学大学院英文科に籍を置き、語学研修と文学研究の研鑽に励みました。カンザスでの研修を終えて帰国した濱田さんは見違えるような英語力と英語圏の文化にたいする感性を身につけていました。わたしは、濱田さんに、イギリスの大学で修士号を取得したら、博士論文作成にとりかかってもよいという意味のことを申し上げ、と同時に、お父上にお手紙を書き、「あやのさんと二人三脚で博士号取得をめざしたい」旨のお手紙を差しあげました。ご家族の協力なしには、イギリス留学も博士論文を書き終えるまでの長い道のりも歩むのはむずかしいからです。お父上は「二人三脚」という言葉に感じ入り、「よし、やってやるぞ」と覚悟されたと後にききました。

濱田さんは2000年10月に、海を渡り、イギリスのレディング大学人文・社会学科に在籍し、アーデン版のシェイクスピアのテキストの編者として名高いロナルド・ノウルズ教授のご指導のもと、修士論文'*A Choking Gall and a Preserving Sweet: Representations of Love in Shakespeare's "Romeo and Juliet", "Love's Labour's Lost," and "Antony and Cleopatra"*'を書き上げ、修士号を取得されました。2001年秋に帰国した濱田さんとわたしは博士論文の作成にとり

かかりました。わたしは 2004 年から 2005 年にかけてサバティカル（研究休暇）をいただき、前期を博士論文指導に集中しました。毎金曜日、午前に濱田さんが我が家を訪れ、お昼をはさんで、夕方まで資料の読了やデシカッションに明け暮れました。2004 年秋に、濱田さんは *Women in the Days of Shakespeare and His Plays: Education, Eloquence and Marriage*（『シェイクスピア劇のヒロインと同時代の女性たち—教育・雄弁・結婚』）を書き上げました。このときに至るまでに、十年もの年月が費やしました。英語力を向上させ、文学研究がご自身のなかで熟成するまで、どうしても通らなければならない過程だったように思います。濱田さんと一緒に、わたしも成長しました。「女子教育」という研究のための窓口をもう一つ探し当てることができたからです。この論文で、濱田さんは、厳しい父権制の社会のなかで、学問に打ち込み、高い教養を身につけ、果敢に自己主張し、男性さながらに生きた女性たちの実像を浮かびあがらせ、彼女たちを、シェイクスピア劇のなかの、男性の服装をして男女の性差を乗り越え、運命に挑戦する女主人公たちに重ね合わせ、エリザベス一世が君臨した時代の息吹をいきいきと再現しています。

論文を審査された諸先生方に心からのお礼を述べたいと思います。提出された論文に克明に目を通され、濱田さんもわたしも気づかなかった論点や視点、誤りをご指摘いただき、濱田さんへさらなる研鑽への道を開いてくださいました。ありがとうございます。

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Ph.D. in English Language and Literature

Women in the Days of Shakespeare and His Plays:
Education, Eloquence and Marriage

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**Women in the Days of Shakespeare and His Plays:
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Acknowledgement

It is a great pleasure for me to acknowledge my indebtedness to those who have helped me to complete this essay. I must first give my hearty thanks to Professor Tsuyoshi A. Hashimoto, Kanagawa University. He was the first to teach me how interesting Shakespeare's plays are in my undergraduate days. He also gave me helpful comments and suggestions for this study.

Debts of gratitude for improving my English skill are owed to the University of Kansas and their instructors in the U.S. I am much indebted to Kanagawa University for giving me an opportunity to study there as an exchange student. After my stay at Kansas, I entered the graduate course for English Renaissance studies at the University of Reading in the U.K. I am deeply grateful to Mr. Ronald Knowles, who supervised my MA essay. I would also like to express my gratitude to Professor Andrew Gurr for lively discussions on staging Shakespeare's plays in his class. He also gave me helpful suggestions. Several visits to the library of the University of Cambridge over the years have given me the opportunities to read valuable primary sources.

My gratitude goes to the library staff of Kanagawa University and of the other libraries for providing me with invaluable references and materials, as well as to my colleagues, friends, and my family who have always supported and encouraged me. I also give thanks to Mr. Simon Cookson for proofreading my essay and for giving me useful suggestions.

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Introduction

During my stay in the U.K. to study on a post-graduate course at the University of Reading (2000-2001), I had chances to see many productions of Shakespeare plays and those of others. Of the performances that I saw during that period, *Romeo and Juliet* made a tremendous impression on me.¹ Juliet seemed to be a very active and passionate woman, leading Romeo to achieve their love. I had not ever imagined such an energetic and self-reliant Juliet, but rather had had the image of a naïve and girlish Juliet. I realized that the image of Juliet that I had ever had was a stereotyped one created by the ideology of a patriarchal society. The strong impression of Juliet stayed on in my mind for a long time, and was an impetus for me to launch into this study. I thought I must study *Romeo and Juliet* from a new point of view.

One of the greatest surprises in the plays of Shakespeare is that almost all Shakespearean women speak out their thoughts, and pursue their fortunes just like Renaissance men, in a manner totally unsuitable for women in a Protestant patriarchal society in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in England. I do not think that they are just dramatic illusions created by Shakespeare. The real world is reflected in their actions and behavior, and we feel they are nothing but flesh and blood.

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries of England, women born into noble families were given the Christian humanistic education advocated by humanists like Thomas More, Desiderius Erasmus, Juan Luis Vives, and one of their followers, Roger Ascham. Thomas More strongly proposed the importance

* The style of the present work follows *MHRA Style Book: Notes for Authors, Editors, and Writers of Theses*, 5th edn (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 1996; repr. 1999).

¹ The performance at the Olivier Arena, National Theatre on 31 Oct. 2000, directed by Tim Supple. Title roles were acted by Chiwitel Ejiofor and Charlotte Randle.

of education for women and of teaching the classical languages to them, so that women could step into the fields from which they had been excluded. Before then, only men were taught the classical languages as a preparation for the scholarly, religious, and political world.

The aim of More, who emphasized the necessities of education for women and of their learning the classical languages, was to educate women to be good wives and helpmates for their husbands and to be good mothers to educate children at home. More practiced his idea by educating his own children equally, both boys and girls. The nobles followed More and educated their daughters as equally as sons under the humanistic idea practiced by More. In the course of the humanistic education, women had an opportunity to learn Latin and Greek, classical languages for theological, academic and diplomatic fields. Thanks to the humanistic education, learned women developed their talents in academic and literary fields as gifted men did. Queen Elizabeth I was the greatest example among such learned women.

The society where those highly educated women lived was dominated by the ideology of patriarchy.² They were expected to keep the conventions of silence, obedience, and chastity imposed on them, however well-educated they might be.

In the days that I have targeted, the idea of visual materials as metaphors was popular among the people. In order to enhance the virtues of women, visual materials such as paintings and woodcuts were used. Sir Philip Sidney affirmed their usefulness as 'a speaking picture' to 'teach and delight' in *An Apology for Poetry*.³ Such artifacts were useful media of communication like written pieces

² As for the outline of patriarchal society in the fifteenth and early seventeenth centuries of England, see Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500–1800*, abridged edn (London, Penguin Books, 1979; repr. 1988), pp. 109–46.

³ Philip Sidney, 'An Apology for Poetry' in *Elizabethan Critical Essays* ed. by G. Gregory Smith, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1904; repr. 1964), I, pp. 148–207 (pp. 158–59).

such as books and pamphlets, as Michel Foucault states.

The face of the world is covered with blazons, with characters, with ciphers and obscure words— with ‘hieroglyphics’ [...] the space inhabited by immediate resemblances becomes like a vast open book; it bristles with written signs; every page is seen to be filled with strange figures that intertwine and in some places repeat themselves. All that remains is to decipher them.⁴

Catherine Belsey states that ‘*a discourse* is a domain of language–use, a particular way of talking (and writing and thinking) [...] Ideology is *inscribed in* discourse in the sense that it is literally written or spoken *in it* [...] a way of thinking, speaking, and experiencing’.⁵ In the above passage quoted from Foucault, ‘A vast open book’ shows a certain ideology which is represented in the various forms of discourses. Such discourses are namely not only forms of writing or speaking but also forms of visualized representation. Accordingly, I shall use visual materials, such as *Emblemata* (1550) by Alciato,⁶ *A Choice of Emblems* (1586) by Geoffrey Whitney,⁷ as well as other literary references. Some of the figures reproduced in this study are unclear and obscure, as they are in the original texts.

In the first chapter, I shall examine the general status of women in the days of Shakespeare, and then investigate how the humanists approved the importance of education for women, and instructed them, and in what circumstances Queen

⁴ Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archeology of the Human Sciences* [A Translation of *Les Mots et Les Choses*] (New York: Vintage Books, 1973), p. 27.

⁵ Catherine Belsey, *Critical Practice* (London: Routledge, 1980), p. 5.

⁶ Andrea Alciato, *Emblemata: Lyons, 1550*, trans. by Betty I. Knott (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1996).

⁷ Geoffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblems* (Leyden: 1586), ed. by Henry Green (London: 1866; repr. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1967).

Elizabeth, one of the great monarchs in the British history, was educated. I have used the following primary materials: *Utopia* (1516) by Thomas More,⁸ *De Institutione Feminae Christianae* (1523) by Juan Luis Vives,⁹ *The Schoolmaster* (1570) by Roger Ascham,¹⁰ and public speeches by Elizabeth, which are collected in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works* edited by Leah S. Marcus et al.,¹¹ and so on.

In the second chapter, I shall demonstrate how brave and self-established Queen Elizabeth was is reflected in some female characters in Shakespeare's plays. Rosalind in *As You Like It*, Viola in *Twelfth Night*, and Perdita in *The Winter's Tale* are paid special attention to, because their disguise in male attire and their eloquence might have absorbed the androgynous images and rhetorical speaking ability of the Queen.

The third chapter focuses on *Romeo and Juliet* to suggest that Shakespeare utilizes the conventions of Petrarchan love poetry and presents the gender reversal between Juliet and Romeo by portraying Juliet as an active woman who goes beyond the gender boundary of patriarchal society. I shall also discuss other tragic heroines who go beyond the gender boundary: Desdemona in *Othello* and Lady Macbeth in *Macbeth*.

English Renaissance studies today have special focus on the original historical contexts in which literary works were produced, like Juliet Dusinberre's *Shakespeare and the Nature of Women*,¹² Stephen Orgel's *Impersonations: The*

⁸ Thomas More, *The Utopia of Sir Thomas More in Latin from the Edition of March 1518, and in English from the First Edition of Ralph Robynson's Translation in 1551*, with additional translations, introduction and notes by J. H. Lupton (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895).

⁹ Juan Luis Vives, *The Education of A Christian Woman: A Sixteenth-Century Manual*, ed. and trans. by Charles Fantazzi (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000).

¹⁰ Roger Ascham, *The Schoolmaster (1570)*, ed. by Lawrence V. Ryan (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967).

¹¹ *Elizabeth I: Collected Works* [henceforth abbreviated to *Elizabeth I*], ed. by Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000).

¹² Juliet Dusinberre, *Shakespeare and the Nature of Women* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975; repr. 1996).

Performance of Gender in Shakespeare's England,¹³ and "*High and Mighty Queens*" of *Early Modern England: Realities and Representations* edited by Carole Levin and others.¹⁴ It is not easy to see how the works were originally understood among the people of those days or what influence the works were given from the social circumstances even through exploring them in their historical contexts; however, there would be primary meanings or effects in the works that we could realize only by bringing them back into their original contexts. I shall attempt to describe what the Elizabethans understood about Shakespeare's female characters and how the characters were represented in their social contexts.

¹³ Stephen Orgel, *Impersonations: The Performance of Gender in Shakespeare's England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

¹⁴ *'High and Mighty Queens' of Early Modern England: Realities and Representations*, ed. by Carole Levin, Jo Eldridge Carney, and Debra Barrett-Graves (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

Chapter I : Education for Women in the English Renaissance

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in England, the humanistic education proposed by Thomas More, Desiderius Erasmus, Juan Luis Vives and so on, was given to not only young males but also ladies born into noble families. Elizabeth I was said to be often praised as the best scholar among the learned women of her age. In this chapter, I shall explore the general status of women in a patriarchal society, and examine what education was given to women by humanists and how Mary I and Elizabeth I were educated, which shows the difference between the educations extended to the Queens. Then, I shall demonstrate how much their political strategies were influenced by the educations that they had received.

Social Status of Women and Family Life in Late Mediaeval England

In late mediaeval English society, women as wives, whether they gave birth or not, had important roles in their households, although they were regarded by husbands as their property, and they were under their husbands' control. The first duty of wives was housewifery. For example, they directed a factory producing dairy goods needed at home such as 'bread, butter, cheese, pottage, ale, candles, and clothing'.¹ They took care of sick people and farm animals. They sometimes controlled their households on behalf of their husbands when the husbands were absent, and protected their lands and estates when they were attacked by enemies.

On the whole, mediaeval women were much more independent than women in the Elizabethan era. For instance, there was a legal treatment of *feme sole*, 'the legal status of single women', which enabled women to control their properties

¹ Retha M. Warnicke, *Women of the English Renaissance and Reformation* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983), p. 6.

and estates by themselves without their husbands' governance.² This legal custom gave women business chances to become traders. In urban areas, women took opportunities to engage in various occupations such as the cloth trade, domestic industry or brewing.

However, the growing population from about 1470 caused the government to strictly regulate and limit work places for women in order to offer more work opportunities to men. As a result, chances for women to get work places outside their houses decreased considerably, and they became more confined to their household. Consequently, in Tudor England after the Reformation, the primary task of wives was considered to be childbirth because marriage became particularly important and was promoted due to the strong patriarchal ideology of Protestantism.

Aristocratic children in their early days were unlikely to have a strong tie with their parents because of the custom of wet-nursing. It was common that a baby, whether male or female, was taken care of by a wet-nurse for about two years after birth. The child was brought back to the family after weaning, and was educated in the household according to the sex.

Both boys and girls learned by heart Christian morals by oral exercises such as the *Paternoster*, the *Ten Commandments*, and the *Credo*. They also mastered dancing, singing, and playing musical instruments. Boys were taught chivalry, the mediaeval code of noble men, to respect virtues such as courage, loyalty, and humility, or to develop a talent in the military arts. Girls were taught mainly domestic art skills like needle work and spinning. Girls were also taught certain morals: 'chastity, plain dress, humility, silence, abject submission to male authority.'³

The law allowed children to marry at the age of seven, though

² Ibid., p. 7.

³ Ibid., p. 11.

consummation waited until a girl reached the age of twelve and a boy of fourteen. Marriage was often regarded as a business contract for the families of both a bride and a bridegroom. A woman who reached the age of fourteen had a legal right to succeed to the estate of her family; after she got married, however, she lost the right to control her own estate by herself and her right was passed on to her husband. Accordingly, women, as property belonging to their husbands, were controlled by their husbands.

The Idea of a Good Woman in Patriarchal Society

Generally speaking, patriarchal society controlled women by providing them with the ideal images of a good woman. A good woman had to be silent, chaste, and obedient. Juan Luis Vives, a Renaissance humanist, in his *De Institutione Feminae Christianae* (1523) dedicated to Catherine of Aragon, the first wife of Henry VIII, wrote how a good woman should behave: 'If she is a good woman, it is best that she stay at home and be unknown to others. In company, it is befitting that she be retiring and silent.'⁴ Vives, according to such a model of a good woman, also prohibited women from displaying their learning and knowledge.

The model of a good woman to men in patriarchal society was represented by the Virgin Mary, although her image disappeared from Protestant society but remained deeply in the subconsciousness of the people. Her characters of chastity and humility were the virtues that male authority urged women to imitate both in public and at home. The virtue of chastity includes silence, because the closed mouth is equal to the closed body, that is, a symbol of chastity.⁵ Silence

⁴ Vives, p. 72. See Margaret P. Hannay, "'O Daughter Heare": Reconstructing the Lives of Aristocratic Englishwomen', in *Attending to Women in Early Modern England*, ed. by Betty S. Travitsky and Adele F. Seeff (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1994), pp. 35–63 (p. 36).

⁵ Peter Stallybrass, 'Patriarchal Territories: The Body Enclosed', in *Rewriting the Renaissance: the Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Margaret

and chastity mean that women should be enclosed in the house. Humility is analogous to obedience. Thus, chastity and humility symbolized in the image of the Virgin Mary can be equivalent to the three feminine virtues: silence, chastity, and obedience. Patriarchal ideology severely imposed these virtues on women.

Patriarchal society often used a woman who is spinning or weaving at her loom as the iconographical image to represent the model of a good woman.⁶ As Vives insisted that women should learn how to ‘handle wool and flax’ in his *De Institutione Feminae Christianae*, domestic skills such as needlework were regarded as necessary and proper for women as well as housecraft and cookery.⁷ Ann Rosalind Jones speaks of ‘a set of connections made throughout early modern Europe between women’s handiwork and the virtues of simpler and purer days—connections made by men intending to maintain their ownership of language and their control over women’s behavior’.⁸ As a result, the work relating to cloth such as spinning, weaving, and needlework came to belong to female territory.

In the scene of the Annunciation, the Virgin Mary is traditionally depicted as spinning or weaving, according to the Annunciation in the *Book of James* (10:1–2, 11:1), which might have been written in the second century. When the

W. Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan, and Nancy J. Vickers (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986), pp. 123–42 (p. 127).

⁶ Midori Wakakuwa, 『象徴としての女性像—ジェンダー史から見た家父長制社会における女性表象』 [*Shou-chou toshite no Josei-zou: Gender-shi kara mita Kafuchou-sei-shakai niokeru Josei-hyoushou*] (Tokyo: Chikuma-shobou, 2000), pp. 382–92.

⁷ Kathi Vosevich, ‘The Education of a Prince(ss): Tutoring the Tudors’ in *Women, Writing, and the Reproduction of Culture in Tudor and Stuart Britain*, ed. by Mary E. Burke, Jane Donawerth, Linda L. Dove, and Karen Nelson (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000), pp. 61–76 (p. 64).

⁸ Ann Rosalind Jones, ‘Distaff and Spindle in the Gender Debate, 1400-1600’ presented but unpublished, at the workshop on ‘Contested Domestic Spaces and the Fashioning of Renaissance Woman’ at the conference ‘Attending to Women in Early Modern England,’ University of Maryland, November 8–10, 1990. The Citation was reproduced in Georgianna Ziegler, ‘Penelope and the Politics of Woman’s Place in the Renaissance’ in *Gloriana’s Face: Women, Public and Private, in the English Renaissance*, ed. by S. P. Cerasano and Marion Wynne-Danes (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992), pp.25–46 (p. 36).

Angel visited her, the Virgin Mary was weaving the veil with purple threads for the decoration of the temple (fig. 1).⁹ The Virgin Mary as a young maiden was believed to have been taught needlework by her mother St. Anne. St. Anne wearing on her head a white coif, which is regarded as a symbol of a married woman and her modesty, teaches young maiden Mary how to spin (fig. 2).¹⁰ The visual image of both St. Anne and the Virgin Mary engaged in needlework represents a good woman working at home. From the eleventh century, instead of the spindle, a book was often seen as a common attribute of the Virgin Mary.¹¹ This change might have been influenced by the movement that occurred in Byzantium from the eighth to the tenth century by which the Virgin Mary was associated with Athena, the goddess of wisdom. It was believed that she must have been intelligent because she was the mother of Christ.¹²

I will cite an example from the *Book of Hours of Catherine of Cleves* (c.1450). In 'Holy family at Work', the Virgin Mary is weaving at her loom beside the baby Christ standing in a walker, while St Joseph is planing a piece of timber. (fig. 3).¹³ This scene visualizes the ideal family working at home. The image of the Virgin Mary was very useful to promote male authority and to form the typical image and idea of a good woman because she was the most respected woman on earth. Domestic work such as spinning, weaving, and needlework,

⁹ This figure is reproduced in David M. Robb, 'The Iconography of the Annunciation in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', *The Art Bulletin*, 18 (1936), 480–526(pp. 480–82).

¹⁰ The painting has been attributed to an Italian painter Lo Spadarino (Giovanni Antonio Gallo, 1585–1651).

¹¹ Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, trans. by Janet Seligman, 2 vols (London: Luna Humphries, 1971), I, p. 42.

As Professor Mikiko Ishii suggests, a stained glass of the Cathedral in Lyons, France, in the thirteenth century is supposed to be the last example of the weaving Virgin Mary in the scene of the Annunciation. After that, a book became popular as an attribute of the Virgin Mary, which might have been influenced by the Renaissance humanistic movement. As for the iconography of the Annunciation, see Chapter II in Ishii's book, 『聖母のルネサンス』 [*Seibo no Renaissance*] (Tokyo: Iwanami-shoten, 2004).

¹² Pamela Sheingorn, "'The Wise Mother": The Image of St. Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary', *GESTA*, 32 (1993), 69–80 (p.69).

¹³ *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves* with Introduction and Comments by John Plummer (New York: George Brazillier, 1966; repr. 1975), plate 92. This was originally in colour.

was not regarded as low and boring housework, for even the Virgin Mary was engaged in such domestic work. Then, Patriarchal society encouraged women to imitate the Virgin Mary: to behave chastely and humbly and work at home. Thus, spinning, weaving, and needlework became symbols of female virtues of chastity and humility.

A woodcut entitled 'Domestic Education' published by printer Johann Bäumler in 1476 in Augsburg shows the ideal family: each member engaging in their own work at home (fig. 4).¹⁴ In this woodcut, the father counts money at table while the boy reads a book, and the mother teaches her daughter how to spin and rocks with her foot the baby sleeping in the cradle. Like the Virgin Mary, the spinning mother and her daughter at home in this woodcut are presented as ideal women. This woodcut also implies a mother as a teacher for her daughter. Pamela Sheingorn explores the visual images of St. Anne giving reading instruction to the Virgin Mary, which first appeared in England in the early fourteenth century, and demonstrates that these images of a mother as a teacher encouraged mothers to teach their daughters literacy as well as spinning, needlework, and other domestic skills, as St. Anne did to the Virgin Mary.¹⁵

The education of domestic work and feminine virtues for women advocated by humanists, as it is seen in Vives's *De Institutione Feminae Christianae*, meant that women, especially unmarried women, should be engaged in spinning, weaving, and needlework at home. In 1563, the Elizabethan Government promulgated the Artificers Act by which unmarried woman from fourteen to forty had to be engaged in spinning.¹⁶ As a result, spinning was regarded as a symbol

¹⁴ The woodcut is reproduced in Christa Grössinger, *Picturing Women in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), p. 48.

¹⁵ Sheingorn, pp. 69–80.

¹⁶ Mikiko Ishii, 『イギリス中世の女たち』 [*Igrisu Chu-sei no Onna-tachi*](Tokyo: Taishukan-shoten, 1997), p. 103.

of single women.¹⁷ A woman who did not labor at domestic work would have been regarded as lazy and idle. It was believed that laziness and idleness led women to vice. Thus, a woman who was lazy would have been considered sexually loose as well. Spinning was in opposition to lechery and a symbol of virtues for women.¹⁸

The most famous spinning woman is probably Penelope, spouse of Ulysses, in the Greek myth. She was considered to be a typical example of a chaste and obedient wife during the time of the Renaissance in Europe. Robert Greene, a contemporary of Shakespeare, composed *Penelope's Web* in prose (1587). On the front page of the book, the female virtues are expressed: 'In three several discourses also are three especial virtues, necessary to be incident in every virtuous woman, [...] namely Obedience, Chastity, and Silence.'¹⁹ In *Penelope's Web*, Penelope, waiting for her husband to come back, is spinning, and telling the three stories of three women to her maids at night. In the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, Duke Cosimo de Medici constructed rooms for his wife Eleonora. On one of the ceilings of the rooms Penelope was depicted by Giovanni Stradano (Jan van der Straet, 1523–1605) (fig. 5).²⁰ The Duke ordered the ceilings and walls of the rooms for Eleonora to be filled with paintings signifying the female virtues. In this picture, Penelope was weaving at her loom in the center of the room, while all the other women were engaged in spinning or needlework. Ziegler demonstrates that both *Penelope's Web* and Stradano's painting apparently show

¹⁷ According to the *OED*, 'spinster' meant originally the name of women's occupation, but 'subsequently (from the 17th century) as the proper legal designation of one still unmarried'. (2.a.) It also gained the meaning of an older woman still unmarried in the early eighteenth century.

¹⁸ Wakakuwa, p. 390.

¹⁹ Robert Greene, 'Penelope's Web' in *The Life and Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Robert Greene*, ed. by Alexander B. Grosart, 15 vols (New York: Russell & Russell, 1964), v, pp. 137–234 (p.139).

²⁰ The picture and its history are reproduced in Ziegler, pp. 25–27.

the ideal female model of a chaste, silent, and obedient woman, which was highly promoted by male authority in patriarchal ideology.²¹

We can go back about a century to find an example of a spinning woman, who represents an ideal woman. Sebastian Brant in his *Ship of Fools* published in 1497 in Basle visualizes the idea of spinning as a symbol of a virtuous woman in the woodcut entitled 'Hercules at the Crossroad' (fig. 6).²² Virtus (Virtue) is represented as an old hooded woman holding a distaff at the top of the mountain on the right, which reminds us of St. Anne in white coif represented as a chaste woman in figure 1. Voluptas (Voluptuousness) is portrayed as a young naked woman holding a flower at the top of the other mountain. Hercules wearing armor sleeps at the roots of the two mountains, dreaming of the two choices. The road to Virtue is rugged and steep to go up; the one to Voluptuousness is smooth and easy to walk up. A skeleton behind Voluptuousness, a symbol of Death, tempts Hercules or a viewer to come up. In addition, brimstones and fire are pouring out of the sky on Voluptuousness. On the other hand, stars are brightening in the sky above Virtue. The distaff as the attribute of Virtue suggests that spinning became an identical sign of Virtue itself.

Spinning and needlework are also used as the symbols of an ideal woman and her domesticity in Shakespeare plays. An example is found in *Coriolanus*. As the stage direction of *The Riverside Shakespeare* edition shows, Volumnia and Virgilia, mother and wife to Coriolanus, are sewing on low stools on the stage when they make their first appearance [1.3].²³ Even without the stage direction, the speech made by Valeria, their friend, indicates their needlework: 'You are manifest housekeepers. / What are you sewing here?' [1.3.51 – 52]. When

²¹ Ziegler, pp. 30–46.

²² The woodcut is reproduced in Grössinger, p. 17.

²³ All quotations of Shakespeare's plays henceforth are cited from *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. by G. Blakemore Evans (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1974), unless otherwise noted.

Valeria sees them sewing, she praises their diligent domestic work. Just after that, Valeria suggests to them that they go out with her: 'Come, lay aside your stitchery, I must have you play the idle huswife with me this afternoon'[1.3.69—70]. While Volumnia agrees, Virgilia, the wife of Coriolanus, does not accept her offer. If a woman goes out of her house and leaves her domestic work undone, she would be regarded as a lazy woman. Virgilia stubbornly refuses Valeria's offer and is called 'another Penelope' [1.3.82] by Valeria, which indicates that Virgilia is regarded as an ideal woman.

In *The Taming of the Shrew*, needlework is used as a symbol of ideal feminine activity. When Baptista stops his eldest daughter Kate from beating her sister Bianca, he tells Bianca to go back and work at sewing ('Go ply thy needle': 2.1.25). Bianca is portrayed as an ideal and obedient woman, who quietly busies herself with sewing, in contrast to Kate, a loud and untamed woman.

The people in Elizabethan England well knew the conventional disciplines of silence, chastity, and obedience imposed on women. The disciplines were visualized as images of a good woman through wood-cuts in some emblem books or in other artifacts.

The first English emblem book was *A Choice of Emblemes* (1586) by Geoffrey Whitney (1548—1603), who was a contemporary of Shakespeare. The emblem book was dedicated to Whitney's patron, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, one of the most important nobles in the court of Elizabeth I. Whitney visualized three virtues of women entitled 'Vxoria virtutes' (Virtues of a wife).²⁴ The standing woman (fig. 7) puts her fingers on her lips, holding the keys, with a tortoise under her feet. The poem explains that her fingers on her lips represent her silence ('Her finger, staies [*sic*] her tonge to runne at large'),²⁵ and that her

²⁴ Geoffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes* (Leyden: 1586), ed. by Henry Green (London: 1866; repr. New York: Benjamin Bloom, 1967), p. 93.

²⁵ The quoted lines are taken from the poem under the woodcut. The old spellings except for modernization of 's' for 'long s' are preserved.

'modest lookes' show 'her honest life', that is to say, her chastity. The keys in her right hand imply that she should be in charge of her husband's goods and property, so that he could go wherever he liked ('The keys, declare shee hathe a care, and chardge, / Of husbandes goodes: let him goe where he please'). The tortoise under her feet means that she should stay at home to take care of domestic duties ('The tortoise [*sic*] warnes, at home to spend her daies'). Both the keys and the tortoise suggest that a wife should be confined within the household; in contrast, her husband has freedom to go anywhere he wants thanks to his wife who takes care of his house. Whitney might have drawn his ideas on *Emblemata* (1550) written and published by Andrea Alciato (1491–1550), a well-known early Italian emblematisers.

Emblemata was 'enormously popular' and 'appeared in at least thirty-five editions' between 1548-1616.²⁶ His work was circulated throughout Europe in the sixteenth-century. *Emblemata* had a strong influence on English emblem books produced during the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Alciato visualized three virtues of women under the title of 'A woman's reputation, not her beauty, should be known to the world' in the chapter of marriage (fig. 8).²⁷ The only similarity between Whitney's and Alciato's emblem of female virtues is the tortoise under the right foot of the woman. The tortoise is regarded as 'a symbol of ideal female domesticity, as it keeps silence and never leaves its house' ('Girls should stay at home and keep silence, and so he put such symbols under my feet').²⁸ Although Alciato's standing woman, represented as the goddess Venus, does not put her fingers on her lips nor hold keys, she also represents the female ideal virtues like Whitney's woman. It is clear that Whitney drew inspiration

²⁶ Andre Alciato, *Emblemata: Lyons, 1550*, trans. by Betty I. Knott (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1996), Introduction, p. xvi.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

²⁸ The quoted lines in parentheses are translations from the original verses in Latin attached to the emblem by Knott.

from Alciato's woman in his emblem, but portrayed the female virtues more clearly by having his standing woman put her fingers on her lips and hold the keys. Alciato's emblem aimed at unmarried young women; on the other hand, Whitney targeted married women as an object of the virtues. This difference suggests that Whitney might have emphasised more distinctly the three virtues of a woman as a wife.

Another English emblem book, published under the title of *The Theater of Fine Devices* (1614), was a translation by Thomas Combe from the original French version, *Les Théâtre de bons engins* (1539) by Guillaume de la Perrière.²⁹ Whitney uses English for poems and Latin for mottoes. Latin was a language for scholars. The emblem books like the one by Alciato in Latin were difficult for ordinary people to read. The texts of la Perrière and Combe in the vernacular languages were more accessible to a wider audience. Like the woman in Whitney's emblem, the woman in Combe's emblem puts her finger on her lips, holding a large key, with a tortoise under her foot (fig. 9). The woman has obvious similarities to Whitney's counterpart. The image of this woman unmistakably represents the female virtues of silence, chastity, and obedience. She should not speak out but keep silent ('Her finger to her lip is upward bent, / To signifie she should not be too loud'), and must stay at home to take care of housework and her husband's goods ('The key doth note, she must have care to guide / The goods her husband doth with pain provide'), not walk around outside without any purpose (by The tortoise at her feet is meant, / She must not gad, but learn at home to shroud').³⁰ Combe's woman sitting on something in the room, unlike Whitney's woman standing outside, apparently implies that women should be confined at home. The enormous large key that she is holding

²⁹ Thomas Combe, *The Theater of Fine Devices* (London: 1614), with an Introduction by John Doeblér (San Marino, CA: The Huntington Library, 1983), XVIII.

³⁰ The quoted lines are taken from the poem under the woodcut. The old spellings except for modernization of 'u' for 'v' or 'w' and of 's' for 'long s' are preserved.

emphasises the importance of the domesticity of a woman.

Humanists in Early Tudor England

In Early Tudor England, the Renaissance, which had begun in Florence in Italy, had a strong impact on Christian Humanists, such as John Colet and Thomas More among them. Renaissance scholars in Italy encouraged students to learn classical works from Rome and Greece. They believed that Classical works would be helpful for students to develop their morals and wisdom like the writings of Christian fathers. For instance, Pico della Mirandola (1463–94), an influential leader in the new movement, focused on the philosophy of Plato. The English Christian humanists' interest in the revival of classics drove them, to change the educational system in England.

The movements of the English Renaissance and the Reformation had a great influence on education for women to be improved. English Christian humanists like Thomas More, John Colet, and Sir Thomas Elyot promoted and encouraged people to teach both young men and women classical languages, Latin and Greek. The purpose of their education for women was to make them good wives, so that they could help their husbands as good partners and educate their children at home as good mothers.

Sir Thomas More was one of the most influential humanists and is thought to be the first person to educate women in classics in the reign of Henry VIII. Before More's new educational programme, women were seldom instructed in classics. What More did for his daughters was not ordinary but revolutionary. More gave his daughters the same education as he did his sons and his male students. He taught them Latin and Greek as well as rhetoric, philosophy, theology, logic, mathematics, and astronomy. As a result, his daughters acquired excellent skills of classical languages and had a refined knowledge of liberal arts. Although he, like many male authorities, thought that women were the inferior

sex and needed firm male governance, More believed that women could be good wives if they were educated properly.³¹ His educational goals were ‘the preparing of men for public employment and women for maternal and wifely service’.³²

Consider Margaret More, his eldest daughter, for example. She was the best scholar among his female students, translating Erasmus’s work *A devout treatise upon the Pater Noster* from Latin into English in 1524. She married William Roper, a lawyer, and died in 1544 at the age of forty, having educated her five surviving children in exactly the same way as she had been educated by her father. She was an obedient wife and a helpful partner in her marital life. This means that she was a perfect female humanist based on the First Epistle to the Corinthians, which More thought of as a goal of his educational discipline for women.³³ More’s curriculum of study for women had a continuing influence on education for women throughout Tudor England.

As for More’s basic idea about family, it is most clearly reflected in *Utopia*, which was written in Latin and published in 1516 then translated into English by Ralph Robynson in 1551. What More emphasised most is ‘an attack on pride, the “rote of all myschyfe”’.³⁴

Utopia is an island which comprises cities and agricultural provinces.³⁵ The people must learn crafts and agricultural skills. While men are free to choose their work, women, regarded ‘as the weaker sorte’, are assigned to ‘the

³¹ Physiological ideas of female inferiority based on Aristotle and Galen was widely accepted in those days. The Great philosopher Aristotle (384–322B.C.) ‘described women as incomplete men’. Galen (c. 122–199), a Greek physician, ‘argued that women were naturally hotter and moister, and hence more lustful, than men were’. See Chapter VII, ‘Gender and Sexuality’ in *The English Renaissance: An Anthology of Sources and Documents*, ed. by Kate Aughterson (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 417–81 (pp. 419–20, 463–465).

³² Warnicke, pp. 23–25.

³³ St. Paul said to the Corinthians: ‘the head of every man is Christ; and the head of every woman is the man’ [11.3].

³⁴ Warnicke, p. 18.

³⁵ More, *The Utopia*, pp.120–23.

easere craftes' such as working on 'wull and flaxe'.³⁶ This reflected a conventional idea in the real world that a good woman should be engaged in spinning at home, as I have already examined. This idea remained deep-rooted throughout Tudor England, as the spinning Penelope signifies a virtuous woman.

In Utopia, the people who are devoted to religious work are permitted to marry. Priests are from the group of scholars of both men and women. Women can take holy orders after they have finished their education to be scholars, 'for that kynd is not excluded from pryesthode; howbeit fewe be chosen, and none but widdowes and old women',³⁷ although women in the real world were not allowed to be priests or even to speak out in public.

Of marriage in Utopia, men are permitted to marry from the age of twenty two, and women from the age of eighteen.³⁸ The people are not allowed to have pre-marital intercourse. Fornication must be severely punished. Sexual pleasure needs to be controlled because, if it is not, the people will not think of marital status as precious. Utopians can divorce when they obtain official agreement from the Senate.³⁹

A household can include sixteen adults, ruled by the eldest male.⁴⁰ A wife should be obedient to her husband, just as they were in Tudor England. The idea of mutual love between husband and wife is expected, as Sir Thomas Elyot and Juan Luis Vives encouraged 'loving relationship between spouses [...] enjoying each other's company'.⁴¹ It seems that the life of women in Utopia is better than that of women in English society in the sixteenth century; the lives of women in Utopia, however, are much more strictly regulated.

Families in Utopia are similar to Protestant nuclear families, which

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 133–34.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 285.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 227–29.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 153–56.

⁴¹ Warnicke, p. 22.

increased in number from about 1530. What is emphasised in society is the husband's governance over his wife from religious to domestic matters. Mothers in Utopia live with their children to suckle them for at least the first five years, unless the mothers are dead or sick in bed.⁴² This reflects the humanists' denouncement of the wet-nurse. In a Utopian family, the husband has a role as a priest in his family and listens to his wife's confession, though a wife does not take such a role when her husband confesses.⁴³

Humanists' Education for Royal Children

Henry VIII was said to be the first English king to receive a Renaissance education. He was interested in the education of his children, Mary, Elizabeth, and Edward, as heirs. He educated them on the basis of More's humanistic curriculum. His daughters read the classics, wrote in Latin and Greek, and translated works written in these languages into other vernacular ones such as French, Spanish, and Italian.

Henry VIII's humanistic education for his children became fashionable, and was followed by nobles who had ambition for royal alliances. Nobles such as Grey, Seymour, Howard, and Fitzalan, educated their daughters in order to obtain positions of maids of honour at the court for them and to advance them, if possible, to be the bride of the future King Edward VI.

Henry VIII appointed an excellent scholar Thomas Linacre, his physician, to be the tutor of the young princess Mary. She was given the humanistic education suitable for a future queen of England. After the death of Linacre, the Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives, a friend of More, was invited by Queen Catherine, Henry's first wife, to make an educational plan for Mary. Vives

⁴² More, *The Utopia*, p. 162.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 291–92.

dedicated his *De Institutione Feminae Christianae* (1523) to the Queen Catherine, Mary's mother.

Catherine, the youngest daughter of Isabel of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon, was well educated under her mother's supervision to be a good wife of a king.⁴⁴ Catherine was trained to marry a future king to the English throne from the age of three. She learned philosophy, literature, and religion. She was also fluent in Latin as well as Castilian, French, English, and German, and was skilled at the keyboard and the harp.

Before Catherine became the wife of Henry VIII, she had been married to his elder brother Prince Arthur, but Arthur died soon after the marriage. After the death of Henry VII, Henry became the King of England and married Catherine in 1509. Catherine was admired as a cultural leader at Henry VIII's court. Catherine's royal marriage to Henry introduced Spanish Renaissance culture into England, and made Spanish become an important vernacular language in trading and diplomatic services. It is no wonder that Catherine, an accomplished court lady in the liberal arts, had a great interest in educating her daughter Mary and actually gave a highly humanistic education to her.

Vives' *De Institutione Feminae Christianae* became the standard guidance of education for girls in Tudor England. Vives divided his treatise into three: the first part is for unmarried young women, the second for married women, and the third for widows. These three parts correspond to the three stages of women's life, that is, maidenhood, wifedom, and widowhood.

In his first part, which is the longest of all the three parts, Vives insisted that girls should be kept busy reading or engaged in domestic duties such as cleaning and cooking in order to avoid idleness. Vives recommended that girls should learn especially 'how to work with wool and flax, two arts [...] which should be a

⁴⁴ Judith M. Richards, 'Mary Tudor: Renaissance Queen of England' in *High and Mighty Queens' of Early Modern England: Realities and Representations*, pp. 27–43 (pp. 29–30).

matter of prime concern for women'.⁴⁵ Taking up the examples of Roman married women who were busy working on wool or spinning, Vives explained the working of spinning as 'the occupation and skill of a good woman', and concluded that 'to busy oneself in this occupation was the sign of a prudent and chaste wife'.⁴⁶ In addition, Vives urged that young women should not go out but 'stay at home and be unknown to others [...] be retiring and silent' because he thought young women were 'weak' and 'of uncertain judgment' and 'easily deceived'.⁴⁷ Vives emphasised, above all, the importance of chastity.

But in a woman, no one requires eloquence or talent or wisdom or professional skills or administration of the republic or justice or generosity; no one asks anything of her but chastity. If that one thing is missing, it is as if all were lacking to a man.

In a woman, chastity is the equivalent of all virtues [...]. If that is safe, everything else will be in safety; if that is lost, all things perish together with it.⁴⁸

In addition, Vives advised that a girl should 'let her nourishment be light, plain, and not highly seasoned', and that she should refrain from drinking wine or beer 'because it is well known that the next step after Bacchus, father of intemperance, is that which leads to unlawful lust'.⁴⁹ He did not also allow young women to play cards or throw dice, because their minds would 'be weakened' and they would 'become the victim of avarice'.⁵⁰ He gave further instructions for girls' behaviour in public: 'It is not to be permitted that a young

⁴⁵ Vives, *The Education of A Christian Woman*, p. 58.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 59–60

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 85. On the similar emphasis of chastity, see pp. 116–118.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

woman and a man should converse alone anywhere for any length of time, not even if they are brother and sister.’⁵¹ Vives stressed the significance of chastity, ‘the queen of female virtues’, for young women, and recommended them to protect it.⁵²

In the second part for married women, Vives asserted that women as wives should be obedient to their husband and please them.⁵³ He required that wives should put the bridle on their tongue before their husbands, which would be ‘easily done if the mind is bridled’.⁵⁴ This reflects the value of female silence in Tudor England: ‘it is a beautiful and outstanding virtue in a woman to control the tongue.’⁵⁵ On the behaviour of wives outside the house, Vives insisted that ‘Married women should be seen more rarely in public than unmarried women’.⁵⁶ Vives advocated the idea of enclosure of a woman, saying that the place for a woman was the home where she would work on domestic duties and please her husband. This idea is a mirror of protecting chastity: ‘The woman who zealously takes care of her home must necessarily guard her chastity with equal zeal, for when she is devoted to the management of these tasks she will not easily occupy herself with luxurious habits, banquets and untimely and vain pastimes.’⁵⁷ While Vives’ purpose of girls’ education had common ground with that of More in improving their ability to delight their husbands and to educate their children, Vives’ students were confined within their houses and prevented from developing their intellectual ability. In contrast, ‘More first let his students grow in spirit and intelligence before limiting their knowledge and ability to domestic purposes.’⁵⁸

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 118.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 186–209.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 254.

⁵⁸ Warnicke, p. 35.

Vives was appointed as an instructor for Princess Mary. Following *De Institutione Feminae Christianae*, he especially encouraged Mary to learn female Christian virtues such as silence, obedience, and chastity. Vives generally insisted that women should not learn highly skillful speech, because eloquence of speech was regarded as 'a token of a light mind and shrewd conditions'.⁵⁹

As for Princess Mary, Vives encouraged her to gain speech skill, especially fluency in Latin, because she would be queen in the future.⁶⁰ Vives might have expected that Mary would inherit the English throne, as Catherine the Queen did. As for reading for girls, Vives prohibited 'young women from reading books of war and love, both types being antithetical to chastity'.⁶¹ He instructed that Christian women should be silent and obedient to their husbands, which had a strong influence on Mary's relationship with her husband Philip of Spain.⁶² Mary first thought much of wifely duty, and behaved as an obedient wife even though she was the queen regnant.

Princess Mary was very religious and had interest in religious works. As for classical languages, her Latin was good enough to read More's *Utopia* and Erasmus' works written in Latin; but she seemed to lack fluency in Greek. She was also fluent in French, which was the court language in those days. Her failure to master Italian suggests that she was probably not interested in Italy and Italian literary works like Petrarchan poetry. One of the poets who promoted Petrarchan love sonnets and introduced blank verse into England was Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder (1503?–42), one of Queen Anne's minions. Italian literary works in her mind might have been linked with Anne Boleyn and her relatives,

⁵⁹ Vosevich, p. 63.

⁶⁰ Timothy G. Elston, 'Transformation or Continuity? Sixteenth-Century Education and the Legacy of Catherine of Aragon, Mary I, and Juan Luis Vives', pp. 11–26 (pp.19–20); and Richards, 'Mary Tudor: Renaissance Queen of England', p. 31, in *High and Mighty Queens' of Early Modern England: Realities and Representations*.

⁶¹ Vosevich, p. 64.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 67.

the Howards, who caused Mary and her mother Catherine of Aragon to be isolated from the court.⁶³

In 1553, Mary came to the English throne as the first queen regnant. Her 'official proclamation often began with "the Queen our sovereign Lady," an obvious and explicit reference to her sex'.⁶⁴ In 1554, when Thomas Wyatt the younger rose up in revolt against her marriage to Philip of Spain, Mary addressed her enemies 'in feminine terms' and emphasised 'the maternal aspects of her queenship'.⁶⁵ This speech shows that she was not less proficient than her half-sister Elizabeth Tudor, in making a public speech.

What I am ye right well know. I am your Queen [...] And I say to you, on the word of a prince, I cannot tell how naturally the mother loveth the child, for I was never the mother of any, but certainly if a prince and governor may as naturally and earnestly love her subjects as the mother doth love the child, then assure yourselves that I, being your lady and mistress, do as earnestly and tenderly love and favour you.⁶⁶

Although Mary used the word 'prince', she did not insist herself as a gendered prince, as Elizabeth did. Mary made use of maternal images in order to bring out affection and support from her people. The phrase 'your lady and mistress' suggests that she intended to ask her subjects to guard her. Mary defended herself saying 'as a female—one who needed to be defended by men'.⁶⁷

For her marriage to Philip of Spain, which was celebrated on 25 July in

⁶³ Warnicke, p. 36.

⁶⁴ Vosevich, p. 66.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁶⁶ H. F. M. Prescott, *Spanish Tudor: The Life of Bloody Mary* (London: Constable, 1940), pp. 303–4.

⁶⁷ Vosevich, p. 67.

1554, the Parliament declared that she would be continually 'our onely Quene [...] a sole queen' even after she married.⁶⁸ However, in her marriage treaties to Philip of Spain, it was stated that Philip of Spain would be named as the king precedent to her title, but that his role would be limited within support for his wife especially in military affairs. These treaties actually restrained Philip of Spain from exerting any political power in England, enabling Mary to maintain her political autonomy. However, Queen Mary needed to act as if her husband and she, as the King and Queen of England, seemingly shared the sovereignty, in order to satisfy Philip of Spain. For example, the King's name was followed by the Queen's whenever they were publicly addressed. Queen Mary followed exactly the strategy of her grandmother Isabella, the Queen of Castile, who set up the same treaty on her marriage to Ferdinand of Aragon in 1469.⁶⁹ Isabella always put her husband's name before hers in a public address, and also Ferdinand was supposed to have full responsibility for military action on behalf of his wife.

To attain political equality between her and her husband in public, Mary also behaved as an obedient wife in the relationship with her husband Philip of Spain. In 1556, she wrote a letter to Philip concerning the possible marriage of Elizabeth and his son, Don Carlos.

Wherefore, my lord, in as humbly sort as I may, I, your most true and obedient wife – (which indeed I confess that I ought to be, and to my thinking more than all other wives, having such a husband as Your

⁶⁸ Richards, 'Mary Tudor as "Sole Quene"?: Gendering Tudor Monarchy', *The Historical Journal*, 40 (1997), 895–924 (pp. 908–909); and her 'Mary Tudor: Renaissance Queen of England,' p. 34.

⁶⁹ Richards, 'Mary Tudor: Renaissance Queen of England', pp. 35–36.

Highness – not that I am speaking of the multitude of your kingdoms, for that is not the chief thing in my eyes), I beg Your Majesty.⁷⁰

Mary called herself an ‘obedient wife’ and humbly asked her husband Philip to permit her own decision of refusing the match of Elizabeth and Don Carlos. In the beginning of her will, Mary proclaimed herself a ‘lawful wife to the most noble and virtuous Prince Philippe’, and addressed Philip of Spain ‘my said dearly beloved husband and Lord’ or ‘my said most Dere Lord and Husband the King’s Majesty’.⁷¹ Mary’s proclamations make an impression of her conventional relationship with Philip as husband and wife as well as king and queen. In 1557, Queen Mary was said to insist to her council that England should invest the army in the war against France to support Spain, not least because of her wifely duty, that is to say, obedience to her husband.⁷² Mary followed Vives’ instruction of being an obedient Christian woman, which at last led to the loss of Calais in France, as a foothold of England in advancing to Europe, and devastated the English economy and her prestige.

Queen Mary was well-educated and capable of speaking well, but she gave precedence to her husband as an obedient wife. Vives’ education helped Mary to be an ideal Christian woman with three virtues – silence, obedience, and chastity as visualized in the three female figures of the emblem books mentioned above – suitable for a woman in patriarchal society; however, it could be said that her wifely obedience cultivated by Vives’ humanistic education ironically led her reign to disaster. In contrast to Mary, Elizabeth was instructed by Roger Ascham to get sufficient academic background in order to perform as a gendered king, as I shall demonstrate later.

⁷⁰ Prescott, p. 493.

⁷¹ David M. Loades, Appendix 3, ‘Mary’s Will’ in *Mary Tudor : A Life* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), pp. 370–83 (p. 370).

⁷² Richards, ‘Mary Tudor as ‘Sole Quene’?: Gendering Tudor Monarchy,’ 915.

Grammar School and the Education for Women

For centuries, monasteries and nunneries had given academic instruction to both men and women in England as well as in the other Catholic countries. At the time of the Reformation, Henry VIII destroyed monasteries and nunneries. After that, religious secondary schools under secular control were constructed instead, and as Warnicke says, they promoted 'uniformity by requiring all grammar schools, regardless of their foundation dates or associations'.⁷³ Grammar schools as facilities for secondary education played an important role for boys of the wealthy classes to learn Latin and Greek. The Christian humanists considered that in grammar schools instruction 'based on the text of Donatus, a fourth-century Roman schoolmaster', was inferior and not so useful for boys any longer. The first secondary school with humanist education was St. Paul's school endowed by John Colet in 1512 in London. This school had Greek and Latin masters like William Lily, 'an accomplished Greek and Latin scholar who had studied with More, as the first highmaster'. Later in the Elizabethan era, the boys in St. Paul's school used a new text known as *Lily's Grammar*.

Education for young men at grammar schools became popular through promotion by the two monarchs, Henry VIII and Edward VI. Before grammar schools, education for boys was normally conducted by tutors at home. This meant that young women could have opportunities to be educated with their brothers at home. Furthermore, the destruction of nunneries by Henry VIII, which used to give academic education to women, deprived women of places for education, and 'households remained the only viable places for the instruction of women'.⁷⁴ The promotion and popularity of grammar schools deprived women of chances for education more and more as time went on. And in Shakespeare's days, fewer chances for education made women separate from the academic and

⁷³ Warnicke, p. 42.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 43.

public world, and drove them into the domestic and private one.

Education for Princess Elizabeth

Queen Katherine Parr, the last wife of Henry VIII, had a great influence on the education of her step daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, in humanistic instruction. Elizabeth learned classical languages, Latin and Greek, as well as vernacular ones such as French, Italian, Spanish and German. She was especially fluent in Italian, which reflects the fact that she was very interested in Italian Renaissance philosophy and literature.

Queen Katherine encouraged Mary and Elizabeth to read and translate religious works, although there were thought to be a few areas in literature for women to work on. Elizabeth at the age of eleven translated a piece of work by a famous Protestant woman, Margaret of Navarre, the sister of the French King, Francis I, from French into English. She presented her step mother, Queen Katherine, with a book of her translation bound in cloth. She embroidered pansies with purple, yellow, and green silk threads on the jacket of the book.⁷⁵ This book is now owned by Bodleian Library, Oxford University. This translation by Elizabeth was published by John Bale in 1548 under the title of *A Godly Medytacyon of the chirsten Sowle* [sic]. Elizabeth also at the age of twelve translated Queen Katherine's *The Prayers styryng the Mynd unto heavenly medytacions* [sic] in 1545, into Latin, French, and Italian. She embroidered white wild roses with yellow stems and green leaves on ruby red silk cloth for the book jacket and bound the manuscripts of her translation in cloth, and then presented it to her father Henry VIII. This is now in the British Library in London. Elizabeth zealously studied various works, religious or secular, of classical and contemporary authors, and polished her language skills, as I shall

⁷⁵ Mikiko Ishii, 『ルネサンスの女王エリザベス：肖像画と権力』 [*Renaissance no Jo-ou Elizabeth: Shouzou-ga to Kenryoku*] (Tokyo: Asashi-shinbun-sha, 2001), pp.36–37.

demonstrate later. She, however, did not neglect female domestic skills such as needlework, as the book jackets of her translations show.

Although Mary was devoted to learning foreign and classical languages, she did not show the results of her studies to the world. Mary refused to publish her translations of religious works, however eagerly Queen Katherine encouraged her to do so, because Mary followed Vives' advice that women should be silent and not speak out.⁷⁶ She was afraid that if she brought out her works in print, she would be regarded as having deviated from the patriarchal norm of an ideal woman. It was a time when the publication of writings was thought to be privileged male territory, not suitable for women. On the other hand, Elizabeth allowed John Bale to print her translation of *A Godly Medytacyon of the chirsten Sowle* (1548). It could be said that this was an early sign of Elizabeth's strong personality to speak out, as Roger Ascham, her tutor, would suggest that she should express her thoughts in her own words, as men should do.

Roger Ascham, one of the most famous English humanists who studied at St. John's College in Cambridge, was appointed as a tutor for fifteen-year-old Elizabeth in 1548, just after her first tutor William Grindal, Ascham's former student and friend, perished by the plague.⁷⁷ He instructed the princess in accordance with the basis of More's humanistic educational methods, and led her to cultivate her linguistic abilities of Greek and Latin as well as vernacular languages such as French, Italian, and Spanish. Ascham used the method of double translation of Latin or Greek into English and then vice versa in language learning of Elizabeth recommended by Thomas More. Elizabeth accomplished a ready utterance of Latin and 'the like shape of eloquence as the author doth use' through the method of double translation.⁷⁸ Ascham recommended gentle

⁷⁶ Vosevich, p. 65.

⁷⁷ Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, Introduction, p. xvi.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

methods of education. He believed that 'learning should be taught rather by love than fear', as he later wrote in the first book of *The Schoolmaster* published in 1570.⁷⁹ He suggested that instructors and tutors should 'praise' their pupils 'for well-doing', not rebuke their pupils for errors.⁸⁰ In *The Schoolmaster*, Ascham praised Elizabeth as the most learned woman in sixteenth century England.

In general, learning Latin was particularly regarded as necessary for boys, not for girls. Walter J. Ong in his *Rhetoric, Romance, and Technology* states that learning Latin was particularly regarded important for boys 'as a Renaissance puberty rite' and prepared boys to enter adulthood and the male world.⁸¹ In short, learning Latin for boys meant 'the first step toward initiation' into the male adulthood.⁸² The Renaissance idea of learning a language, especially Latin, was associated with manliness, because a man who mastered Latin was thought to have overcome the harshness of the teacher. Teachers instructed their male students with physical punishment when they did not follow their instructions. Boys who had mastered Latin proved to be courageous and tough. The association of physical punishment with learning Latin tells that courage and toughness were important virtues for men in those days. In this sense, learning Latin was 'the process of maturing' for boys. Boys were expected to study oratory as well as philosophy, literature, rhetoric, history, and so on through learning Latin.

Here is a difference in education for women between Vives, the instructor of Mary Tudor, and Ascham, the tutor of Elizabeth Tudor. Vives emphasised the importance of silence and obedience to women and prohibited them from acquiring oratory skills either in vernacular languages or even in Latin, because he

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 37.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 16.

⁸¹ Walter J. Ong, Chapter V, 'Latin Language Study as a Renaissance Puberty Rite' in *Rhetoric, Romance, and Technology: Studies in the Interaction of Expression and Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971), pp. 113–41.

⁸² Ibid., p. 121.

preferred women to learn morals rather than to acquire academic knowledge and skills to speak out.⁸³ Ascham, on the other hand, encouraged women to learn speech skill. T. W. Baldwin points out that the aim of grammar school was to produce orators, or eloquent speakers, of Latin, and that Ascham followed that aim.⁸⁴ This is reflected as his educational purpose in the title page of *The Schoolmaster*: 'Or plain and perfect way of teaching children, to understand, write, and speak the Latin tongue, but specially purposed for the private bringing-up of youth in gentlemen's and noblemen's houses.'⁸⁵ In accordance with this purpose, Ascham provided six stages of learning languages, as was explained in the second book of *The Schoolmaster: Translatio linguarum, Paraphrasis, Metaphrasis, Epitome, Imitatio, and Declamatio*.⁸⁶ Ascham set *Declamatio* as the final level of the six stages of his program. In short, his main purpose of education was oration. Ascham thought that speaking well was important as a result of attaining good understanding. The final stage of his six-stage step-by-step programme for learning languages was oration. He thought that oration was a most desirable and necessary skill for a governor, as indicated in the following passage.

Yet all men covet to have their children speak Latin, and so do I very earnestly too [...] I wish to have them speak so as it may well appear that the brain doth govern the tongue and that reason leadeth forth the talk. Socrates' doctrine is true in Plato, and well marked and truly uttered by Horace in *Arte poetica*, that wheresoever knowledge doth accompany the wit, there best utterance doth always await upon the

⁸³ Vosevich, p. 69.

⁸⁴ T. W. Baldwin, *William Shakspeare's Small Latin & Lesse Greeke*, 2 vols (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1944; repr. 1966), I, p. 274.

⁸⁵ Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, p. 1.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

tongue. For good understanding must first be bred in the child, which, being nourished with skill and use of writing (as I will teach more largely hereafter), is the only way to bring him to judgment and readiness in speaking.⁸⁷

According to the importance of speaking Latin, Ascham encouraged Elizabeth to exercise oral training of Latin as well as reading and writing skills, and she diligently followed his instruction. On April 4, 1550 Ascham wrote to the German humanist John Sturm (1507-89) praising Elizabeth for having a great ability to learn languages.

She had me for her tutor in Greek and Latin for two years. [...] She talks French and Italian as well as English: she has often talked to me readily and well in Latin, moderately so in Greek. When she writes Greek and Latin, nothing is more beautiful than her hand-writing. She is as much delighted with music as she is skilful in the art.⁸⁸

Ascham told Sturm about Elizabeth's fluency in Greek, Latin, and the other vernacular languages, in addition to her accomplishment of music and art. Ascham continued by describing what Elizabeth studied under his tutorial, as follows.

She read with me almost all Cicero, and great part of Titus Livius; for she drew all her knowledge of Latin from those two authors. She used to give the morning of the day to the Greek Testament, and afterwards read select orations of Isocrates and the tragedies of

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 17–18.

⁸⁸ Baldwin, p. 259.

Sophocles. For I thought that from those sources she might gain purity of style, and her mind derive instruction that would be of value to her to meet every contingency of life. To these I added Saint Cyprian and Melenchthon's Common Places, &c., as best suited, after the Holy Scriptures, to teach her the foundations of religion, together with elegant language and sound doctrine.⁸⁹

Ascham instructed Elizabeth to study not only the classical works of the Roman orator Cicero, the Roman historian Titus Livius, the Athenian rhetorician Isocrates, and the Greek poet Sophocles, the religious works of the Greek Testament and those of Saint Cyprian, but also contemporary works such as those of German religious reformer Melenchthon (1497–1560). This suggests that Ascham did not neglect religious and moral education for Elizabeth. It is true that Ascham regarded religious instruction as important for 'honesty of living'.⁹⁰ However, unlike Vives, Ascham rather focused on producing orators, following the aim of the grammar school, 'because speaking is central to his pedagogy'.⁹¹ Unlike Vives, Ascham did not prevent Elizabeth from reading political works, as the letter to Sturm that I quoted above shows. The rest of Ascham's letter shows Elizabeth's excellent understanding.

Whatever she reads she at once perceives any word that has a doubtful or curious meaning. She cannot endure those foolish imitators of Erasmus, who have tied up the Latin tongue in those wretched fetters of proverbs. She likes a style that grows out of the subject; chaste because it is suitable, and beautiful because it is clear.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 259.

⁹⁰ Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, p. 75.

⁹¹ Vosevich, p. 71.

She very much admires modest metaphors, and comparisons of contraries well put together and contrasting felicitously with one another. Her ears are so well practised in discriminating all these things, and her judgment is so good, that in all Greek, Latin, and English composition, there is nothing so loose on the one hand or so concise on the other, which she does not immediately attend to, and either reject with disgust or receive with pleasure, as the case may be. I am not inventing anything, my dear Sturm; it is all true.⁹²

Lisa Jardine points out that Ascham's letter to Sturm shows that humanistic education led Elizabeth to 'the "chastening" effect of her accomplishment on her personality and ability', and she also comments that Elizabeth learned the female Christian virtues of purity, chastity 'as result of her humanistic training'.⁹³ It is undeniable that reading classical works by Cicero, Isocrates, and so on, would provide Elizabeth with valuable instruction for various contingencies in her life, especially during her reign. These works also must have helped to cultivate her oratorical skills.

As the above quoted letter indicates, under Ascham's instruction, Elizabeth studied the famous Roman orator Cicero as well as the eloquent Athenian speakers Demosthenes and Isocrates. In this sense, Ascham did not impose silence, one of the three female virtues, on Elizabeth, as Vives did on Mary. Ascham encouraged his royal student to train her oratorical skills as well as skills in reading and writing in Latin. Thanks to his instruction, Elizabeth developed her gift in languages to the full. Ascham admired her ability and accomplishment of learning languages, as follows.

⁹² Baldwin, p. 259.

⁹³ Lisa Jardine, *Still Harping on Daughters: Women and Drama in the Age of Shakespeare* (Brighton, Sussex: The Harvester Press, 1983), p. 53.

It is your shame (I speak to you all, you young gentlemen of England) that one maid should go beyond you all in excellency of learning and knowledge of divers tongues. [...] the Queen's Majesty [...] beside her perfect readiness in Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish, she readeth here now at Windsor more Greek every day than some prebendary of this church doth read Latin in a whole week. And that which is most praiseworthy of all, within the walls of her privy chamber she hath obtained that excellency of learning, to understand, speak, and write, both wittily with head and fair with hand, as scarce one or two rare wits in both the universities have in many years reached unto.⁹⁴

Ascham compared his royal student Elizabeth with the young gentlemen and university students, who were expected to learn and cultivate their language skills, and said Elizabeth surpassed the gender boundary in learning Latin and obtained 'a readiness to speak' Latin.⁹⁵ Consider another passage in which Ascham highly praised her excellent speaking ability in the second book of *The Schoolmaster*.

For it is read that Dio Prusaeus, that wise philosopher and excellent orator of all his time [...] And a better and nearer example herein may be our most noble Queen Elizabeth, who never took yet Greek nor Latin grammar in her hand after the first declining of a noun and a verb, but only by this double translating of Demosthenes and Isocrates daily without missing forenoon, and likewise some part of Tully every afternoon, for the space of a year or two, hath attained to

⁹⁴ Ascham, *The Schoolmaster*, p. 56.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

such a perfect understanding in both the tongues and to such a ready utterance of the Latin, and that with such a judgment as they be few in number in both the universities, or elsewhere in England, that be in both tongues comparable with Her Majesty.⁹⁶

As Vosevich states, Elizabeth ‘studied their oratorical skills rather than primarily focusing on their ethics’ when she learned Demosthenes and Cicero by More’s double translation method.⁹⁷

Learning skills of speaking as well as reading and writing might have helped Elizabeth to form a masculine aspect in her personality. It can be said that ‘Ascham prepared Elizabeth for her entrance into the masculine arena of kingship by allowing and encouraging her to speak instead of inhibiting her orality’.⁹⁸ There is an interesting fact that after she came to the throne Elizabeth preferred to call herself a prince or king rather than a princess or queen, unlike her half-sister Mary. This suggests that she had a keen awareness of the necessity to be masculine, that is, to be a king, not a queen, a woman who is ruled by a man, even though she liked dressing in feminine attire with a great amount of jewels. In this respect, Ascham’s educational policy of encouraging women to learn speech skills in Latin and foreign languages gave Elizabeth a more princely authority. She exerted her skills of speech not only in front of her courtiers but also when she received foreign ambassadors from France, Spain, Italy, and so on.⁹⁹ In other words, Elizabeth ‘made use of her strong academic background to help her win’ the conflict that a woman as the head of the country should govern men.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ Ibid., pp. 86–87. ‘Tully’ is Marcus Tullius Cicero.

⁹⁷ Vosevich, p. 69.

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 70.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 70.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 73.

In a 1563 speech that Elizabeth wrote but which was read to the Commons by Lord Keeper Nicholas Bacon, she began with ‘princes’ word’, and continued to masculinize herself in the words ‘princes’ speech’ and ‘a prince’.¹⁰¹ Elizabeth’s official proclamation of ‘a prince’, not ‘a princess’, showed her emphasis that she was not an ordinary woman to be manipulated like her sister Mary by her husband and the courtiers, ‘but a powerful prince’.¹⁰² In another speech to the Parliament in 1563 Elizabeth stated her official status as a ruler.

The weight and greatness of this matter might cause in me, being a woman wanting both wit and memory, some fear to speak and bashfulness besides, a thing appropriate to my sex. But yet, the princely seat and kingly throne wherein God (though unworthy) hath constituted me, maketh these two causes to seem little in mine eyes, though grievous perhaps to your ears. ¹⁰³

In this speech, Elizabeth made use of the theory that the king has two bodies, a natural body and a body politic, in order to ensure her social status as a ruler. First, she admitted herself to be physically ‘a woman’. Her acceptance of female characteristics as ‘wanting both wit and memory, some fear to speak and bashfulness’ seems to disparage or humble herself. She, however, claimed herself to be a legitimate monarch by stating her body politic as ‘the princely seat and kingly throne wherein God [...] hath constituted me’. Another example is taken from a 1566 speech.

¹⁰¹ *Elizabeth I*, pp. 79–80.

¹⁰² Vosevich, p. 74.

¹⁰³ Leah S. Marcus, ‘Shakespeare’s Comic Heroines, Elizabeth I, and the Political Uses of Androgyny’ in *Women in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Literary and Historical Perspectives*, ed. by Mary Beth Rose (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1986), pp. 13–53 (pp. 138–39).

As for my own part, I care not for death, for all men are mortal; and though I be a woman, yet I have as good a courage answerable to my place as ever my father had. I am your anointed queen. I will never be by violence constrained to do anything. I thank God I am indeed endued with such qualities that if I were turned out of the realm in my petticoat, I were able to live in any place in Christendom.

“Your petition is to deal in the limitation of the succession. At this present, it is not convenient; [...] But as soon as there may be a convenient time and that it may be done with least peril unto you, although never without great danger unto me, I will deal therein for your safety and offer it unto you as your prince and head, without request. For it is monstrous that the feet should direct the head.”¹⁰⁴

As in the above quoted passages from 1563 speeches, we can see Elizabeth’s adaptation of the idea of the king’s two bodies in this speech. But this is a more elaborated example than the one before. Leah S. Marcus commented on this passage: ‘She concedes to male discomfort at being commanded by a woman through her open acknowledgement of her weakness. But disarming confession of the visible truth disables her audience’s resistance to the invisible truth that follows. As a monarch she exceeded them all; her participation in the undying principle of kingship outranks their masculinity.’¹⁰⁵ She first declared herself to ‘be a woman’, so that her male audience would feel somewhat comfortable and relieved. Soon after that, however, she turned to her quality of kingship by appealing to her father’s authority (‘I have as good a courage, answerable to my place as ever my father had’), and also her legitimate right of succession as ‘your

¹⁰⁴ *Elizabeth I*, p. 97.

¹⁰⁵ Marcus, p. 139.

anointed queen'. Then, she called herself 'your prince and head'. This 'head' means her body politic, even though she is physically a woman, 'the feet' against the head, that is, a man, in patriarchal society in Elizabethan England. Elizabeth began to utilize the theory of the king's two bodies from the early days of her reign in order to constitute her kingship and her masculinity as a monarch and to convince her male subjects to be ruled by a woman.

Elizabeth habitually called herself prince or king through her reign. When she made a speech to stir up her troops at Tilbury in 1588 to make war against the Armada of Spain, she declared herself 'a king'.

I know I have the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king and of a king of England too – and take foul scorn that Parma or any prince of Europe should dare to invade the borders of my realm. To the which rather than any dishonor shall grow by me, I myself will venter my royal blood; I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of your virtue in the field.¹⁰⁶

In contrast to Mary's speech against the Wyatt's rebels, Elizabeth did not ask her subjects to protect her because she was a woman. But rather Elizabeth insisted that she would fight as 'a king' of England against foreign enemies, who were ruled by the male monarch. In other words, she stated at Tilbury that she would fight to death as much as English men would. Moreover, she made use of the idea of a body politic to solve the conflict that a woman as top of the nation govern men. According to the *OED*, 'stomach' had a meaning of 'courage, valour, bravery' from around the early sixteenth through the mid seventeenth century in England.¹⁰⁷ She had 'the heart and stomach of a king', that is, she

¹⁰⁶ *Elizabeth I*, p. 326.

¹⁰⁷ *OED*, 'Stomach', 8.a. The first entry of this meaning is a usage in French in c. 1532; first in English, Thomas More's *Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation* in 1534.

was brave and courageous, though her natural body was 'weak and feeble'.

A large number of surviving speeches by Elizabeth show her excellent speech skills. There is no doubt that Ascham's instruction in speaking Latin as well as other languages allowed her to acquire brilliant rhetorical and oratory ability, and eventually to govern successfully her country and subjects in spite of her sex.

Besides learning the classical languages, Greek and Latin, Elizabeth had an enthusiasm for secular literary works, especially in Italian, as well as religious ones. Ascham also said that Elizabeth at the age of seventeen was fluent in Italian as much as in English and she spoke as if she had been an Italian. It seems that her interest in Italian literature was caused by its vogue at the court of her father Henry VIII and by the popularity of Petrarchan poetry. Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, was celebrated poet who brought Petrarchan sonnets and the style of blank verse to England in the reign of her father. Elizabeth was in fact surrounded by well educated people who were influenced by the Italian culture.

In the reign of Elizabeth, the love sonnets of Petrarch (1304–74), the most famous Italian poet in the fourteenth century, were brought back into vogue by poets like Philip Sidney and Edmund Spenser. Learned Elizabethans accepted the Neoplatonic concept of love that earthly love was a step on the ladder to spiritual love for goodness and to the final goal of union with God.¹⁰⁸ This concept was promoted in particular by one of the Italian Renaissance scholars, a Neo-Platonist, Marsilio Ficino (1433–99) of Florence. Ficino was engaged in annotating Plato's works such as *Phaedo* and *Symposium*, and in promoting the Neo-Platonic idea of love by reviving Petrarch's love poetry. In the series of more than 300 love sonnets in Petrarch's *Rime sparse*, the poet's spirituality

¹⁰⁸ As for the relation between Neo-Platonism and Petrarchan love, see the beginning of the third chapter in this essay.

ascended from the physical to spiritual sphere through his unrequited love for Laura. Following the Italian Renaissance's popular concept of love and the Petrarchan love conventions, Elizabethan scholars and courtiers compared Queen Elizabeth to Laura. When Petrarch was revived, she was about fifty years old, but Elizabeth utilized this Petrarchan convention of love sonnets to promote her exceptional image and status as an unattainable lady, like Petrarch's beloved Laura.

Learned Women in Elizabethan England

Humanistic education for women became popular through the encouragement of humanists such as More, Vives, and Ascham. The nobility intended to educate their daughters following the examples of the royal daughters Mary and Elizabeth. Even rich merchants followed the trend as we see in Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew*. Bianca is learning Latin with her tutor Lucentio, who actually tries to woo her [3.1]. Her father Baptista has an eagerness to seek tutors for his daughters. Such daughters and fathers as Bianca and Baptista might have been common and real among the people in those days. The education for women produced many competent and cultivated court ladies.

Queen Elizabeth preferred to appoint women who were highly educated as ladies in waiting or maids of honour. In *The Description of England*, first published in 1577 and in 1587 as an enlarged version, William Harrison described the women in the Queen's court as follows.

This further is not to be omitted, to the singular commendation of both sorts and sexes of our countries here in England, that there are very few of them which have not the use and skill of sundry speeches, beside an excellent vein of writing [...] to say how many gentlewomen and ladies

there are that, beside sound knowledge of the Greek and Latin tongues, are thereto no less skillful in the Spanish, Italian, and French.¹⁰⁹

The women who waited upon Elizabeth learned the two classical languages, Greek and Latin, which Thomas More encouraged as an important aspect of his humanistic education, as well as some vernacular languages such as Spanish, Italian, and French. The next paragraph refers to the learned women with various abilities and skills in the court.

I could in like sort set down the ways and means whereby our ancient ladies of the court do shun and avoid idleness, some of them exercising their fingers with the needle, other in caulwork [ornamental netting], divers in spinning of silk, some in continual reading either of the Holy Scriptures or histories of our own or foreign nations about us, and divers in writing volumes of their own or translating of other men's into English and Latin tongue, whilst the youngest sort in the meantime apply their lutes, citterns, prick song, and all kind of music.¹¹⁰

These court ladies also acquired a wide range of skills and abilities from domestic work such as needlework, ornamental knitting, and spinning to musical performances like playing the lute or the cittern and singing. Besides, what is more remarkable is that some of these learned women made more productive use of their academic skills in 'writing volumes of their own or translating of other men's into English and Latin tongue', as well as 'reading either of the Holy

¹⁰⁹ William Harrison, *The Description of England: The Classic Contemporary Account of Tudor Social Life*, ed. by George Edelen (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1968; repr. New York: Dover, 1994), p. 228.

¹¹⁰ Harrison, p. 228.

Scriptures or histories of our own or foreign nations about us'. William Harrison's statements, even if a little exaggerated, tell us that the court ladies surrounding Queen Elizabeth were well educated and knowledgeable. The Queen was counted as the best among 'ancient ladies' such as the learned Cooke sisters, Lady Burghley (Mildred, wife of William Cecil), Lady Bacon (Anne, married Nicholas Bacon), and Lady Russell (Elizabeth, wife of John Russell). Mary Sidney, a sixteen-year-old young lady in 1577 when Harrison's book was first published, was included among the 'youngest ladies'.¹¹¹

The Cooke Sisters

The Cooke sisters were well-known for their excellent academic skills as a result of the humanistic education given by their father Sir Anthony Cooke, a member of gentry.¹¹² He had a great interest in his five daughters' education, probably because he held an ambition to get advantageous marriages for his daughters – to marry them to high-born nobles – like fathers in the nobility who had daughters in the upper-class in those days did.

The eldest daughter, Mildred, born in 1526, was especially fluent in Greek. She translated religious works written in the language, and published her own manuscripts. In 1545 she married William Cecil, the future Secretary of State, Lord Burghley.¹¹³ She won the ideal marriage her father had hoped for. To have a good marriage was one of the goals of the humanistic education promoted by More. Lady Cecil, Mildred Cooke, was noted for giving support to university scholars.

Anne Cecil, a daughter to the learned Mildred Cooke and William Cecil,

¹¹¹ Warnicke, p. 132. Mary Sidney, the younger sister of Philip Sidney, later became one of the great patronesses of Shakespeare.

¹¹² Ibid., pp. 104–105.

¹¹³ For the life of William Cecil, see David Cecil, *The Cecils of Hatfield House* (London: Constable, 1973).

Lord Burghley, was born in 1556. William Lewin, a knowledgeable Cambridge scholar, instructed Anne. She did not gain much fluency in Latin, but what she had acquired was enough to communicate in the language. In 1571 when she was fourteen, Anne got married to Edward de Vere, the seventeenth Earl of Oxford, who might have been one of the patrons of Shakespeare. It is surprising that as a thirteen-year-old girl Anne 'had the strength of character to woo and win the Earl of Oxford, the darling of the royal court, and then to force her father to submit to the alliance'.¹¹⁴ It is likely that Anne's education in Latin allowed her to talk about ancient literary works with the Earl of Oxford, although their learning of classics was unable to make their matrimony happy.

Anthony Cooke's second eldest daughter Anne, a younger sister of Mildred, born in 1528 and later married to Nicholas Bacon, was much more active in the publication of her own works. Her translation of the Italian sermons of the Italian Reformer Bernardino Ochino (1487–1565) into English was first published in 1550, and then enlarged in 1570. She translated a Latin work *Apologia pro Eccesiae Anglicae* by John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, into English, and her English version was published in 1564.¹¹⁵

Cooke's third daughter, Elizabeth, in 1566 got married to Lord John Russell, the second son of Earl of Bedford, Francis Russell, after the death of her first husband Sir Thomas Hoby.¹¹⁶ One of her surviving daughters, called Anne, married Lord Henry Herbert, the heir of Edward Somerset, the fourth Earl of Worcester in 1600. Lady Russell (Elizabeth Cooke) admitted the alliance between her daughter Anne and Henry Herbert, whose family sympathized with

¹¹⁴ Warnicke, p. 128.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

¹¹⁶ For the Russell family, see Georgina Blakiston, *Woburn and the Russells* (London: Constable, 1980; repr. 2000). Sir Thomas Hoby translated Baldassare Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier* into English, first published in 1561 and widely circulated as the standard manner book for English gentleman. See Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. by George Bull (London: Penguin Books, 1967; repr. 1976), p. 13.

Catholics. Their wedding received a grace by the presence of Queen Elizabeth; Lady Russell (Elizabeth Cooke), however, changed her religious belief for family connections. Lady Russell at the age of seventy in 1605 published her English translation of a Latin work with a prefatory letter *A Way of Reconciliation of a Good and Learned Man*, and then dedicated the book to her daughter Lady Herbert. Lady Russell might have hoped that her book would ‘help Lady Herbert to retain her Protestantism among her new Catholic relatives’.¹¹⁷

In the court of Queen Elizabeth, Anne Russell and Margaret Russell, the daughters of John Russell and Elizabeth Cooke, were also accomplished and cultured women. Robert Greene dedicated his *Penelope's Web* (1587) to the sisters, suggesting the ideal female image of ‘a Christall Myrror of Faeminine perfection’.¹¹⁸ Anne Russell was appointed as a lady-in-waiting and served the Queen for many years because of the Queen’s absolute trust in her. When the Queen died in 1603, Anne and her younger sister Margaret Russell accompanied the body of the Queen until the funeral, and also attended the funeral procession.¹¹⁹

Margaret Russell was also among the learned women at the Queen’s court. In 1577 she married George Clifford, the third Earl of Cumberland, and gave birth to a daughter named Anne, the heiress of the patrimony, in 1590. George gained great favour with the Queen, and succeeded in his political career. Their marriage, however, fell apart in 1591. The Countess of Cumberland (Margaret Russell) was eager to educate her daughter Anne, and appointed Samuel Daniel as her tutor.¹²⁰ At the death of George in 1605, the Countess of Cumberland knew that Anne was deprived of her inheritance of the title and patrimony of the Earl of Cumberland, which descended to her uncle, George’s brother Francis. The

¹¹⁷ Warnicke, p. 129.

¹¹⁸ Ziegler, p. 25.

¹¹⁹ Ishii, 『ルネサンスの女王』 [*Renaissance no Jo-ou*], pp. 204–5.

¹²⁰ Ziegler, p. 39.

Countess of Cumberland, on behalf of Anne Clifford, took out a suit against Francis to win back Anne's right of inheritance. After her mother's death in 1616, Anne Clifford decided to take over the suit. She was, however, informed that she had lost the case because James I declared that her uncle Francis had a right to succeed to the title of Earl of Cumberland and the family estates.

Anne Clifford married Richard Sackville, the future Earl of Dorset in 1609 when she was nineteen. Five years later, in 1629, when her first husband died, she married Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery and Pembroke, the younger son of Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke, who was thought to be a patroness of Shakespeare. Anne struggled with her first husband Richard about the sale of the estate, which was their joint property. Anne never agreed with her husband; while he tried forcefully to persuade her to obey him with the help of James I. Thanks to her education in her youth, she wrote intermittently her diary from around 1603. She not only documented what happened, but also expressed her own feelings and thoughts in the diary.¹²¹ Anne's autobiography revealed that she knew Montaigne's *Essays* (1580–88), which was one of her library books.

Although Anne Clifford and her mother Elizabeth deviated from the male-centered social convention that the virtuous women should be silent and obedient to male authority, each of these two learned and cultured women, mother and daughter, challenged the gendered boundary of the patriarchal society to keep and 'create a "self", a life of her own'.¹²² At the death of her uncle Francis, Anne Clifford successfully inherited her father's legacy.

Mary Sidney

One of the most learned women at Queen Elizabeth's court was Mary

¹²¹ *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, ed. by D. J. H. Clifford (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Alan Sutton, 1990).

¹²² Ziegler, p. 41.

Sidney, a younger sister of Philip Sidney. Her brother Philip Sidney was celebrated as an ideal Renaissance courtier with excellent literary and military skills. Philip Sidney was not only a brave soldier but also a learned scholar like the one described in Baldassare Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier*.¹²³ Mary was praised for her remarkable linguistic ability and literary talent and was admired as a great patroness for literature.

Born in 1561, Mary at the age of sixteen married Henry Herbert, the second Earl of Pembroke, and then began to support scholars and literary men such as Samuel Daniel, Joseph Hall, Fulke Greville, Benjamin Jonson, and William Shakespeare. The Countess of Pembroke was fluent in Latin as well as in French and Italian. She translated into English not only religious works written in Latin but also secular works such as Petrarch's *Trionfi della Morte* written in Italian. Moreover, she translated a Senecan play on the life of Antony by a Frenchman Robert Garnier into the style of English blank verse under the title of *The Tragedie of Antonie*. Her translation of Garnier's play might have influenced the English literary climate at that time, because after the arrival of her *The Tragedie of Antonie* in 1592 Senecan plays seemed to become popular among poets and scholars.¹²⁴ When Elizabeth Cary, Lady Falkland, wrote the *Tragedy of Mariam*, the first original English play written by a woman, published in 1613, she might have gained some inspiration from the Countess of Pembroke, although this play was never performed on the stage but instead read as a closet-drama.

The most significant contribution of the Countess of Pembroke was the publication of *The Countess of Pembrokes Arcadia* in 1593. The Countess of Pembroke revised the original 'Arcadia' written by her brother Philip Sidney, for she was not satisfied with the quality of the previous version published by Fulke Greville in 1590. Her contemporaries praised her accomplishment of completing

¹²³ Castiglione, pp. 57, 90.

¹²⁴ Warnicke, p. 189.

the old 'Arcadia' written by her brother who died from wounds sustained at the Battle of Zutphen in 1586. Despite the convention that women should not enter the world of literary writing, as Warnicke stated, the Countess of Pembroke 'not only personally joined the male-dominated world of serious composition and publication but also gave it decisive creative leadership and direction'.¹²⁵ It is strange that writers of English literary history have ascribed the work to Philip Sidney without mentioning her contribution at all.

Besides Countess of Pembroke, there were other women who published their works in those days. One was Isabella Whitney, sister of Geoffrey Whitney who was the author of *A Choice of Emblem* (1586), a work dedicated to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. Isabella printed *The Copy of a Letter lately written in meeter by a yonge Gentlewoman to her unconstant Lover* [sic] in 1567. She also published *A sweet Nosegay or pleasant Posye* [sic], a series of 110 secular poems. Some of them were based on the works of the Roman poets Virgil and Ovid, and some were composed by herself.¹²⁶

Mary Wroth

Among learned men and women in the next generation, Lady Mary Wroth, the Countess of Pembroke's niece was a very energetic writer and self-dependent woman.¹²⁷ She was born in 1586 to Sir Robert Sidney, the younger brother of the Countess of Pembroke (Mary Sidney), the future Earl of Leicester, and Barbara Gammage. Lady Wroth had a great literary gift and musical talent, and

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 136.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 123. The works of Virgil (70–19 B.C.) and Ovid (43 B.C.–18) were popular and read among the Elizabethan people.

¹²⁷ As for her personal life and her literary works, see *The First Part of The Countess of Montgomery's Urania by Lady Mary Wroth*, ed. by Josephine A. Roberts (Bringhamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1995), Critical Introduction, pp. xv–xcviii. The second part of *Urania* was published under the title *The Second Part of The Countess of Montgomery's Urania by Lady Mary Wroth*, ed. by Josephine A. Roberts, Suzanne Gossett, and Janel M. Mueller (Bringhamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1999).

also danced very well: 'God bless her, she is very forward in her learning, writing, and other exercises, she is put to, as dancing and the virginals.'¹²⁸ Her contemporaries praised her as a cultured woman, and Ben Jonson dedicated his *Alchemist* (1612) to her.

In 1604 at the age of seventeen, she married Sir Robert Wroth. Their marriage continued for a decade, then Robert died in 1614 leaving her with a one-month-old son, James, and a large amount of debt. Tragically her son James died two years after her husband's death. The death of her son meant that his inheritance was transferred to his uncle John Wroth, and that Lady Mary Wroth was left without financial support. Mary Wroth composed and published *The Countess of Mountgomerie's Urania* in 1621 to earn her living. Her publication was sensational especially at the court of James I, partly because publication by women was deviation from the social convention, and partly because the poems might be assumed to have models among the courtiers.¹²⁹

Her *Urania* follows her uncle Philip Sidney's 'Arcadia' in respect of pastoral poetry in the literary form of sonnets. However the most significant difference between them is that Mary's *Urania* presents women as main characters and portrays the processes of their own self-fashionings, while Philip Sidney's 'Arcadia' has male main characters and describes their painful loves in the Petrarchan manner.¹³⁰ Around the time of *Urania*, Mary Wroth wrote a romance drama entitled *Love's Victory* (1621).¹³¹ In this play, Mary Wroth gave

¹²⁸ The quotation from the letter of Sir Robert Sidney's agent Rowland Whyte to Robert, cited in Carolyn Ruth Swift, 'Feminine Identity in Lady Mary Wroth's Romance *Urania*' in *Women in the Renaissance: Selections from English Literary Renaissance*, ed. by Kirby Farrell, Elizabeth H. Hageman, and Arthur F. Kinney (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), pp. 154-74 (p. 160).

¹²⁹ Warnicke, p. 192.

¹³⁰ Akiko Kusunoki, 『英国ルネサンスの女たち—シェイクスピア時代における逸脱と挑戦』 [*Eikoku Renaissance no Onna-tachi: Shakespeare jidai niokeru Itsudatsu to Chousen*](Tokyo: Misuzu-shobou, 1999), pp. 345-50.

¹³¹ *Lady Mary Wroth's Love's Victory*, The Penshurst Manuscript, ed. by Michael G. Brennan (London: The Roxburghe Club, 1988).

the initiative of action to female characters, as Shakespeare portrayed Juliet and other female heroines as active women. Mary Wroth also composed sonnets from *Urania's* heroine Pamphilia to her beloved Amphilanthus. The sonnets were attached to *Urania*. This collection of sonnets inherits Petrarchan conceits of love poetry, but differs from that tradition in that a woman addresses a man, not a man to a woman. In her writings, Mary apparently challenged the male-centered literary tradition by focusing on active female characters.

In addition to her detachment from literary convention, Mary Wroth also led a personal life that deviated from the social norm. After her husband's death, Mary fell in love with her cousin Sir William Herbert, the third Earl of Pembroke, elder son of Countess of Pembroke, and had two illegitimate children by him. In the patriarchal society where women had no right of self-determination, thanks to her literary learning, Mary lived her own life and actively wrote her own works according to her will.

Elizabeth Cary

Another woman writer who published her own literary work before the appearance of Lady Wroth's *Urania* was Elizabeth Cary.¹³² Born in 1585 as the only heiress of Laurence Tanfield, later the Chief Baron of the Court of the Exchequer, and Elizabeth Symondes, she eagerly learned by herself Latin and Hebrew as well as French, Spanish, and Italian in her early days. Her mother in particular disagreed on her devotion to her studies. Her mother ordered servants not to give Elizabeth candles for reading at night in order to prevent Elizabeth from studying. Elizabeth Cary, however, offered bribes to the servants to obtain candles. She married Sir Henry Cary, the future first Viscount Falkland in 1602.

¹³² Warnicke, pp. 188–91. *Renaissance Women: The Plays of Elizabeth Cary, the Poems of Aemilia Lanier*, ed. by Diane Purkiss (London: William Pickering, 1994), Introduction, pp. viii–xviii.

Even after her marriage, she was confronted with the antipathy of her mother-in-law Lady Katherine Cary toward her academic pursuit. When Lady Katherine took away all the books from Elizabeth's room, Elizabeth Cary had nothing to read and could not but begin to compose poetry herself.

Elizabeth Cary wrote two plays: one was the *Tragedy of Mariam* published in 1613, the other *The History of Edward II* printed in 1680 after her death in 1639. The publication of the former, the first original English play written by a woman, was controversial not only because a woman surpassed the gender boundary of the male-dominated literary world but also because the play described a woman who disobeyed her arbitrary husband.

In *Tragedy of Mariam*, Mariam is loved but controlled tyrannically by her husband King Herod of Palestine, and sentenced to death due to her disobedience and adultery, which turns out to be wrong after her death. In spite of her husband's severe governance, at the beginning of the play Mariam recognizes her ambivalent feelings toward her husband, love and hate. She, however, persists in her own thoughts and will after she knows her husband's betrayal and tyrannical plots. Diane Purkiss points out that the plays dramatizes the female virtues of silence, obedience, and chastity, which were imposed on women in patriarchal society, 'in terms of the problem of the woman as speaking subject'.¹³³ Mariam speaks out to prove herself to be innocent and chaste to her husband; her behaviour is, however, regarded as disobedient: 'Unbridled Speech is Mariam's worst disgrace,/ And will endanger her without desert'[3.3.1147-48].¹³⁴ Her husband, King Herod, believes Mariam's speaking out to be equal with her lechery: 'she's unchaste: Her mouth will ope to every stranger's ear' [4.7.1646-47]. The more eloquently Mariam tries to prove her chastity, the more

¹³³ Purkiss, Introduction, p. xix.

¹³⁴ All quotations of the play are based on Elizabeth Cary, 'The Tragedy of Mariam' in *Renaissance women: The Plays of Elizabeth Cary, the Poems of Aemilia Lanier*.

she is regarded as a disobedient and loose woman.

Like Mariam, Elizabeth Cary struggled with her ambivalence of a wifely virtuous obedience and making her own claims, and at last insisted on her own choice of life: her conversion to Catholicism in 1625. Her husband was very angry at her conversion and divested her of all financial support and all her children, although he became reconciled with her in 1631. Two years later, in 1633, when her husband died, Elizabeth Cary sent all her surviving six children to France in order to convert them to Catholicism. She died in 1639, and buried in the private chapel of Henrietta Maria, the Catholic queen consort of Charles I, at St. James's. In the patriarchal society that valued silence, obedience, and chastity as the virtues of good women, Elizabeth Cary continued to pursue her own life and persist in a self, refusing to be a wife who belonged to her husband.

The humanistic education, especially acquiring language skills, gave learned women great opportunities to state and express their thoughts and feelings, as I have examined in this chapter. After Thomas More and Henry VIII gave their daughters the humanistic education, the English nobles wanted to follow the king for their young girls. The humanistic education for women was politically useful for nobles to arrange favourable marriages for their daughters, although English humanists' main purpose of educating women was to make them good partners for their husbands. Whether the aim of the humanists was political or not, it is important that education for women was considered in relation to marital and political issues. Higher education for women was conducted throughout the reign of Queen Elizabeth. With the Queen, who herself had brilliant linguistic abilities of speaking and writing as well as of reading and translating especially in Latin and Italian, learned women such as the Cooke sisters and the Countess of Pembroke (Mary Sidney) in her reign made productive use of their academic skills and talents in writing or publishing activities and in patronizing artists and

literary men. Moreover, some of them were self-confident and strong-minded, like Anne Cecil, daughter of Mildred Cooke, who proposed to Earl of Oxford by herself, or Mary Wroth, who published her own literary works and had illegitimate sons by her cousin William Herbert.

In 1603 when James I inherited the English throne after the glorious Queen passed away, unfortunately the flourishing education of women in Elizabethan age gradually declined, because the patriarchal ideology was again strengthened and most women became confined to their households and were far away from chances to obtain higher education. James I used to say, 'Are you good at needle work?', whenever he was introduced to a highly well-educated woman.¹³⁵ But energetic highly educated noble women are reflected in the female characters created by Shakespeare.

¹³⁵ Warnicke, p. 194.

Chapter II : Active and Eloquent Women in Shakespeare Plays

In 1558, after the death of Queen Mary, her half-sister, Elizabeth Tudor came to the throne. Throughout her reign, Elizabeth I successfully constructed the image of hermaphrodite, a female body with masculine spirit, and she frequently emphasized it through her public speeches and her attitudes toward kingship.

Sixteenth century England had two queens, Mary and Elizabeth. The sisters had the same humanistic education, but there was a profound difference between them particularly in learning speech skills, or oratory, as I have already demonstrated. Vives told Princess Mary not to be eager to acquire speech skills, because he believed that women should be silent and need not learn how to speak eloquently either in private or in public. On the other hand, Roger Ascham encouraged Elizabeth to acquire speech skills in Latin as well as in English and other European vernacular languages. After coming to the throne, Elizabeth's educational background, especially her eloquence, helped her to control and govern her male subjects. Thanks to her speech skills, in fact, Elizabeth reigned over the country much more successfully and ably than Mary did.

Leah S. Marcus comments on the concentration of Shakespeare's cross-dressing female characters at around the late years of Elizabeth's reign: 'they helped to sustain the fading vision of Elizabeth as a self-contained, endlessly self-perpetuating composite of male and female identity'.¹ Elizabeth's androgynous image and her identity as a male ruler are explicitly portrayed and emphasized through her public speeches. The purpose of this chapter is to examine how effectively Queen Elizabeth's hermaphrodite image is reflected in cross-dressing female characters in Shakespeare's plays.

¹ Marcus, p. 149.

The Female Monarch Controversy

In 1553, Mary I as the first queen regnant inherited the English throne from her half-brother Edward VI. As Susan Dunn-Hensley points out, 'Mary I's accession caused a great deal of anxiety as the female body moved from the margins to the very center of political power', and the female monarch controversy arose.² One of the famous treatises against a female monarch was *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* written in around 1554 by John Knox (1514–72), a Scottish Reformer. Knox believed in female imperfection, basing his arguments mainly based on divine and natural law, and condemned the abnormality of the female reign.³

John Aylmer published *An Harborowe for Faithful and Trewe Subjectes* in Strasborowe (i.e. London) in 1559, one year after Elizabeth I came to the throne. Aylmer disputed Knox's discussion and defended the female ruler. Aylmer's strongest argument was based on God's providence on the inheritance to the throne. Aylmer argued that the English 'succession is ruled by enheritaunce and lyneall discent' but when 'no heires male: [...] for some secret purpose he [God] myndeth the female should reigne and governe'.⁴ Originally 'Placeth he [God] a woman weak in nature, feable in bodie, softe in courage, unskillfull in practise, not terrible to the enemy, no Shilde to the frynde', however, 'if he [God] put to his hand she can not be feable, if he [God] be with her who can strange against her?'⁵ Aylmer used the theory of the queen's two bodies (instead of the king's two

² Susan Dunn-Hensley, 'Whore Queens: The Sexualized Female Body and the State' in *High and Mighty Queens' of Early Modern England: Realities and Representations*, pp. 101–116 (pp. 102–3).

³ John Knox, 'The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women' in *The Works of John Knox*, ed. by David Laing, 6 vols (Edinburgh: J. Thin, 1855; repr. New York: AMS Press, 1966), IV, pp. 350–420.

⁴ John Aylmer, *An Harborowe for Faithful and Trewe Subjects*, The English Experience its Record in Early Printed Books Published in Facsimile, no. 423 (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1972), B3. The bracketed words are mine. The old spellings except for modernization of 'u' for 'v' or 'w' and of 's' for 'long s' are preserved.

⁵ Aylmer, B2v–B3.

bodies) by which the queen had a natural body and a political body, and established 'femininity as another form of weakness that was overcome in the body politic', as Constance Jordan comments.⁶ Elizabeth actually managed to surmount the controversial issue of a female ruler by the repeated statement of this essential theory of the monarch's two bodies, as I have demonstrated in the first chapter.

Elizabeth's Political Strategy of Her Public Androgynous Images

Queen Elizabeth successfully built her male and female images through her speeches in order to govern her state and the people. While she sometimes called herself a prince or king, even a husband, at other times she compared herself to a wife or mother in her realm. She properly used both female and male epithets in important situations. Above all, it is notable that she particularly emphasized her androgynous images in uneasy years or the final years of her reign 'in order to palliate the political anxieties aroused by her presence as a frail woman on the throne, by her perennial refusal to marry and beget children or even to name a successor'.

Whenever she confronted a petition to marry, she always said that she had already married the kingdom of England and showed her coronation ring. Her speech in the house of Common in 1599 is typical.

'To conclude, I am already bound unto an Husband, which is the Kingdom of England, and that may suffice you: and this (quoth shee) makes me wonder that you forget yourselves, the pledge of this alliance which I have made with my Kingdom. (And therewithall, stretching out her hand, shee shewed them the ring with which she

⁶ Constance Jordan, 'Woman's Rule in Sixteenth-Century British Political Thought', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 40(1987), 421–51 (p. 439).

was given in marriage, and inaugurated to her Kingdom, in expresse and solemne terms.) And reproach mee no more, (quoth shee) that I have no children: for every one of you, and as many as are English, are my Children, and Kinsfolkes.⁷

Elizabeth figuratively applied the relationship of husband and wife to that of Queen as a monarch and the country. She well knew that the previous male king (Edward) 'had been called husband of the realm'.⁸ Marie Axton points out that 'Elizabeth justified her single life by claiming the kingdom as her spouse'. The Queen also constructed her image of mother caring for her subjects as children. In addition to the years of crisis brought on by the marriage issue or in time of plague or famine, Elizabeth often used her maternal image to show her concern about the suffering people.⁹

Besides her female images of wife and mother, Elizabeth built her male images as a male ruler by calling herself a prince or a king. In this case, she exploited the theory of the king's two bodies to assure her male subjects of her status as equivalent to a legitimate male monarch. A speech to the Parliament in 1563 is a good example. In this speech, the Queen declared that her natural body was that of a fragile woman, but asserted that her body politic was an anointed male ruler that God had chosen, by using the words 'princely and kingly throne'. Another example that I have examined is a speech in 1566 as an answer to a request to marry or to name a successor made by the Parliament. In the same manner, Elizabeth called herself 'your anointed Queen' to admit her female natural body, but at the same time she claimed her male authority as a ruler by

⁷ This speech is reproduced in Marie Axton, *The Queen's Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977), pp. 38–39.

⁸ Axton, p. 38.

⁹ Marcus, p. 140.

calling herself 'your Prince and head'. The speech made at Tilbury in 1588, was of great success in enhancing the androgynous image of Elizabeth. She, riding on a white horse and wearing silver armor, declared her body politic as a male ruler in spite of her female natural body: 'I have the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king.' Her costume and phrases such as this might have been very helpful to create her image as a hermaphrodite, a woman with masculine spirit, in the people's mind. Such an androgynous image might have been regarded as ideal for a monarch. Thus, she succeeded in establishing her androgynous image by her political strategy and language usage of the theory of a king's two bodies. In sixteenth century Europe, even male monarchs, for example Francis I, used an androgynous picture of an ideal king in his portrait wearing armor with the face of a virago (fig. 10).¹⁰

As an illustration that Elizabeth associated her role as a monarch even to the role of husband, I quote her speech in 1596.

Betweene Princes and their Subiects there is a most straight tye of affections. As chaste women ought not to cast their eye upon any other than their husbands, so neither ought subiects to cast their eyes upon any other Prince, than him whom God hath given them. I would not have my sheepe branded with another mans marke; I would not they should follow the whistle of a strange Shepheard.¹¹

Elizabeth compared the homage relationship between monarch and subjects to the one between wife and husband. She insisted that all her subjects, male or female, should be obedient to their own prince, namely her, as a wife should be so to her

¹⁰ Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, reproduced in Edgar Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance: An exploration of philosophical and mystical sources of iconography on Renaissance art* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1958; rev. 1968), fig. 80.

¹¹ This speech is reproduced in Marcus, p. 142.

husband. She also repeated the same idea by using the relationship of a shepherd and his sheep. The reason why she depicted herself as a male ruler was to soften the political anxiety about her refusal to marry and bear children, and to control male subjects as an absolute monarch.

As her reign came closer to an end, Elizabeth came more and more to emphasize her identity as a male monarch. We can see it in the Golden Speech of 1601,¹² which was about the issue of repealing many monopolies. In this speech, Elizabeth effectively called herself different titles such as ‘prince’, ‘queen’, and ‘king’, as I shall demonstrate in the next paragraph.

Elizabeth begins with ‘prince’: ‘there is no prince that loveth his subjects better.’ By using the male pronouns ‘prince’ and ‘his’, she places herself ‘in and above the male arena of sovereignty’.¹³ Next, she turns to the title ‘queen’ and emphasizes a more feminine and maternal side: ‘God hath made me to be a queen, as to be a queen over so thankful a people.’ The Queen associated herself with a pelican; this was one of the favorite symbols that Elizabeth used for establishing her public image. The pelican was a symbol of charity and self-sacrifice because of its feeding its young with its own blood.¹⁴ Geoffrey Whitney visualized this bird with the verse: ‘The Pellican, for to revive her young, / Doth pierce her brest [*sic*], and give them of her blood’(fig. 11).¹⁵ In this woodcut, a pelican is stabbing her breast with her beak to raise her young in the nest on her own blood. Nicholas Hilliard (1547–1619), an Elizabethan artist, was the painter of the so-called Pelican Portrait of Elizabeth, on whose chest a pelican pendant is pinned, now owned by the National Portrait Gallery.

Elizabeth, however, soon turns back to a male pronoun and asserts her

¹² All quotations of the speech are based on *Elizabeth I*, pp. 335–40.

¹³ Vosevich, p. 75.

¹⁴ *Elizabeth: The Exhibition at the National Maritime Museum*, ed. by Susan Doran (London: Chatto & Windus, 2003), pp. 191–92.

¹⁵ Whitney, *A Choice of Emblems*, p. 87.

princely aspect: 'I never was any greedy, scraping grasper, nor a strait, fast-holding prince, nor yet a waster. My heart was never set on worldly goods, but only for my subjects' good.' She next emphasizes her powerful authority with the term 'kingly' to insist 'that her motives in regards to the monopolies must not be misunderstood'¹⁶: 'That my grants should be grievous unto my people and oppressions to be privileged under color of our patents, our kingly dignity shall not suffer it.' She continues the speech with the same emphasis on her authority: 'if my kingly bounties have been abused and my grants turned to the hurts of my people, contrary to my will and meaning, or if any in authority under me have neglected or perverted what I have committed to them, I hope God will not lay their culps and offences to my charge.'

In the final paragraph of the Golden Speech, after she insists on her 'kingly' authority, she moves onto the issue of her natural body, that of a woman. She begins with the heavy burden of being a king: 'To be a king and wear a crown is a thing more glorious to them that see it than it is pleasant to them that bear it. For my self, I was never so much enticed with glorious name of a king or royal authority of a queen.' Then, she again asserts the motherly side of her devotion for her subjects: 'There will never queen sit in my seat with more zeal to my country, care to my subjects, and that will sooner with willingness venture her life for your good and safety than my self.' Furthermore, she questions the issue of a female monarch.

And though you have had and may have many princes more mighty and wise sitting in this seat, yet you never had or shall have any that will be more careful and loving. Shall I ascribe anything to myself and my sexly weakness? I were not worthy to live then, and of all

¹⁶ Vosevich, p. 75.

most unworthy of the mercies I have had from God, who hath ever yet given me a heart which yet never feared any foreign or home enemy.

Elizabeth admitted that in English history there were 'many princes' who might have been 'more mighty and wise' than she, but asks whether or not such 'mighty and wise' male monarchs of history were 'more careful and loving' than her. As a result, she succeeds in overcoming the controversial issue of a female monarch and in convincing her subjects of her right authority. And the phrase 'a heart which yet never feared any foreign or home enemy' reminds the people of the similar words 'the heart and stomach of a king' from the speech at Tilbury in 1588. Thus, the Golden Speech convincingly and effectively emphasizes her androgynous image and her suitability as a monarch, and Elizabeth succeeded in repealing the monopolies which were used by the nobility to accumulate wealth.

It was a patriarchal convention that women should be silent in public as well as at home. Women who chat or speak eloquently were generally regarded as disobedient and a threat to male authority. Women's eloquence was usually evaluated on the prejudicial criterion of the patriarchal male society that women should be silent both at home and in public, or was regarded as part of female sexual attractiveness.

Elizabeth had various personae, such as princess, wife, mother, prince, and king, appearing both male and female through her eloquence and her behaviour. She employed the personae as political strategy to control her male subjects and get through the most difficult problems like diplomatic, political marriage and succession issues. As Leah S. Marcus points out, except for her armour costume at Tilbury in 1588, Elizabeth 'did not [...] dress herself as a man, but performed so effectively the male responsibilities of government that in that sphere her

subjects were invited to forget that she was female'.¹⁷ In Tudor England, Queen Elizabeth was the most well-known woman that behaved as a man. She was an exceptional woman because of her social status as Queen. In this sense, her speech skill would not be considered to be disobedient. She did not need to be disguised as a man because of her exceptional status as a monarch, either. However, wearing male attire would have been the only way for ordinary women to speak out freely and behave like men in patriarchal society.

Shakespeare might have sympathized with the unfair conventions for women by which eloquent women were regarded as disobedient. In his plays many active female characters speak out and make their own choices for their lives by breaking the social code imposed upon them. Juliet in *Romeo and Juliet* and Desdemona in *Othello* choose their husbands by themselves against the will of their parents, and plunge into tragic catastrophes. On the other hand, in some comedies the female characters, such as Rosalind in *As You Like It* and Viola in *Twelfth Night*, disguise themselves in male clothes so that they can pursue their happiness beyond the boundary of the sexes. Transvestism of female characters in Shakespeare's plays suggests what was conventionally regarded as feminine or masculine in Elizabethan patriarchal society.¹⁸ Moreover, it is significant that cross-dressing female protagonists appeared on stage in the late years of Queen Elizabeth's reign. These heroines were influenced by Elizabeth's political strategy of an androgynous image.

The Concern about Dress Suitable for Social Status and the Two Sexes

During Henry VIII's reign, the Act of 1533 on the relation between social status and dress was issued. In Elizabeth's reign, the Act on apparel was

¹⁷ Marcus, p. 145.

enforced through royal proclamation nine times.¹⁹ This suggests that Elizabeth was seriously concerned about people's dress throughout her reign, because 'control of dress (for individuals and their households) was seen as a significant control of real social power and influence', as Lisa Jardine points out.²⁰ There were two anxieties about dress: large expenditure on apparel and the blurred boundary of difference between men and women as well as between social status.²¹ The latter was much more serious to patriarchal society than the former, for 'the elimination of dress difference between men and women implies a narrowing of the gap between the man and his subordinate'.²²

In spite of nine proclamations, the Act did not work effectively to regulate people's apparel. William Harrison described his impression concerning women in men's apparel in London in his *The Description of England* (1587).

What should I say of their doublets with pendant codpieces on the breast, full of jags and cuts, and sleeves of sundry colors? their galligaskins to bear out their bums and make their attire to fit plum-round (as they term it) about them? their [*sic*] farthingales and diversely colored netherstocks of silk, jersey, and suchlike, whereby their bodies are rather deformed than commanded? I have met with some of these trulls in London so disguised that it hath passed my skill to discern whether they were men or women.²³

Harrison expressed perplexity concerning women disguised in men's attire, and a difficulty in identifying them because cross-dressing women looked so like men.

¹⁸ Dusiñberre, pp. 231–271.

¹⁹ Stallybrass, p. 125.

²⁰ Jardine, p. 142.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 151, 154.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 156.

²³ Harrison, p. 147.

Philip Stubbes commented on women in male apparel transgressing the boundaries of their social status or the sexes in his *The Anatomie of Abuses* (1583).

The Women also there have dublets & Jerkins as men have heer, buttoned up the brest, and made with wings, welts and pinions on the shoulder points, as men apparel is, for all the world, & though this be a kinde of attire appropriate only to men, yet they blush not to wear it, and if they could as wel change their sex, & put on the kinds of man, as they can weare apparel assigned only to man, I think they would as verely become men indeed as now they degenerat from godly sober women, in wearing this wanton, lewed kinde of attire, proper onely to man.

Our Apparell was given us as a signe distinctive to discern betwixt sex and sex, & therefore one to wear the Apparel of another sex, is to participate with the same, and to adulterate the veritie of his own kinde. Wherefore these Women may not improperly be called *Hermaphroditi*, that is, Monsters of bothe kindes, half women, half men.²⁴

Stubbes accused women wearing male clothes of deviating the boundary of the sexes. Clothes were signs representative of the difference between male and female. In this sense, attire also meant the difference of political power between men and women; women should be obedient to men. Women wearing male apparel, however, transgressed this ideological boundary of power. This might have upset male authority in patriarchal society, and that is why such

²⁴ Philip Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses*, with an Introductory note by Peter Davison (1583; New York : Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1972), F.5

cross-dressing women were called monsters or hermaphrodites.

Eloquence and Female Virtues

As the three emblems show (fig. 7, 8, 9) in Chapter I, silence, chastity, and obedience were regarded as the proper female virtues in the days of Shakespeare. It might be said that among them silence was the most important and primary one, because if a woman lost her silence and spoke out freely, this would show that she was unchaste and disobedient. That is why female silence had to be carefully and severely observed.

The patriarchal discipline of silence imposed on women had a large effect not only on the domestic lives of women but also on their public ones. John Knox, who criticized female rulers, explained the whole area of public activity for women based on St. Paul's embargo.²⁵

Hereof it is plaine, that the administration of the grace of God is denied to all woman. By the administration of Goddes grace, is understand not only the preaching of the Worde and administration of the Sacramentes, by the whiche the grace of God is presented and ordinalrilie distributed unto man, but also the administration of Civile Justice, by the whiche vertue oght to be mainteined, and vices punished. The execution wherof is no less denied to woman, then is the preaching of the Evangile, or administration of the Sacramentes, as hereafter shall most plainlie appeare.²⁶

Women were not allowed to preach in public or to instruct men. As Dusiaberre mentions, it is 'revolutionary' that Thomas More approved of female priests in his

²⁵ Dusiaberre, p.219.

²⁶ Knox, p. 386.

Utopia.

If a woman did not follow what her father or husband said and insisted on what she wanted, she was unmistakably regarded as rebellious and uncontrollable. As for marriage, whether she liked or not, a daughter had to marry a man whom her father chose for her. In *The Taming of the Shrew*, Kate is portrayed as an unmanageable and disobedient woman, because she does not follow her father's orders but always talks back or resists him. In spite of the convention that a father had the final say about his daughter's marriage, Kate refuses her father's decision about her marriage [1.1.57–58, 61–65]. In contrast to Kate, her sister Bianca is depicted as an ideal young woman by Lucentio, who is in love with her: 'But in the other's silence do I see / Maid's mild behavior and sobriety' [1.1.70–71]. Baptista, their father, decides his daughters' marriages by himself [1.1.50–51]. Petruchio, a suitor for Kate, gains an agreement to marry her from Baptista without her consent [2.1.114–27]. Although Baptista seems to take consideration of what Kate thinks ('Ay, when the special thing is well obtain'd, / That is, her love; for that is all in all' [2.1.128–29]), he himself determines on her marriage and when to marry her to Petruchio. Petruchio also thinks that it does not matter whether Kate agrees or not, and that her father's consent is more important ('[...] your father hath consented / That you shall be my wife; your dowry 'greed on; / And will you, nill you, I will marry you' [2.1.269–71]). Thus, Kate is forced to be a wife for Petruchio against her will ('I must forsooth be forc'd / To give my hand oppos'd against my heart' [3.2.8–9]). In the last scene, Kate is finally tamed by her husband and wisely transformed into an obedient wife. In contrast, Bianca, who seems an obedient woman before her marriage, behaves disobediently to her husband Lucentio. Kate willingly obeys what Petruchio says and orders. On the other hand, Bianca talks back to Lucentio and criticizes Kate for her obedience to her husband, saying 'what a foolish duty call

you this?’[5.2.125]. Regarding Bianca and the Widow, who has married Hortensio, as disobedient and shrewish wives, Petruchio orders Kate to instruct them about a wife’s duty to her husband.

Kath. Fie, fie, unknit that threat’ning unkind brow,
 And dart not scornful glances from those eyes,
 To wound thy lord, thy king, thy governor.
 [.]
 Thy husband is thy lord, thy life, thy keeper,
 Thy head, thy sovereign; one that cares for thee,
 And for thy maintenance; commits his body
 To painful labor, both by sea and land;
 To watch the night in storms, the day in cold,
 Whilst thou li’st warm at home, secure and safe;
 And craves no other tribute at thy hands
 But love, fair looks, and true obedience—
 Too little payment for so great a debt.
 Such duty as the subject owes the prince,
 Even such a woman oweth to her husband. [5.2.136—56]

Kate makes a long speech of 44 lines eloquently in front of her husband, her father and the two disobedient women and their husbands. Kate declares that a husband is a head and sovereign to a wife, and compares the relation between husband and wife to that of king and his subjects. She states that a wife should be obedient to her husband as a ‘little payment for’ a great pain that he takes for her ‘secure and safe’ life. Here, Kate is portrayed as the most obedient among the three newly married wives. Furthermore, Kate’s speech is logical and

persuasive enough for the other characters on stage surrounding her as well as the audience, and they regard her as more obedient and devoted than Bianca and the widow. It is ironical that the point that presents Kate as such an ideal wife is her eloquent speaking skill. Kate is not only an obedient wife but also a woman able to make her own statement. In this case, her eloquence successfully avoids being regarded as disobedient because she, as an obedient wife, obeys Petrucio, who has ordered her to speak about wife's duty to husband.

There is another example that suggests women's speaking out as disobedience. In the beginning of *The Merchant of Venice*, Portia is described as an obedient woman, who cannot choose her husband by herself but follows her late father's will: before her father died, he prepared three caskets for her suitors to choose in order to get Portia. But in the later part of the play, Portia disguises herself as a young lawyer, Balthazar, in order to rescue Antonio, her husband's close friend, who is brought to court because of his debt to Shylock and is to be sentenced to death. Her successful disguise saves Antonio from his difficult situation. In the last scene of the play, where Portia and Nerissa blame their husbands Bassanio and Gratiano respectively for giving away their rings to Balthazar and his clerk, Portia and Nerissa argue down their husbands. The two women are represented as illogical beings to whom rings and things are more important than gratitude.²⁷ To the audience in those days, the two wives were regarded just as nagging at their husbands in claiming the rings which they had given to Balthazar and his clerk, because of their eloquence in demanding the rings from their husbands. The eloquence of Portia and Nerissa, when they are not disguised in male attire, is considered unsuitable for ideal wives because they are speaking out so freely. Dusinger explained that 'a man's eloquence [. . .] liberates itself from masculine identity, but a woman's [. . .] always colored by her

²⁷ Dusinger, p. 225.

sex'.²⁸ Shakespeare might have had an awareness of this point when he portrayed Isabella in *Measure for Measure*. In the beginning of the play, Claudio, a brother of Isabella, is in prison due to having had intercourse with Julietta, who is pregnant, before their marriage. His behaviour is against the civil law, and as a result, he is sentenced to death. So, Claudio tells Lucio to ask his sister for help to rescue him from his severe situation.

Claud. I have great hope in that; for in her youth
 There is a prone and speechless dialect,
 Such as move men; beside, she hath prosperous art
 When she will play with reason and discourse,
 And well she can persuade. [1.2.182—86]

Isabella's art of eloquence is connected with her appeal as a woman that could attract men without speaking. Because of this point, Isabella unconsciously lures Angelo, even though she tries to perform not as a woman but as a human being.²⁹

If ordinary women exercise their rhetorical speaking ability, disguise in male attire can be a very helpful device for them to avoid criticism as mannish or even lecherous women. In short, disguising themselves as men can release them from the codes of behaviour of the Renaissance concept of gender. In the second tale of *Penelope's Web*, Robert Greene uses a female disguised in male clothes, which allows a heroine to speak out freely like a man, in order to emphasize a heroine's chastity. Cratyna, the beautiful eighteen-year-old wife of peasant Lestio, wears male clothes and cuts her hair in order to escape from the tyrannical and concupiscent royal noble Calamus, who has taken her away from her hometown to his castle: 'there chaunging her apparel into the attyre of a man, and

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 224.

her head brauely shorne, she became a handsome stripling.³⁰ Having run away from Calamus, she works at a collier with Lestio, who has been working there since he left his hometown to avoid Calamus' conspiracy to murder him. When Calamus comes to the collier, Cratyna, disguising herself as a man, speaks out as if she were a young man in order to deceive him. Shortly after that, Calamus, hiding behind the bush and watching the young man because he saw Lestio when he was about to leave the collier, notices that the young man is Cratyna. Calamus, however, listening to their conversations, is moved by her chastity and bravery to regret his own brutal behaviour. When he comes back to the court, he relates the whole story to Menon, King of Ithaca. Then the King invites Cratyna wearing male attire and Lestio to his court, and tells her to work for him as a page. Cratyna at last reveals her identity and eloquently persuades the King to withdraw the offer with the help of Calamus, and together they explain how effectively her chastity has caused him to refrain from immoral behaviour and change his mind. The King is impressed with her bravery and chastity and Calamus' virtuous behaviour for her, and grants the title of gentlewoman to Cratyna and allows them to live in the court. Her disguise in male attire and eloquence lead the couple to a happy ending. It is noticeable that in this tale Cratyna is praised for her eloquence and chastity.

Among Shakespeare's plays, the cases of Rosalind in *As You Like It* and Viola in *Twelfth Night* suggest the unconventional idea that female eloquence does not indicate lustful sexuality, as in the case of Cratyna in *Penelope's Web*. The eloquence that both Rosalind and Viola exert is contrary to silence, one of the female virtues in Renaissance. But thanks to their disguise in male clothes, they can express their feelings freely and assert what they think in order to pursue their own fortune. I shall now discuss the transvestism of Rosalind in *As You Like It*

³⁰ Greene, 'Penelope's Web' in *The Life and Complete*, p. 213.

now.

Rosalind's Disguise in Male Apparel and Her Eloquence

In *As You Like It*, Rosalind is suddenly banished by Celia's father Duke Frederick, not only because he is afraid that the virtuous Rosalind would remind his people of the former Duke, Rosalind's father, who was a legitimate duke but banished by Frederick [1.2.277–83], but also because Frederick is concerned that Rosalind's virtues such as 'smoothness', 'silence', and 'patience' would shade the existence of Celia, his daughter [1.3.77–82]. Celia, being a good friend and cousin of Rosalind, goes with her. They pretend to be brother and sister. Rosalind is disguised in male clothes and Celia in shepherdess' clothes, and they go to the forest of Arden, so that they can search for the former Duke.

In the beginning of the play, where Rosalind falls in love with Orlando, the youngest son of Sir Rowland de Boys, Rosalind and Celia talk about how women should behave.

Cel. Is it possible, on such a sudden, you should fall into so strong a liking with old Sir Rowlands' youngest son?

Ros. The Duke my father lov'd his father dearly.

Cel. Doth it therefore ensue that you should love his son dearly?
By this kind of chase, I should hate him, for my father hated his father dearly; yet I hate not Orlando. [1.3. 26–34]

Their talk suggests a conventional code by which daughters should obey their fathers. Rosalind should be obedient to her father. Her father loves Orlando's father, and therefore she has to love Orlando, while Celia should hate Orlando because Celia's father hates Orlando's father. But Celia does not follow this

Ros. I could find in my heart to disgrace my man's apparel and to cry like a woman; but I must comfort the weaker vessel, as doublet and hose ought to show itself courageous to petticoat; therefore courage, good Aliena. [2.4.4—8]

Rosalind's attire of 'doublet and hose' was a common style of male clothes in those days. Wearing a male costume, Rosalind must be more 'courageous' than a woman. Courage is considered manly, and crying womanly. Following this typical idea of the differences of the sexes, Rosalind shows her courage and comforts Celia. Celia is wearing a 'petticoat', a symbol of 'the weaker vessel'. It seems that the male attire works on Rosalind to make her spirit or mind a little stronger.

In the forest of Arden, Rosalind and Celia come across Orlando, who is a typical Petrarchan lover because of his melancholic mood and love-sickness [3.2.367—68].³² He fell in love with Rosalind when he first saw her at Duke Frederick's court. But Orlando does not recognize Rosalind, for she is now disguised as a man. He says to Rosalind that he has a sweet heart but does not know how to woo. Then, Rosalind proposes to him that she should teach him how to woo his beloved. She, though wearing a man's attire, plays a female role which Orlando loves in the lesson. When Orlando is late for the appointment, she reproaches him for it.

Ros. Break an hour's promise in love! [. . .]

Orl. Pardon me, dear Rosalind.

Ros. Nay, and you be so tardy, come no more in my sight.

I had as lief be woo'd of a snail.

³² As for the conventions of the Petrarchan lover, see the section of 'Petrarchan Lovers' in the third chapter.

Orl. Of a snail?

Ros. Ay, of a snail; for though he comes slowly, he carries his house on his head; a better jointure I think than you make a woman. Besides, he brings his destiny with him.

Orl. What's that?

Ros. Why, horns! which such as you are fain to be beholding to your wives for. But he comes arm'd in his fortune, and prevents the slander of his wife. [4.1.44—62]

First, Rosalind blames him for being late and 'tardy', and behaves disdainfully and coldly to Orlando ('come no more in my sight') like a typical Petrarchan lady. Moreover, she connects a snail with not only tardiness but also 'horn' which means cuckold. She makes sexual jokes about cuckold and female 'slander'. Rosalind's male attire helps her to act and speak freely as if she were a man.³³ If she were not disguised, she would not say such bawdy jokes in front of the man whom she loves because conventional female virtue does not permit a woman to talk particularly on sex. In the following conversation, it should not be forgotten that Ganymede (Rosalind) is playing the part of Rosalind.

Orl. Virtue is no horn-maker; and my Rosalind is virtuous.

Ros. And I am your Rosalind.

[.....]

Ros. Come, woo me, woo me; for now I am in a holiday humor, and like enough to consent. What would you say to me now, and I were your very very Rosalind?

³³ As for the contrary discussion of Rosalind's disguise, see Peter Erickson, 'Sexual Politics and Social Structure in *As You Like It*' in *Patriarchal Structures in Shakespeare's Drama* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), pp.15—38.

Orl. I would kiss before I spoke.

Ros. Nay, you were better speak first, and when you were gravell'd for lack of matter, you might take occasion to kiss. Very good orators when they are out, they will spit, and for lovers lacking (God warn us!) matter, the cleanliest shift is to kiss.

Orl. How if the kiss be denied?

Ros. Then she puts you to entreaty, and there begins new matter.

[4.1.63 – 80]

Rosalind suddenly changes her mind like a woman who acts fickle, and asks him to 'woo' her as a lesson. Then, she advises him to be a 'very good orator' when he asks to kiss her.

Orl. Who could be out, being before his belov'd mistress?

Ros. Marry, that should you if I were your mistress, or I should think my honesty ranker than my wit.

[4.1.81 – 85]

If Orlando is at a loss for words, it suggests that Rosalind's wit shuts up his mouth. On the other hand, if Orlando is not stuck for words but continues to speak, it indicates that her eloquence cannot stop his speaking. In the latter case, her female virtue of honesty, that is to say, 'modesty', surpasses her eloquence. Therefore, it shows that she is a modest woman who does not reduce a man to silence by her eloquence. But in the former case, she is so clever and sharp in her words that she can shut up a man's tongue. She apparently gives preference to eloquence, or speaking out, rather than the female virtues of silence and modesty. Cross-dressing allows her tongue to be released. Disguised as a man, Ganymede, she wants to shut up Orlando, but, on the other hand, as a woman, she

does not want to. In this scene, we can see Rosalind's conflict between the two identities.

Rosalind disguised in male clothes continues to instruct Orlando how to woo. Here, a gender reversal is acted on the stage. She does not approve of his Petrarchan way of thinking of love and his idea about his beloved. He says that he will die if he is denied by his beloved.

Ros. Well, in her person, I say I will not have you.

Orl. Then in mine own person, I die.

Ros. No, faith, die by attorney. The poor world is almost six thousand years old, and in all this time there was not any man died in his own person, *videlicet*, in a love-cause. [. . .] men have died from time to time, and worms have eaten them, but not for love.

Orl. I would not have my right Rosalind of this mind, for I protest her frown might kill me.

Ros. By this hand, it will not kill a fly. [4.1.91–111]

When Rosalind pretends to be disdainful of Orlando as if she were a Petrarchan lady, Orlando tells her that he will die due to his beloved's cold attitude. He follows the Petrarchan convention that a man is sorely and deadly distressed by the coldness of his beloved. Rosalind, however, denies such an idealized Petrarchan view of death for love, and shows her contempt for Troilus and Leander, who are regarded as ideal lovers who died for love. But Orlando still insists that his mistress' frown and coldness would kill him. Then, Rosalind again contradicts his idea of love, saying that it is insubstantial. She teaches him not to dedicate himself to the unpractical idea of idealized love.

As a practice, Rosalind, who is disguised as a young man, teaches Orlando

how to propose to a woman. Furthermore, they even act a wedding in front of Celia, who plays the part of a priest. As they exchange oaths with each other, Rosalind mentions what are regarded as natural female tendencies.

Orl. For ever and a day.

Ros. Say "a day," without the "ever." No, no, Orlando, men are April when they woo, December when they wed; maids are May when they are maids, but the sky changes when they are wives. I will be more jealous of thee than a Barbary cock-pigeon over his hen, more clamorous than a parrot against rain, more new-fangled than an ape, more giddy in my desires than a monkey. I will weep for nothing, like Diana in the fountain, and I will do that when you are dispos'd to be merry. I will laugh like a hyen, and that when thou art inclin'd to sleep. [4.1.145—56]

After referring to the fickleness and changeability of men's minds, Rosalind catalogues various unwelcome tendencies of women. Women are more jealous, more clamorous, more new-fangled, more lusty. In addition, women are perverse and devious. It is interesting that she compares such female tendencies to those of various animals like a pigeon, an ape, a monkey and a hyena. According to the annotation on the lines 150—51 in *The Riverside Shakespeare*, the term 'Barbary' applies to 'Eastern non-Christians', and 'the vigilance of Eastern husbands in secluding their wives from other men'. Orlando makes an objection and tries to protect his beloved from these slanders, but Rosalind adds one more unwelcome female tendency.

Orl. But will my Rosalind do so?

Ros. By my life, she will do as I do.

Orl. O, but she is wise.

Ros. Or else she could not have the wit to do this; the wiser, the waywarder. Make the doors upon a woman's wit, and it will out at the casement; shut that, and 'twill out at the key-hole; stop that, 'twill fly with the smoke out at the chimney.

Orl. A man that had a wife with such a wit, he might say, "Wit, whither wilt?"

Ros. Nay, you might keep that check for it, till you met your wive's wit going to your neighbor's bed. [4.1.157–69]

Wise women could not be confined in their home. They would behave more actively and speak more freely outside their home. Rosalind again brings the theme of cuckold and connects it to female wits.

She names unwelcome female tendencies, in order to break down Orlando's idealized Rosalind as a Petrarchan beloved lady and to demonstrate to him what a real woman is like. By doing this, she can prevent him from being disappointed with their marriage even after he realizes what the woman (Rosalind) really is.

Viola's Disguise and Her Eloquence

Like Rosalind, Viola in *Twelfth Night* disguises herself in men's clothes. Viola and the Captain drift ashore to the coast of Illyria, after their ship has been wrecked in a storm. She realizes that her twin brother Sebastian is missing. Now, she has neither an acquaintance nor a male protector to help her. She has to earn her living in a strange country. Viola decides to disguise herself in male attire in order to protect herself and obtain a job. It is difficult to distinguish Viola, who is

difficult and bitter for Viola, because Viola has been assigned a task to deliver his love to Olivia though Viola loves Orsino. Unlike Rosalind, Viola does not intend to pursue her love for Orsino or to instruct him how to woo. Viola serves him faithfully while keeping her love in mind instead. The situation becomes more complicated when Olivia falls in love with Viola disguised as Cesario, shortly after Viola comes to see Olivia in order to deliver Orsino's message to her.

Vio. I left no ring with her. What means this lady?

Fortune forbid my outside have not charm'd her!

[.....]

She loves me sure, [. . .]

I am the man! If it be so, as 'tis,

Poor lady, she were better love a dream.

Disguise, I see thou art a wickedness

Wherein the pregnant enemy does much.

How easy is it for the proper-false

In women's waxen hearts to set their forms!

Alas, [our] frailty is the cause, not we,

For such as we are made [of,] such we be. [2.2.17—32]

Viola realizes that her male appearance charms Olivia and lets her fall in love with Viola as Cesario. In the lines above, Viola takes off the persona of a man and shows her sympathy for Olivia. Olivia has been refusing Orsino's love by saying that she has been mourning for her dead brother, but she suddenly changes her mind because she is in love with Cesario. Viola does not blame Olivia for her changeability, since her disguise has caused Olivia to take Viola as a man.

Viola. How will this fadge? My master loves her dearly,
 And I (poor monster) fond as much on him;
 And she (mistaken) seems to dote on me. [2.2.33—35]

Viola calls herself 'poor monster' because she is a woman and also a man. The situation is a tangled knot of love. Viola must continue to perform a role as a man for Orsino while suffering her painful love for him since she can not reveal her real identity.

Not knowing that Cesario is Viola, Orsino continues to ask Viola to go to Olivia again and to entreat her to accept his love.

Duke. Let all the rest give place.
 [Curio and Attendants retire.]
 Once more, Cesario,
 Get thee to yond same sovereign cruelty.
 Tell her, my love, more noble than the world,
 Prizes not quantity of dirty lands. [2.4.79—82]

Orsino wants to speak to Cesario alone, and orders his other servants to retire, which shows how much he favors and trusts Cesario ('Stand you awhile aloof' [1.4.12]). Though the triangle love situation is painful for Viola, there are merits for her. Her disguise as a young man allows her to take a position like a friend whom Orsino consults about the matter of his wooing Olivia, because Orsino believes Cesario to be a man and confides in him ('Thou know'st no less but all. I have unclasp'd / To thee the book even of my secret soul' [1.4.13—14]).

Another advantage of Viola's disguise is that it lets her speak out as much as men do, though Viola, unlike Rosalind, does not intend to lead her master to love her. When Orsino insists how large and deep his love for Olivia is, Cesario

is able to talk about woman's love because Cesario is a woman.

Vio. Too well what love women to men may owe;
 In faith, they are as true of heart as we.
 My father had a daughter lov'd a man
 As it might be perhaps, were I a woman,
 I should your lordship. [2.4.105—9]

Cesario [Viola] suggests that the word 'we' means men including Orsino and Cesario. But in fact she, as a woman, insists that woman's love should be equal to man's love in truth. She takes an example of her own love as a proof of woman's true love, though she does not confess her real identity but is still disguised as Cesario.

Duke. [...] What's her history?
Vio. A blank, my lord; she never told her love,
 But let concealment like a worm i' th' bud
 Feed on her damask cheek; she pin'd in thought,
 And with a green and yellow melancholy
 She sate like Patience on a monument,
 Smiling at grief. Was not this love indeed?
 We men may say more, swear more, but indeed
 Our shows are more than will; for still we prove
 Much in our vows, but little in our love. [2.4.109—18]

Cesario voluntarily or involuntarily confesses his true identity and love for Orsino, though Orsino believes that Cesario talks about his sister's love. The audience

here sympathize with Viola for her painful love and her bitter position. She cannot take any action for her own love because she waits on Orsino as a male servant. If she revealed her natural identity and love for her master, she might lose her job as a servant and lose her means of earning a living. Or, she might even be in danger of her life due to her disguise and be blamed for cheating Orsino. That is why she is forced to conceal her true identity at any cost.

However, her disguise helps her to talk with Orsino about women's sincere love. If she did not have this disguise, she might not be able to speak out freely. She is also afraid that Orsino might not listen to her, but take her as a talkative woman. Viola can obtain her freedom to speak out by disguising herself as a man; however, her disguise in male attire causes her painful love and tortures her.

Traditionally, women were expected to be silent, obedient, and chaste in Elizabethan England. A talkative and disobedient woman was normally regarded as loose and lecherous. Women's speaking out meant no subjection to male authority, and then led women to sexual disobedience. In short, female talkativeness was related to their sexuality in the patriarchal ideology. Therefore, disguise in male clothes can be a helpful device for a woman to express freely what she thinks and to act freely without losing her chastity. Shakespeare might have used this advantage of female androgyny in order to portray a new type of female character such as Rosalind in *As You Like It* or Viola in *The Winter's Tale*, who freely state their thoughts and feelings, and behave as they want while keeping their chastity intact.

Viola is portrayed in contrast with Olivia to emphasize Viola's chastity and modesty. Not knowing that Viola has disguised herself as Cesario, Olivia falls in love with Cesario. Olivia, who declares her love for Cesario, and woos him by herself, seems to be bold, even seductive, and less chaste to the eye of the audience; while Viola, thanks to her disguise as Cesario, appears to be more

chaste and modest even though she dares to speak out her opinion about love openly as if she were a man in front of Duke Orsino. Olivia cannot conceal her affection for Cesario, and confesses it to him.

Oli. [*Aside.*] O, what a deal of scorn looks beautiful
 In the contempt and anger of his lip!
 A murd'rous guilt shows not itself more soon
 Than love that would seem hid: love's night is noon.—
 Cesario, by the roses of the spring,
 By maidhood, honor, truth, and every thing,
 I love thee so, that maugre all thy pride,
 Nor wit nor reason can my passion hide.
 Do not extort thy reasons from this clause,
 For that I woo, thou therefore hast no cause. [3.1.145—54]

Olivia uses the word 'thee' instead of 'you' to Cesario for the first time in this scene. This clearly shows that her attitude to him has changed from being formal and restrained to being active. Olivia is wooing Cesario, who refuses her. Olivia in this scene looks like the amorous Venus who woos Adonis, who is disdainful of the goddess' wooing in *Venus and Adonis*. In the above speech, Olivia says that love and murder come out soon. Her love is so lucid in daylight ('noon') that it cannot be hidden in the darkness ('night'). Olivia also tries to persuade Cesario that he should not have an argument against her because she is wooing him against the convention ('For that I woo') and asks him just to accept her love. It was not usual in the patriarchal convention for a woman to confess her love to a man by herself, not only because the woman, especially a young lady in the upper-class like Olivia, should be silent and reserved, and confined at home

so that she could not be permitted to talk to a man, much less to confess her love, but also because she was warned not to have a love affair with a man in vain for the sake of protecting her chastity.³⁴ In this respect, Olivia is considered to be audacious and even bold. It was believed that a woman who expressed her thoughts and feelings was not obedient, neither chaste nor modest.

Oli. I have said too much unto a heart of stone,
And laid mine honor too unchary on't.
There's something in me that reproves my fault;
But such a headstrong potent fault it is
That it but mocks reproof. [3.4. 201 – 5]

Olivia herself admits her own boldness. The word 'honor' means female virtues such as modesty and chastity, and 'unchary' means unsparingly or lavishly.³⁵ She realizes that her wooing is not suitable for a modest woman like her. Therefore, she admits that her behaviour to Cesario is a 'fault'. Olivia is not disguised as a man and confesses her love for Cesario. She is afraid that Cesario will take her to be an unchaste and disobedient woman. On the other hand, Viola behaves and expresses herself openly without being regarded as unchaste or bold because of her disguise in male attire. Thus, by contrasting Viola with Olivia, Shakespeare might have been stressing Viola's modesty and chastity.

Viola disguises herself as a man and behaves like a man to pursue her own future. This is not suitable behaviour for a woman according to the patriarchal norm of ideal women. However, Shakespeare does not criticize the courageous and brave Viola, who has deviated from the gender boundary in patriarchal society,

³⁴ Vives, pp. 131 – 32, 144 – 152.

³⁵ *The Arden Shakespeare Twelfth Night*, ed by J. M. Lothian and T. W. Craik (London: Methuen, 1975, repr. 1984), note on 3.4.204.

but allows her to gain her own happiness by marrying Orsino.

Princess Elizabeth and *The Winter's Tale*

During the Christmas season, just before their wedding ceremony on February 14, 1613, in London, many sorts of entertainments took place to celebrate the royal couple, Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of James I (James VI as King of Scotland) and Frederick V, Elector of Palatine of the Rhine. *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest* by Shakespeare, were also performed at the court in front of the bride and bridegroom.³⁶ Frances A. Yates points out that Princess Elizabeth was regarded and 'hailed as 'another Queen Elizabeth' 'in a revival movement of the Elizabethan traditions, which occurred around the time of the nuptials of Princess Elizabeth and Frederick V.³⁷ Yates also states that Shakespeare's last plays are related to this revival movement of the Elizabethan traditions; she, however, mentions little about *The Winter's Tale*. It should be noted that some images and personalities of Queen Elizabeth are reflected in Perdita in *The Winter's Tale*. The most important theme of *The Winter's Tale* is the 'resurrection' of Queen Hermione and the return of Perdita to her country. Hermione is reported to be dead in the midst of the trial scene but actually is living under the protection of Paulina. Perdita, who was supposed to have died after being thrown away on the coast of Bohemia, is in fact alive in Bohemia and is finally united with her parents. Perdita is regarded as Princess Elizabeth in the real world, in Jacobean England.

³⁶ Carola Oman, *The Winter Queen: Elizabeth of Bohemia* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1938; rev. London: Phoenix Press, 2000), p. 72; Frances A. Yates, *Shakespeare's Last Plays* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975) p. 35.

³⁷ Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London: Routledge, 1972; repr. 1993), pp. 1–14, 20.

Princess Elizabeth in Her Youth

Princess Elizabeth Stuart was born to James VI, King of Scotland and his queen consort Anne of Denmark in 1596, and was named after Queen Elizabeth I, her godmother. Princess Elizabeth was brought up by the seventh Lord Alexander Livingstone and his wife Helen, who were appointed by the King, in Linlithgow Palace, Scotland. At the age of seven, in 1603, Princess Elizabeth was taken care of by Lord Harington of Exton and his wife in Combe Abbey, north of Coventry. The abbey was remodeled into a luxurious house for the young royal lady.

Under the protection of the Haringtons, Princess Elizabeth was well educated in foreign languages, French and Italian. It is notable that, unlike Tudor princesses, Princess Elizabeth did not learn Latin or Greek, because her father King James thought that 'to make women learned and foxes tame had the same effect – to make them more cunning'.³⁸ Although she had no knowledge of the classics, her tutor of French asserted that she was fluent in the language, which was the only common tongue between her and her future husband Frederick V. In the winter of 1607, when Princess Elizabeth visited the court of her father, the French Ambassador, M. le Fèvre de la Boderie, praised her fluency in his language.³⁹ The Princess acquired the skill to write excellent letters in French and Italian. She liked writing letters and used this as a political strategy in her later years. She was very fond of animals and had dogs, monkeys, and parrots. In addition, she loved riding lessons. These facts indicate that Princess Elizabeth was lively and outgoing. The Princess was also said to be accomplished in music and dancing. A Scottish writer admired her excellent nature when she was only eleven years old.

³⁸ Oman, p. 23.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 36.

Her wit is acute, her memory tenacious, her judgment discerning beyond her tender years [...] in her knowledge of a variety of languages she is to be compared, or rather preferred, to Zenobia, [...] She also diligently cultivates music, and is a great proficient in the art: for this tranquil, liberal science most fittingly accords with the temper of the most placid and illustrious maiden [...] in fine, whatever was excellent or lofty in Queen Elizabeth, is all compressed in the tender age of this virgin princess.⁴⁰

Princess Elizabeth showed her distinguished personality and excellent language abilities, which were similar to those of Queen Elizabeth. Thus, the young royal princess was highly expected to flourish as a second Elizabeth by people in the Jacobean age.

The Revival Movement of Elizabethan Traditions

The later years of the English reign of James I saw a movement to revive the Elizabethan traditions.⁴¹ One of the reasons for this revival movement was the political difference between James I and his predecessor Queen Elizabeth. Queen Elizabeth promoted a chivalric imperialism to establish Protestantism as a legitimate religion in England and to build peace in her realm as well as in Europe through chivalric and religious order. She willingly used the medieval tradition of chivalry promoting the works of literary authors, such as Sir Philip Sidney and Edmund Spenser, in order to accomplish her political purpose. Thus, Elizabeth was regarded as an ideal leader and supporter of Protestants against Catholics, especially the Hapsburgs, who had great power to rule over Catholics and tried to

⁴⁰ Oman, pp.36–37. ‘Zenobia’ was the widow of Odenathus, King of Palmyra, which had been protected by the Roman Empire, and she succeeded to the throne in A. D. 266. She was an ambitious woman who invaded the other countries around her realm.

⁴¹ Yates, *Shakespeare's Last Plays*, pp. 17–37.

enlarge their aggressive control over Protestants. King James I, on the other hand, promoted himself as a peace-maker between Protestants and Catholics and tried to avoid religious warfare completely.⁴² Thus, from around 1604, James I planned to marry his heir Henry, Prince of Wales, to a Spanish princess, and to marry his daughter Elizabeth to Protestant Frederick V. However, the plan of a royal marriage for Prince Henry was not favorable for English Protestants. In fact, Henry encouraged Protestants to fight against Catholics, and thought of himself as a supporter of Protestants.

The people who wished a revival of the Elizabethan traditions and participated in the movement regarded Henry, Prince of Wales, as a new leader of Protestants in Europe as well as the heir of the Tudor lineage, and Princess Elizabeth as another Queen Elizabeth. Prince Henry was respected as 'the perfect Renaissance prince', being good-looking, learned and excellent in both literary and military arts.⁴³ He was a prince who embodied what Castiglione says about the ideal Renaissance courtier in his *The Book of the Courtier*. A portrait of Prince Henry wearing the Order of the Garter was painted by Robert Peake around 1610, and is now held by the National Portrait Gallery in London. The Order of the Garter was one of the Elizabethan revival traits. The revival movement was also taken up in some literary works and plays composed around that time, such as Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* (1612) and some masques by Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones.⁴⁴

On November 17, 1612, Prince Henry died at the age of nineteen. It was just before his sister's wedding to Frederick V. There is no doubt that the people as well as King James deeply mourned the young prince's death. But

⁴² Barry Coward, *The Stuart Age: England 1603—1714*, 2nd edn (London: Longman, 1994; repr. 1997), p. 125.

⁴³ *The National Portrait Gallery Collection* (London: National Portrait Gallery Publications, 1998), p. 45.

⁴⁴ Yates, *Shakespeare's Last Plays*, pp. 22—29.

preparation for the nuptials of Princess Elizabeth and Frederick continued, and wedding festivities took place over the Christmas season in 1612-13 on a national scale.

When the royal wedding ceremony was performed in February, 1613, John Donne composed a poem entitled 'An Epithalamion, Or mariage Song on the Lady Elizabeth, and Count Palatine being married on St. Valentines day'. In this epithalamion, Donne used the metaphor of a phoenix as a symbol of Princess Elizabeth.

Up then faire Phoenix Bride, frustrate the Sunne,
 Thy selfe from thine affection
 Takest warmth enough, and from thine eye
 All lesser birds will take their Jollitie.
 Up, up, faire Bride, and call
 Thy starres, from out their severall boxes, take
 Thy Rubies, Pearles, and Diamonds forth, and make
 Thy selfe a constellation, of them All,
 And by their blazing, signifie,
 That a Great Princess falls, but doth not die;
 Bee thou a new starre, that to us portends
 Ends of much wonder; And be Thou those ends.
 Since thou dost this day in new glory shine,
 May all men date Records, from this thy Valentine.⁴⁵

Donne compared Princess Elizabeth to 'Phoenix Bride'. The phoenix was believed to be burnt to death and reborn from the ashes. Geoffrey Whitney, an

⁴⁵ John Donne, *Complete English Poems*, the Everyman's Library, ed. by C. A. Patrides (London: J. M. Dent, 1994; repr. 1998), p. 131.

Elizabethan emblemist, visualizes the bird under the motto 'Unica Semper auis' ('the bird ever alone') in *A Choice of Emblem* (fig. 12).⁴⁶ In the poem attached to the emblem, he talks about the town NAMPWICHE, which was destroyed by fire but rebuilt again from the ruins, like a phoenix resurrected from the ashes. The phoenix was one of the most important symbols of Queen Elizabeth in her reign. The symbol of a phoenix meant that Queen Elizabeth was ageless and beyond death and had a power to resurrect herself to lead her realm to prosperity.⁴⁷ Nicholas Hilliard, a favorite artist of the Queen, painted two works. One is a portrait of Queen Elizabeth I, with a phoenix brooch of Phoenix on her breast, now owned by the National Portrait Gallery in London.⁴⁸ The other is a miniature with a phoenix emblem in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.⁴⁹ In the poem by Donne quoted above, Queen Elizabeth as 'A Great Princess' is metaphorically still alive in the hearts of the people, even though her physical existence has gone, because she is a phoenix. Princess Elizabeth in the revival movement of the Elizabethan traditions now shines as 'a new starre', that is, another Queen Elizabeth. In this sense, Queen Elizabeth, the mind and traditions of her reign were revived through Princess Elizabeth.

Perdita as Princess Elizabeth, another Queen Elizabeth

The Winter's Tale is divided into two parts: the first one is about loss, and the second about resurrection. The first part is located in Sicily. Perdita is a daughter of Leontes and Hermione, King and Queen of Sicily. Shortly after her birth, Perdita is abandoned on the coast of Bohemia because Leontes has become obsessed with the suspicion of his wife's adultery with his best friend Polixenes,

⁴⁶ Whitney, p. 177.

⁴⁷ Ishii, 『ルネサンスの女王』 [*Renaissance no Jo-ou Elizabeth*], pp. 62–63.

⁴⁸ *Dynasties Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England 1530–1630*, ed. by Karen Hearn (London: Tate Publishing, 1995), p. 80.

⁴⁹ The artifact is reproduced in Louis A. Montrose, 'Idols of the Queen: Policy, Gender, and the Picturing of Elizabeth I', *Representations*, 68 (1999), 108–61 (p.135).

know about their love, he will separate them because of the difference in their class. She is, however, not afraid of marrying him.

Per. One of these two must be necessities,
Which then will speak, that you must change this purpose,
Or I my life. [4.4.38–40]

Florizel swears his unchangeable love [4.4.25–35], but Perdita is all the more serious for her decision to stake her life. If Florizel changes his mind and abandons her, she will suffer from death.

Flo. Thou dear'st Perdita,
With these forc'd thoughts I prithee darken not
The mirth o' th' feast. Or I'll be thine, my fair,
Or not my father's; for I cannot be
Mine own, nor any thing to any, if
I be not thine. [4.4.40–45]

Following Perdita's decision, Florizel expresses his more explicit resolution for marriage by which he will renounce his claim to the throne. It may be said that Perdita's serious determination leads him to throw away his inheritance of the throne of Bohemia.

As Perdita foresees something dreadful might happen, Polixenes comes to the festival with his vassal Camillo, both disguised as ordinary people so as not to reveal their real identities. Not knowing who they are, Perdita as the mistress of the feast gives them warm hospitality. Her beauty and the elegance of her manner are outstanding, and appreciated by not only Florizel [4.4.135–46] but

also Polixenes [4.4.156—59]. Her true identity as a princess, as yet unknown, is implied in their praise for her noble behaviour.

In the midst of the feast, Florizel tries to make a marriage contract with the aged shepherd, Perdita's father, without the consent or counsel of his father Polixenes. Listening to the young suitor's decision, Polixenes advises him to consult his real father about the matter of the marriage; but Florizel stubbornly refuses it. This drives Polixenes to fly into a fury and he soon reveals his identity. Clearly reflected in this scene is the way that parents, especially fathers, intervened in the matter of marriage of their children in Shakespeare's day. Being mad at his son's selfish and insolent behaviour, Polixenes orders his son to choose either not to see Perdita any more, or to denounce his claim to the throne. This leads Perdita to give up marriage to Florizel [4.4.448—50]; Florizel, however, does not change his determination to marry her in exchange for his inheritance of the throne. Camillo advises the young couple to ask for the help of the King of Sicily. Perdita has once given up marriage to Florizel, but listens to and agrees with Camillo's plan. When the young couple run away together, they need to be disguised so as not to be found by Polixenes. Florizel changes his clothing to that of Autolycus, a traveling peddler [4.4.634—35], and Perdita is disguised in Florizel's hat to hide her face [4.4.650—55]. This is a favorite trick seen in Shakespearean plays for female characters like Rosalind and Viola, to pursue their own fortune.

In the final act of the play, Florizel and Perdita arrive on the coast of Sicily and are welcomed by Leontes and his countrymen. Finally, Perdita, whose name means 'a lost child', is found to be a princess of Sicily; her mother Hermione, who is believed to be dead, is actually alive under the protection of Paulina. Polixenes, following his son and arriving at the court of Leontes, at last approves the royal marriage between Florizel and Perdita. The young couple now are the

heirs to the thrones of both countries, Sicily and Bohemia.

Perdita is determined and brave, and has the courage to pursue her own fortune by herself. She could be portrayed as Princess Elizabeth, the future Queen of Bohemia, and another Queen Elizabeth. *The Winter's Tale* was performed to celebrate the marriage of Princess Elizabeth and Frederick V. It was the time when the revival movement of the Elizabethan traditions was at its height.

Frederick V came to the throne of Bohemia in 1619. The following year, Frederick and Elizabeth had to go into exile from Bohemia just after the battle of the White Mountain, the beginning of the Thirty Year's War, the battle between Catholic and Protestant leagues (1618—1648).⁵⁰ On behalf of her weak-minded husband, Elizabeth, the Queen of Bohemia, performed her political role as a queen. Cicely V. Wedgewood comments on the kingship of Bohemia: 'In the dual combination Frederick was the figure-head, Elizabeth the spirit.'⁵¹ Elizabeth often wrote to the vassals of her father, King James, and to French political leaders asking for their help.

Elizabeth, the Queen of Bohemia, frequently used letters as a means of political persuasion. When the political issue of accepting the throne of Bohemia faced her husband Frederick, Elizabeth wrote to the Marquis of Buckingham to ask James I for advice on September 1, 1619.

The Bohemians being desirous to chuse him for their King, which he will not resolve of till he knowe his Majesties opinion in it.

The King hath now a good occasion to manifest to the world the love he hath ever professed to the Prince heere. I earnestlie entreat you to use your best meanes in perswading his Majestie to shew himself

⁵⁰ Coward, p.149.

⁵¹ Cicely V. Wedgewood, *The Thirty Years War* (London: Penguin Books, 1956), p. 133.

now, in his helping of the Prince heere, a true loving father to us both. I am so assured by manie testimonies of your affection to us both, as I make no doubt but you will lett this bearer have your best furtherance in this business, I therefore recommende it to your care and am ever.⁵²

Elizabeth, the Queen of Bohemia asked the Marquis of Buckingham to be her agent to her father King James I. Karen L. Nelson refers to her ingenious strategies of using the family network and of appealing to familial affection or sympathy.⁵³ After her exile from Bohemia with Frederick and her children, the Queen of Bohemia again attempted to obtain help from her father James I, and after his death, from her brother Charles I by writing skillful letters to her various agents. While her father was alive, one of her efficient agents was her brother Charles, the future king of England. She implored him to exhort James I to help her and Frederick in the following letter.

My only dear brother, I am sure you have heard before this, that Spinola hath taken some towns in the lower Palatinate, which makes me to trouble you with these lines, to beseech you earnestly to move his majesty that now he would assist us; for he may easily see how little his embassages are regarded. Dear brother, be most earnest with him; for, to speak freely with you, his slackness to assist us doth make the Princes of the Union slack too, who do nothing with their army; the king hath ever said that he would not suffer the Palatinate to be taken; it was never in hazard but now, and I beseech you again, dear brother, to solicit as much as you can, for her that loves you

⁵² Oman, p. 171.

⁵³ Karen L. Nelson, 'Negotiating Exile: Henrietta Maria, Elizabeth of Bohemia, and the Court of Charles I' in *High and Mighty Queens' of Early Modern England: Realities and Representations*, pp. 60–75 (pp. 68–73).

more than all the world. I doubt not but you will do it, since you have hitherto solicited his majesty for us, where you do shew your affection to me, which I beseech you to continue.⁵⁴

Queen of Bohemia earnestly invoked Charles' familial affection. Nelson points out that she told her criticisms of James I 's merciless political deals not to James but to Charles, her confided mediator.⁵⁵

On November 19, 1632, Fredrick V died. The Queen of Bohemia mourned heavily for a while, and she made a great effort to restore her husband's lost Palatinate for her poor children by writing letters to political leaders in Europe asking for help.⁵⁶ A few years later, the Queen of Bohemia corresponded with the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud, so that he could help pitiful Palatine preachers and support her son's restoration of the lost Palatinate. She realized the need to battle for her son's restoration in her letter to the Archbishop: '*It is all one to me [...] by what ways he bee restored, so he be so fullie and honourable. But indeed I doe not think he will be restored fullie, otherwise than by armes, 16 years experience makes me believe it.*'⁵⁷ Although the Archbishop replied to her with a letter of disapproval, she strongly asserted that warfare would be needed and that it was a reasonable way for her to redeem the lost Palatine dominion on the basis of her real experience and her knowledge of the history of England.

I confess as a woman and a Christian [...] I should rather desire it by peace. But I have lived so long among soldiers and wars *as it makes*

⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 69–70.

⁵⁵ Nelson, p. 70.

⁵⁶ Oman, pp. 330, 335–56.

⁵⁷ State Papers, Charles I , 16, 325.18, reproduced in Oman, p. 338.

*one to me as easie as the other, and as familiar and especiallie when I remember never to have read in the Chronicles of my ancestors that anie King of England got anie good by treaties but commonlie lost by them, and on the contrarie by wars made always good peaces. It makes me doubt the same fortune runns in a bloud and that the King my Brother will have the same lucke. I know your profession forbids you to like this scribbling of mine, yet I am confident you cannot condemne me for it, having hitherto seene little cause to have a contrary opinion by my experience in this our great business. All I feare is that you will think I have too warring a minde for my sex. But the necessitie of my fortune has made it.*⁵⁸

For all that she was a woman, of the weaker sex, the Queen of Bohemia was said to be brave, resolute, and eloquent in contrast to her indecisive husband, as her letter shows. In addition to her strong-willed disposition, the letter indicates that she was intelligent enough to judge reasonably the need of warfare on the ground of the historical facts.

Elizabeth, the Queen of Bohemia, was an outgoing and courageous woman with enough strength of will to overcome extreme poverty during her long exile and to keep writing letters as a political means of negotiation. In various respects, Elizabeth, the Queen of Bohemia, might have had a personality similar to Elizabeth I.

The Queen of Bohemia returned to her native country just one year before her death. In 1714 when the Stuart line came to an end with Queen Anne, it was George I from the House of Hanover, the grandson of the Queen of Bohemia, who succeeded to the throne of England. This lineage still continues until today

⁵⁸ State Papers, Domestic. Charles I, 16, 329.49, reproduced in Oman, op. cit., pp. 338–39.

on the throne of England.

In patriarchal society, women who were eloquent or spoke out were always associated with sexual lechery, but eloquent women in Shakespeare's plays go beyond the gender boundary and follow their fortune for themselves, as I have examined in this chapter. Female androgynous characters like Rosalind, Viola, and Perdita, are not condemned for their disguise nor for speaking out freely, and not regarded as sexually lecherous. In spite of behaviour that was normally regarded as unsuitable for good women, these androgynous heroines in Shakespeare's comedies win happy marriages at the ends of the plays. It might be said that the heroines' disguise in male attire reflects the hermaphrodite image of Elizabeth I, who acted and spoke out as much as men did in the real world. Those heroines could be said at least to mirror the mood by which the real women who were given a humanistic education went beyond the gender boundary of patriarchy and began to behave actively in Elizabethan and Jacobean England.

Chapter III : Gender Reversal in *Romeo and Juliet*

In late sixteenth-century England love poetry enjoyed great popularity. Many poets such as Philip Sidney, Edmund Spenser and Shakespeare, composed sonnets and poems on love and beloved women. The conventions of love poetry derived from *Canzoniere* (1347), which consisted of more than 300 poems that an Italian poet Petrarch (1304–74) composed to express his love for a lady called Laura. Petrarch's series of love poems to Laura saw 167 editions in the sixteenth century and 70 in the next century.¹ Petrarchan conceits and the rhetoric of love poetry came into vogue first in fifteenth-century Italy where Neo-Platonists such as Marsilio Ficino (1433–99), Pietro Bembo (1470–1547), and Baldassare Castiglione (1478–1529), author of *The Book of the Courtier*, revived and used the Petrarchan positive aspect of love in order to define their theory of the spiritualization of love.² Bembo and Castiglione followed Ficino's theory of love, which traced back to Plato's idea of spiritual love. Petrarchan love in the Renaissance was strongly influenced by the Neo-Platonic concept that human love enables men's spirituality to ascend to a higher level, finally up to something divine.³ Therefore, Petrarchan love tends to emphasize the spiritual elements of love rather than the physical ones. Revived by the Neo-Platonists, Petrarchan love poems and the accompanying concept of love spread throughout Western Europe.

The Neo-Platonists followed the idea of Petrarchan love poetry that love enters the mind through the eyes to establish their theory of love. According to

¹ Lu E. Pearson, *Elizabethan Love Conventions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1933; London: George Allen & Unwin, 1966), p. 37.

² Leonard Foster, *The Icy Fire: Five Studies in European Petrarchism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 115.

³ As for the Neo-Platonic concept of transcendent love, see Marsilio Ficino, *Commentary on Plato's 'Symposium' on Love*, trans. by Sears Jayne (Dallas: Spring Publications, 1985), pp. 126, 136–45.

Ficino, 'love is the desire of enjoying beauty', which is based on Plato's concept of love as the desire for beauty in the *Symposium*.⁴ 'Not the ears, not smell, not taste, not touch', Ficino continues, 'but the eye perceives that light of the body', which reflects 'that light and beauty of the soul we comprehend with the Intellect alone'.⁵ Ficino's theory affirms the positive power of love that leads a lover to ascend 'step-by-step indeed, first to the body of the beloved, second, to the Soul, third to the Angel, and finally to God, the first origin of this splendor'.⁶ It is, however, only through the spiritual love between men, especially young and old men that this effect of love can be practiced. Following Ficino's basic theory of love, Bembo in the *Gli Asolani* (1505) and Castiglione in the *Courtier* (1528) adapted it to the heterosexual relationship of love, and their idea of love flourished in sixteenth century Europe.⁷ In the *Courtier*, Castiglione explains that women's 'beauty can [...] be enjoyed [...] solely through what has beauty for its true object, namely, the faculty of sight'.⁸ Thus, eyesight is regarded as an important source of love in the Renaissance idea of love, and becomes a central motif in love poetry.⁹

Petrarchan love conventions were first brought into England by Sir Thomas Wyatt and Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, in the early sixteenth century. And in the late sixteenth century Petrarchan love conventions reappeared in the poems of Philip Sidney, Edmund Spenser, and so on at the court of Elizabeth I.¹⁰ Now that Petrarchan conceits and rhetoric were regarded as fashionable literary criteria, the Elizabethan poets were willing to compose love sonnets in order to

⁴ Ficino, p. 58. Also see Plato, *Symposium*, trans. by Robin Waterfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 201a–c, pp.40–41.

⁵ Ficino, p. 58.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

⁷ Thomas Hyde, *The Poetic Theology of Love: Cupid in Renaissance Literature* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986), pp. 81–85, 100–102.

⁸ Castiglione, p. 334.

⁹ Maurice Charney, *Shakespeare on Love & Lust* (New York: Columbia University Press), pp. 14–17.

¹⁰ Pearson, pp.35–74.

gain favors from nobles and to have successful literary careers. Petrarchan love poetry also provided poets who wanted to improve their rhetorical skills with poetic models for imitation.¹¹

Shakespeare, like many other poets, knew well about the Petrarchan conventions of love sonnets and used them not only in his *Sonnets* but in plays such as *Love's Labour's Lost*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Shakespeare utilized Petrarchan conventions to depict love scenes or sometimes satirize the unreal love seen in the tradition, and successfully created a new heroine like Juliet in *Romeo and Juliet*. I shall first look over various kinds of Petrarchan conventions in Shakespeare's plays, and then examine Shakespeare's use of the conventions in *Romeo and Juliet* to suggest that Juliet is a new type of heroine who expresses her own emotion and thought, and decides her own way of life by herself.

Petrarchan Lovers

One of the most apparent characteristics of Petrarchan love poetry is the portrait of a man, who has fallen in love with a woman, as a melancholic lover. According to L. Babb, the major symptoms caused by love for a woman are tears and sighs, abstracted mood, lament and despair, and composing sonnets or poems for the beloved woman.¹² In *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Speed catalogues such symptoms of love-sickness when he recognizes his master Valentine as a man who has fallen in love with a woman.

Val. Why, how know you that I am in love?

Speed. Marry, by these special marks: first, you have learn'd, like

¹¹ Foster, p.23.

¹² Lawrence Babb, *The Elizabethan Malady: A Study of Melancholia in English Literature from 1580—1642* (East Lansing: Michigan-State University Press, 1951; repr. 1965), Chapter IV, pp. 128—42; Charney, pp. 22—24.

Sir Proteus, to wreath your arms, like a malecontent; to relish a love-song, like a robin-redbreast; to walk alone, like one that had the pestilence; to sigh, like a schoolboy that had lost his A B C; to weep, like a young wench that had buried her grandam; to fast, like one that takes diet; to watch, like one that fears robbing; to speak puling, like a beggar at Hallowmas. You were wont, when you laugh'd, to crow like a cock; when you walk'd, to walk like one of the lions; when you fasted, it was presently after dinner; when you look'd sadly; it was for want of money: and now you are metamorphis'd with a mistress, that when I look on you, I can hardly think you my master. [2.1.17–32]

Pointing out how different Valentine appears now from what he used to be, Speed is surprised that Valentine has been metamorphosed by loving a woman from a manly gentleman into a melancholic lover. In like manner in *Love's Labour's Lost*, the misogynist Berowne, one of the courtiers attending to the King of Navarre, admits that he has fallen in love: 'Well, I will love, write, sigh, pray, sue, groan' [3.1.204].

At the beginning of *Romeo and Juliet*, Romeo is also portrayed as suffering from love-sickness, a kind of disease caused by unrequited love. In Petrarchan conventions, a lover never gets reward for his love from his lady. It is one-sided love. That is why a Petrarchan lover is always tortured by his painful love and his lady's coldness. Romeo's friend Benvolio reports Romeo's melancholic mood to Lady Montague, Romeo's mother.

Ben. Madam, an hour before the worshipp'd sun
Peer'd forth the golden window of the east,

A troubled mind drive me to walk abroad,
 Where, underneath the grove of sycamore
 That westward rooteth from this city side,
 So early walking did I see your son.
 Towards him I made, but he was ware of me,
 And stole into the covert of the wood.
 I, measuring his affections by my own,
 Which then most sought where most might not be found,
 Being one too many by my weary self,
 Pursued my humor not pursuing his,
 And gladly shunn'd who gladly fled from me. [1.1.118—30]

Benvolio implies his own love-sickness in describing Romeo's state of mind. As Jill L. Levenson points out, Benvolio's walking outside caused by his 'troubled mind' shows 'a classical symptom of melancholy in general and love melancholy in particular'.¹³ The forest of 'sycamore' is associated with love-sickness, as found in *Love's Labour's Lost* [5.2.89] and *Othello* [4.3.40]. Both Benvolio and Romeo are anxious to avoid company and to be alone in order to abandon themselves to their fancies for their beloved ladies. This is also a typical symptom of love melancholy.¹⁴

Therefore, Romeo's father Montague is concerned about his son's strange behaviour, which apparently shows that Romeo is suffering from love sickness.

Mon. Many a morning hath he there been seen,
 With tears augmenting the fresh morning's dew,

¹³ *The Oxford Shakespeare Romeo and Juliet*, ed. by Jill L. Levenson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), note on 1.1.116.

¹⁴ Babb, p. 135.

Adding to clouds more clouds with his deep sighs,
 [.]
 Away from light steals home my heavy son,
 And private in his chamber pens himself,
 Shuts up his windows, locks fair daylight out,
 And makes himself an artificial night.
 Black and portendous must this humor prove,
 Unless good counsel may the cause remove. [1.1.131—42]

Montague, using typical poetic tropes like tear-dew and cloud-sigh and an oxymoron of light-heavy, describes his son's melancholy. Tears, sighing, and confining himself in his room are easily identified with symptoms of love-sickness. 'Black', which means black humour or black bile, one of the four human humours, is also related to a melancholic mood.¹⁵

The most obvious linguistic rhetoric in Petrarchan conventions is oxymoron.¹⁶ Romeo's expressions of his love are full of this poetic conceit: 'O brawling love! O loving hate! / [...] / O heavy lightness, serious vanity, / Misshapen chaos of well[-seeming] forms, / Feather of lead, bright smoke, cold fire, sick health' [1.1.176—80]. Romeo laments over his unrequited love for Rosaline. His lamentation sounds exaggerated and seemingly ridiculous to the audience, and his love for her does not seem to be real because his lady Rosaline never appears on stage throughout the play. Shakespeare clearly satirizes unreal Petrarchan love by exposing Romeo's conventional love-sickness in order to contrast his real love for Juliet with his unreal love for Rosaline.

During the scene of the banquet, where Romeo and Juliet meet for the first

¹⁵ Babb, pp.21—23.

¹⁶ A. J. Earl, 'Romeo and Juliet and the Elizabethan Sonnets', *English* 27(1978), 99—119 (p. 102)

time, Romeo compares himself to a pilgrim. This comparison is one of the conventional tropes, as read in a Petrarch poem.¹⁷

Rom. [To Juliet.] If I profane with my unworhiest hand
This holy shrine, the gentle sin is this,
My lips, two blushing pilgrims, ready stand
To smooth that rough touch with a tender kiss.

Jul. Good pilgrim, you do wrong your hand too much,
Which mannerly devotion shows in this:
For saints have hands that pilgrims' hands do touch,
And palm to palm is holy palmers' kiss.

Rom. Have not saints lips, and holy palmers too?

Jul. Ay, pilgrim, lips that they must use in pray'r.

Rom. O then, dear saint, let lips do what hands do,
They pray—grant thou, lest faith turn to despair.

Jul. Saints do not move, though grant for prayers' sake.

Rom. Then move not while my prayer's effect I take.
Thus from my lips, by thine, my sin is purg'd.

[kissing her.] [1.5.93—107]

Following the Petrarchan tradition, Pilgrim Romeo admires Juliet as a holy female 'saint'. The religious images come down from the idea of Petrarchan idealized love that the beloved lady, regarded as a perfect figure with physical and spiritual beauty, has the power to purify the lover's soul. Shakespeare obeys the conventional trope of pilgrim-saint, to be sure, but it is notable that in the above

¹⁷ Petrarch, *Petrarch's Lyric Poems: The 'Rime sparse' and Other Lyrics*, ed. and trans. by Robert M. Durling (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1976), poem 16, pp. 50–51.

quoted conversation he uses the form of a sonnet. This scene presents a remarkable contrast between Petrarchan love and realistic love. In the Petrarchan traditions, a beloved lady normally responds to the lover with a disdainful and cold attitude, or even gives no reply, so that the melancholic lover recites his poem alone, often in the style of a sonnet. But, Juliet replies to Romeo, and will accept his love in a later scene. Furthermore, while conversing in the form of a sonnet, Romeo and Juliet have physical contact with each other, as indicated by the stage directions in the banquet scene. Even without the stage directions, it is not difficult to imagine that Romeo would kiss Juliet at the end of their conversation. One possible stage direction is that Romeo touches her hand while reciting the sonnet with her. This physical contact obviously signifies their sexual desire and satisfaction as well as their 'mutuality' at this moment.¹⁸ Shakespeare's lovers deviate considerably from the Petrarchan conventions, which do not allow the lover to gain physical contact or satisfaction from his lady. Therefore, the love between Romeo and Juliet contrasts significantly with Romeo's unrequited love for Rosaline.

Shakespeare brings physical and sexual elements into the conventional Petrarchan conceit of love in the case of Romeo and Juliet to distinguish their love from Petrarchan love. Also in *Love's Labour's Lost*, Shakespeare ridicules the loves of the King and the three nobles of Navarre by using Petrarchan tropes, as a contrast to realistic love.

At the beginning of the play, the King of Navarre and his courtiers swear an oath to engage in study and not to take pleasure in 'the world's desires' such as love, food, and sleep, in order to gain fame and immortality as a reward for a 'contemplative' life [1.1.1–14]. They think that to win fame through pursuing a studious life will lead them to 'eternity', that is, immortality [1.1.7]. But,

¹⁸ Roger Stilling, *Love and Death in Renaissance Tragedy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1976), p. 78.

meeting the French Princess and her ladies in waiting, the King of Navarre and his courtiers of Navarre fall in love with them. The scene of their composing sonnets is pivotal for the action of the play; after this the King of Navarre and his courtiers abandon their oath to live a studious life and move onto pursuing their loves. While the King of Navarre and the two courtiers, Longaville and Dumaine, recite poems one after another, the other courtier Berowne, hiding himself somewhere, eavesdrops on them, and then criticizes their poems. Their love poems are full of typical Petrarchan conceits, but express nothing of the Neo-Platonic spiritualization of love, because their passions are explicitly inclined to physical desire, not to the spiritual ascent to divinity, which is the ultimate Neo-Platonic purpose of love.

This is clearly shown in Berowne's critical comment on Longaville's adoration for Maria in his poem: '[*Aside.*] This is the liver-vein, which makes flesh a deity, / A green goose a goddess; pure, pure [idolatry]' [4.3.72–73]. Longaville follows a Petrarchan convention by comparing his lady to a goddess; Berowne, however, reduces Longaville's devotion to sexual desire, since 'the liver' is regarded as 'the seat of sexual passion', as H. R. Woudhuysen annotates the word.¹⁹ Berowne's comment on Longaville's verse suggests Shakespeare's satire on Petrarchan tradition.²⁰ After Berowne's love letter for Rosaline is brought to the King of Navarre and his courtiers by the dairymaid Jaquenetta and the clown Costard, and the fact that even Berowne has fallen in love is brought to light, Berowne admits his sexual passion.

Ber. Sweet lords, sweet lovers, O, let us embrace!

As true we are as flesh and blood can be.

¹⁹ *The Arden Shakespeare Love's Labour's Lost*, ed. by H. R. Woudhuysen (Surrey: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1997; repr. 1999), note on 4.2.71–72.

²⁰ Patricia L. Carlin, *Shakespeare's Mortal Men: Overcoming Death in History, Comedy and Tragedy* (New York: Peter Lang, 1993), p. 33.

The sea will ebb and flow, heaven show his face;

Young blood doth not obey an old decree.

We cannot cross the cause why we were born;

Therefore of all hands must we be forsworn. [4.3.210–15]

The King of Navarre and his courtiers are all ‘flesh and blood,’ which is self-evident and ‘true’ like the coming and going of the tide and the cycle of day and night. Berowne concedes, accordingly, that sexual passion caused by love, which is the cause why humans are born, is also natural for human life. If physical desire is excluded from love, it would be unnatural and inadequate for human life. Shakespeare seems to condemn the nobles for having so far assumed that their loves are spiritual and ideal without sexual passion. In this respect, and as a foreshadowing of the nobles’ realization, only the Spanish braggart knight Armado understands the needs for natural human life, so that as a result of his wooing and winning the love of Jaquenetta, he begets a child by her.

Shakespeare criticizes the idea that sexuality should be eliminated from human life to attain virtuous achievement or spiritual perfection based on and suggested by Petrarchan Neo-Platonism. In this sense, the conventional courtship with Petrarchan rhetoric is just formal and over-spiritualized, and does not convey the realistic affection of human love, like Romeo’s love for Rosaline. The idea of natural sexuality is embodied in the Nurse, to whom as I shall return later.

Gender Reversal and the Expression of Female Sexuality in *Romeo and Juliet*

Shakespeare subverts some of the conventions of Petrarchan love. One is that Romeo’s love for Juliet is not unrequited: the love is mutual between them, contrary to the Petrarchan tradition that a lover never gains affection from his

beloved. Furthermore, what is most significant is that it is not Romeo but Juliet who takes the initiative in their relationship. This is the subversion of the convention that a man should woo his lady, but not vice versa. Shakespeare might have changed the convention in order to present Juliet as a new type of heroine who speaks out and behaves actively in the pursuit of her own life. Even gender reversal sometimes occurs between Romeo and Juliet. In the earlier scene at the balcony [2.2], their physical position is dramatically reversed, so that Juliet stands in the balcony high above Romeo.

<i>Rom.</i>	She speaks!
O, speak again, bright angel, for thou art	
As glorious to this night, being o'er my head,	
As is a winged messenger of heaven	
Unto the white-upturned wond'ring eyes	
Of mortals that fall back to gaze on him,	
When he bestrides the lazy puffing clouds,	
And sails upon the bosom of the air.	[2.2.25 – 32]

It is true, according to Romeo's description of her 'being o'er my [Romeo's] head', that Juliet is physically above Romeo, while he is hiding himself under the balcony of her chamber. This situation conspicuously shows their reversed gender roles.²¹ Moreover, Romeo addresses her as if she were a male 'bright angel', using the male pronouns, 'him' and 'he'. The phrase 'fall back' in Romeo's speech, which indicates the common female physical position in copulation, is a reflection of the bawdy joke of the Nurse's husband: 'Thou wilt fall backward when thou hast more wit, / Wilt thou not, Jule?' [1.3.42–43]. In

²¹ Soji Iwasaki, 『シェイクスピアの文化史—社会・演劇・イコノロジー』[*Shakespeare no Bunka-shi: Shakai · Engeki · Iconology*] (Nagoya: Nagoya University Press, 2000), p. 20.

the ordinary sexual gender role Juliet should 'fall back'. Romeo plays, however, the role of a woman falling backward to look up at Juliet who stands on the balcony above him.

In addition to the physical position of the two young lovers in the balcony scene, gender reversal occurs in their expressions of love in some crucial scenes of the play. For instance, Juliet, answering the Nurse's call, shows herself again at the balcony of her chamber and calls back to Romeo as follows.

Enter JULIET again [above].

Jul. Hist, Romeo, hist! O, for a falc'ner's voice,
To lure this tassel-gentle back again!
Bondage is hoarse, and may not speak aloud,
Else would I tear the cave where Echo lies,
And make her airy tongue more hoarse than [mine],
With repetition of my [Romeo's name.] Romeo! [2.2.158—63]

The imagery of falconry is used here. Juliet wishes for 'a falc'ner's voice' in order to call back Romeo. The voice of Juliet has the power to 'lure' a falcon, Romeo. From the point of view of the term of falconry, the word 'lure' also means 'tame'. Probably without knowing, Juliet expresses her intention to manipulate Romeo in the same way as a falconer does his falcon. She praises Romeo as 'this tassel-gentle' a falcon, that is, a noble bird.²² Juliet, however, right after using the falconry images, compares herself to Echo, a mythological figure in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, whose sad love story tells her serious and earnest affection for Narcissus. Echo's image for Juliet is deliberately used to show her as a young woman with fidelity and chastity and a love for Romeo as

²² *The Oxford Shakespeare Romeo and Juliet*, note on 2.2.204-5.

serious as Echo's love, despite Juliet's manifestation of her wish to 'lure' Romeo. Moreover, Echo's image might also imply the tragic end of the love between Juliet and Romeo.

The falconry imagery occurs once more later in the love-talk between them. She uses it again when parting from Romeo as morning comes after the night they had spent together.

Jul. 'Tis almost morning, I would have thee gone—
 And yet no farther than a wanton's bird,
 That lets it hop a little from his hand,
 Like a poor prisoner in his twisted gyves,
 And with a silken thread plucks it back again,
 So loving-jealous of his liberty. [2.2.176—81]

Juliet shows her desire to control Romeo like a falconer without knowing it, as her expressions, 'a wanton's bird', 'with a silken thread', clearly indicate. Her speech fused with falconry imagery creates the impression that Romeo has only limited 'liberty' to move around within a cage like a bird watched by Juliet and is tamed 'like a poor prisoner in his twisted gyves' by Juliet. With the falconry terms and images used by Juliet, Shakespeare emphasizes the gender reversal between Juliet and Romeo. As a falconer, it is natural for Juliet to play the leading role and to express a love unsuitable for a young upper-class woman. In this sense, she is unconventional like Shakespeare's other heroines who challenge their fates with courage and open-mindedness.

Juliet openly expresses her sexual desire for Romeo while waiting for him after their secret marriage. Juliet expresses her love and sexual desire for Romeo with honesty and straightforwardness, which shows their love as natural. Their

love is presented in contrast to Romeo's idealized love for Rosaline or to Mercutio's cynical view of love. It should be noted that Juliet uses less artful conceits and rhetoric when she expresses her emotional feeling for Romeo than Romeo does. In their love relationship, it is apparent that she plays the leading role.

The most remarkable gender reversal occurs in the scene where Juliet recites a kind of epithalamium [3.2.1–31], which is traditionally sung by the bridegroom to celebrate a wedding. Besides the untraditional reciting of her speech, Juliet naturally and openly expresses her earnest sexual desire for Romeo and the 'love-performing night' [3.2.5].

[Jul.] Gallop apace, you fiery-footed steeds,
Towards Phoebus' lodging; such a waggoner
As Phaëton would whip you to the west,
And bring in cloudy night immediately. [3.2.1–4]

The beginning of her speech reminds us of Mercutio's speech about Queen Mab [1.4.53–94]. Queen Mab rides on 'Her chariot' made of 'an empty hazelnut'[1.4.59] operated by 'Her waggoner a small grey-coated gnat'[1.4.67], 'in this state she gallops night by night / Through lovers' brains, and then they dream of love' [1.4.70–71]. This speech ends when Mercutio mentions a bawdy act which is thought to be intended by Queen Mab.

Mer. This is the hag, when maids lie on their backs,
That presses them and learns them first to bear,
Making them women of good carriage. [1.4.92–94]

According to Mercutio, Queen Mab is a 'malicious female sprite',²³ who drives young women into erotic activity with men. The phrase 'maids lie on their backs' explicitly means the female physical position in sexual intercourse. The word 'bear', coupled with 'good carriage', refers to the meaning not only of bearing 'the weight of a man' but also of 'childbirth' as a result of the copulation.²⁴ Thus, through the expression 'Gallop apace'; the bawdy images conveyed by Queen Mab in Mercutio's speech flow into the beginning part of Juliet's invocation to Romeo in the second scene of the third act.

Juliet's speech while waiting for Romeo is surprisingly rich in erotic expressions and images. She passionately and frankly confesses her emotion for Romeo and expectation for the sexual pleasure that she is about to experience with him.

Jul. Spread thy close curtain, love-performing night,
That [th'] runaway's eyes may wink, and Romeo
Leap to these arms untalk'd of and unseen! [3.2.5–7]

In his *A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature*, Gordon Williams sees an erotic allusion of 'a woman's open-legged posture for copulation' in the word 'spread'.²⁵ This sexual meaning of 'spread' draws an image of virginity from 'close curtain'. For the phrase, 'Leap to these arms', Mary Bly points out the echo of the lines from Marlow's *Tragedy of Dido* (1587): 'If thou wilt stay/ Leap in mine arms; mine arms are open wide; / If not, turn from me, and I'll turn from thee [...]'[5.1179–81].²⁶ According to Gordon

²³ *The Oxford Shakespeare Romeo and Juliet*, note on 1.4.90.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, note on 1.4.91.

²⁵ Gordon Williams, *A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature*, 3 vols (London: Athlone, 1994), p. 1294.

²⁶ Mary Bly, 'Bawdy Puns and Lustful Virgins: the Legacy of Juliet's Desire in Comedies of the Early 1600s', *Shakespeare Survey*, 49 (1996), 97–109 (p. 100).

Williams, 'leap' also carries a meaning of 'mount sexually', which derived from farm animals' behaviour 'to spring upon the female in copulation'.²⁷ Shakespeare uses the word 'leap' with an erotic image in his other works. In *Much Ado About Nothing*, Benedick replies to Claudio's allusion about Europe as a mythological female figure, who is raped by the mighty god Jove disguised as a white bull: 'Bull Jove, sir, had an amiable low, / And some such strange bull leapt your father's cow, / And got a calf'[5.4.48 – 50].²⁸ Shakespeare 'links horsemanship with connubial pleasure' in *Henry V*: 'If I could win a lady at leap-frog, or by vaulting into my saddle with my armor on my back, [...] I should quickly leap into a wife'[5.2.136–39].²⁹ Thus, Juliet's use of 'leap' in her speech is used to help strengthen an erotic overtone.

Juliet continues to express her feeling for the coming romantic night with Romeo. She compares her marriage to a game: 'learn me how to lose a winning match, / Play'd for a pair of stainless maidenhoods' [3.2.12 – 13]. Gordon Williams gives an explanation for this sentence as to 'achieve success in love by yielding'.³⁰ Juliet wins her lover in her match, which means 'a wedding and an erotic game'; at the same time, she loses her virginity for her marriage.³¹ Juliet also reveals her impatience to wait for Romeo and their wedding night.

Jul. O, I have bought the mansion of a love,
But not possess'd it, and though I am sold,
Not yet enjoy'd. [3.2.26–28]

The active voice ('have bought' and 'possessed') and passive ('am sold' and

²⁷ Williams, pp. 791–92.

²⁸ Williams cites these lines as one of the examples for 'leap' in his *A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery*, p. 792.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 792.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 862.

³¹ Bly, p. 101.

‘[being] enjoyed’) in the same sentence grammatically express Juliet’s double position in her love for Romeo. Juliet successfully leads Romeo to their wedding; at the same time, she takes a passive position in relationship to her husband as his bride and wife. It is clear that Juliet mentions sexual pleasure with the word ‘possess’, whose meaning is interchangeable with ‘enjoyed’. Stanley Wells annotates ‘the mansion of a love’ as the ‘human body which is a source of sexual pleasure.’³² Another expression of Juliet’s impatient feeling implicitly shows gender reversal.

Jul. As is the night before some festival
 To an impatient child that hath new robes
 And may not wear them. [3.2.29—31]

In the garment imagery of ‘robes’ and ‘wear’, as Gordon Williams explains, the latter word conveys a sexual implication that a man draws on in coitus like a garment, and his object is customarily a woman.³³ In ordinary usage, a man is supposed to draw on a woman in copulation as if the man is putting on a garment. In contrast to the conventional gender role, Romeo is regarded as the object, ‘new robes,’ that Juliet should ‘wear’. In this sense, Juliet again reverses her sexual gender role. This shows Juliet’s activeness and her open expression of sexual desire, although she is not conscious of either of them.

³² *The Oxford Shakespeare Romeo and Juliet*, note on 3.2.26.

³³ Williams, p. 1508. John Donne uses this ‘wêar’, as cited in Williams: ‘a cheap whore, who hath beene / Worne by as many severall men in sinne, / As are black feathers, or musk-colour hose’ in *Complete English Poems*, ‘Satyre I’, pp.150–54 (p. 151).

Juliet's Virginity and the Sincerity of Her Love for Romeo

It has been said that Shakespeare made use of Arthur Brooke's *The Tragicall Historye of Romeus and Juliet* as one of the sources for *Romeo and Juliet*. There are slight but substantial detachments from Brooke's version in the contemplation by Shakespeare's Juliet of Romeo's love for her and her love for Romeo. Brooke's Juliet at least once doubts Romeo's love for her because he is the son of the Montagues, a foe of her family [ll.385–88].³⁴ On the other hand, Shakespeare's Juliet has no doubt about Romeo's love for her. While Brooke's Juliet considers her marriage to Romeo a secret scheme to make peace between the two houses [ll.426–28],³⁵ in Shakespeare it is Friar Laurence who concocts the peace-making plan by utilizing the marriage of Romeo and Juliet. Brooke's Juliet gives an impression of being a discreet and astute young woman, but she seems somehow less pure and less honest than Shakespeare's Juliet. Juliet in Shakespeare wholeheartedly believes Romeo's serious love for her and emotionally decides to choose him as a husband. She never dreams that she can eliminate the rivalry between the families. Her sincerity and passion show Juliet's love for Romeo in the Shakespeare version to be more earnest and honest than that of Juliet in Brooke's version.

Juliet is presented as a virgin heroine; Romeo is her first love. Her love for Romeo is all the more pure and sincere for her virginity. But her expression of sexual desire for Romeo after they have spent the night together apparently seems more lustful than Cleopatra's passion for Antony. The fact that Juliet is a virgin is emphasized in her father's answer to Paris: 'My child is yet a stranger in the world' [1.2.8]. This speech implies that she has not made her debut yet in the society of Verona, and that she does not know a man in terms of a romantic

³⁴ Arthur Brooke, 'The Tragicall Historye of Romeus and Juliet' in *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, ed. by Geoffrey Bullough, 8 vols (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957; Routledge, 1996), I, p. 296.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.297.

relation. In addition, the fact that Romeo does not realize she is a daughter of the Capulets at the banquet scene tells us that Juliet's face has not been socially recognized throughout the city. If she had already made her debut in society, Romeo should have known and recognized her as a daughter of the Capulets, the foe of his family.

Two Mothers of Juliet

The important element for Juliet in the formation of her idea of love is that she has two mothers: the one who gave birth to her and the other who raised her.³⁶ Juliet's mother, Capulet's wife, is a typical wife in patriarchy, respecting chastity, silence, and obedience to her husband.³⁷ Juliet's second mother, the Nurse, is a warm-hearted woman full of good humour. She thinks of love and sexual desire as natural human feelings. As Barbara Everett notes, the Nurse embodies Nature as life-giving and affirms sexual desire as a natural part of human life.³⁸ The Nurse's view of love always combines physical and sexual elements.³⁹ Juliet has grown up under the influence of these two different types of women. While Juliet is educated by her mother to be an ideal courtly lady and to be an obedient wife like her mother, she is taught to know natural human life, or more precisely, to know love and sexuality as natural human feelings, by the Nurse.

Juliet's mother explains to her daughter how marriage for the upper class family in patriarchal society should be. Her idea of marriage is presented as typical of a patriarchy. Just before the night of a banquet in the Capulets' house, Juliet's mother tries to persuade Juliet to marry Paris, a young nobleman, by using a book metaphor.

³⁶ Iwasaki, 『シェイクスピアの文化史』 [*Shakespeare no Bunka-shi*], p. 12.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

³⁸ Barbara Everett, 'Romeo and Juliet: The Nurse's Story,' *Critical Quarterly*, 14 (1972), 129-39.

³⁹ Iwasaki, 『シェイクスピアの文化史』 [*Shakespeare no Bunka-shi*], p. 14.

La. Cap. What say you? can you love the gentleman?
 This night you shall behold him at our feast;
 Read o'er the volume of young Paris' face,
 And find delight writ there with beauty's pen;
 Examine every married lineament,
 And see how one another lends content;
 And what obscur'd in this fair volume lies
 Find written in the margent of his eyes. [1.3.79—86]

With the terms of book imagery such as 'volume', 'pen', 'lineament', 'content', and 'margent', Juliet's mother links Paris with 'this fair volume,' and praises him implicitly as an ideal husband for Juliet. She tells Juliet to examine every harmonized feature ('married lineament') on Paris' face,⁴⁰ so that Juliet may see how one sets off another's beauty, to satisfy the eye ('how one another lends content').⁴¹ Her conceits of book imagery also engage marital matters.

La. Cap. This precious book of love, this unbound lover,
 To beautify him, only lacks a cover.
 The fish lives in the sea, and 'tis much pride
 For fair without the fair within to hide.
 That book in many's eyes doth share the glory,
 That in gold clasps locks in the golden story. [1.3.87—92]

Paris has not reached maturity yet, because he is not a married man. The word 'unbound' means 'not married.' It also has a meaning related to the book images.

⁴⁰ *The Oxford Shakespeare Romeo and Juliet*, note on 1.3.85—86.

⁴¹ Alexander Schmidt, *Shakespeare Lexicon and Quotation Dictionary*, 2 vols (New York: Dover Publications, 1971), 'Content *subst.*'

To be recognized as a mature man in society, he has to be married. As a legal term, 'a cover' means a married woman.⁴² Juliet's mother compares a married couple to a book bound with a 'fair' cover. In her metaphor, a wife is regarded as 'gold clasps' that lock marital worth, that is, 'the glory'. The words 'gold' and 'golden' emphasize financial need as one of the important aspects of marriage, that is to say, wealth and the social status of marriage in a patriarchy.⁴³ In this sense, 'the glory' of marriage indicates fortunes or possessions as well as the beauty of a couple. The phrase 'in many's eyes', meaning other people around a couple, refers to another aspect of marriage. Marriage is a social institution: a married couple is regarded as a social unit that makes up society. Levenson points out that wifely status is 'a commodity' annotating the comparison of a wife to 'golden clasps' described 'in terms of the precious metal with good value'.⁴⁴ This is a typical patriarchal view of a wife. Thus, marriage for the upper-class in society is a device to unite a man and a woman as a social unit, to place them in an appropriate place in the society, and to promote the family's finances or status. This is the view of Juliet's mother about marriage. Her view is obviously different from that of the Nurse, who believes that marriage has another more important side, mutual love and sexual pleasure.

Juliet's mother also has influence on Juliet's court-lady-like behaviour. That Juliet's behaviour is suitable for a courtly lady is shown in her answer to her mother, when her mother offers the arranged marriage to Paris.

La. Cap. Speak briefly, can you like of Paris' love?

Jul. I'll look to like, if looking liking move;

But no more deep will I endart mine eye

⁴² *The Oxford Shakespeare Romeo and Juliet*, note on 1.3.90.

⁴³ Iwasaki, 『シェイクスピアの文化史』 [*Shakespeare no Bunka-shi*], p. 15.

⁴⁴ *The Oxford Shakespeare Romeo and Juliet*, note on 1.3.94.

Than your consent gives strength to make [it] fly. [1.3.96—99]

Just before Juliet replies, her mother has talked to her about marriage using a book metaphor in the manner of composing rhymed couplets [1.3.79—94]. Following her mother's style of speech, Juliet replies in rhymes every two lines to show her obedience to her parents.⁴⁵ Juliet also uses the conventional rhetoric of Renaissance love poetry, where the eyesight of a lady often pierces through the heart of a lover like a dart. She knows how to behave as an upper-class lady even when Romeo overhears her true feeling for him under the balcony of her chamber.

Jul. Fain would I dwell on form, fain, fain deny
 What I have spoke, but farewell, compliment!
 Dost thou love me? I know thou wilt say, "Ay,"
 And I will take thy word; [...]
 [.....] O gentle Romeo,
 If thou dost love, pronounce it faithfully;
 Or if thou thinkest I am too quickly won,
 I'll frown and be perverse and say thee nay,
 So thou wilt woo, but else not for the world. [2.2.88—97]

When she realizes that her confession of love for Romeo has been overheard by him, Juliet explains that she should behave 'on form,' which is a bookish manner suitable to a court lady, so that he does not think her 'too quickly won'. She knows how an upper-class young woman should behave when wooing. When she says 'nay' to the man who wants to win her love, she knows that he will 'woo'

⁴⁵ Iwasaki, 『シェイクスピアの文化史』 [*Shakespeare no Bunka-shi*], pp.15—16.

her all the more passionately and fervently for her coldness and disdainfulness. But, she dares to throw away this 'compliment' and turns to her straightforward confession of love for Romeo. This candid manner of her speech shows her love to be more honest and, as Juliet Dusinberre remarks, 'modest because honest'.⁴⁶

In Renaissance England, women's honesty was one of the most important and valuable virtues. Honesty means chastity, as Dusinberre points out: 'women's honesty was [...] chastity in sexual matters.'⁴⁷ For women, physical chastity had priority over sincerity in mind. The word 'honest' in this sense is found in the nunnery scene of *Hamlet*. When Hamlet is walking in the gallery thinking about revenge on his uncle, King Claudius, he finds Ophelia pretending to pray with a book. He asks her about her honesty in order to see if she is deceiving him or not.

Ham. Ha, ha! are you honest?

Oph. My lord?

Ham. Are you fair?

Oph. What means your lordship?

Ham. That if you be honest and fair, [your honesty] should admit no discourse to your beauty.

Oph. Could beauty, my lord, have better commerce than with honesty?

Ham. Ay, truly, for the power of beauty will sooner transform honesty from what it is to a bawd than the force of honesty can translate beauty into his likeness. [3.1.102 – 13]

Hamlet uses 'honest' to mean not only 'truthful' or 'sincere' but also physically

⁴⁶ Dusinberre, p. 71.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

'chaste'.⁴⁸ Since his mother has remarried too quickly after her former husband died, he casts doubt on women's chastity in relation to sexual behaviour, as is seen in the conversation with his mother Gertrude later in her bedchamber. And moreover, he explains to Ophelia that women's honesty is incompatible with their beauty. According to Hamlet, a 'fair' woman must be 'a bawd', not truthful and chaste. To be an honest woman, she should be sincere and chaste in sexual matters. In this sense, for women, honesty is always associated with chastity. In consideration of Hamlet's use of honesty, it can be said that Juliet's honest confession of love for Romeo paradoxically shows her chastity and modesty in sexual matters because of her artless expression of her love for Romeo. This is in contrast to Ophelia in the nunnery scene.

Let us see Juliet's confession of love for Romeo in the balcony scene.

Jul. In truth, fair Montague, I am too fond,
 And therefore thou mayest think my behavior light,
 But trust me, gentleman, I'll prove more true
 Than those that have [more] coying to be strange.
 I should have been more strange, I must confess,
 But that thou overheardst, ere I was ware,
 My true-love passion. [2.2.98 – 104]

Juliet is not following the conventional manner of 'coying to be strange', which means to pretend to be 'reserved' or 'shy' in her response to his love.⁴⁹ The word 'coying' reminds us of Andrew Marvell's (1621 – 78) well known poem 'To his Coy Mistress', in which the poet persuades his shy lady to respond to his love.

⁴⁸ *The Arden Shakespeare Hamlet*, ed. by Harold Jenkins (London: Methuen, 1982; Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1997), note on 3.1.103.

⁴⁹ *The Oxford Shakespeare Romeo and Juliet*, note on 2.1.144.

Coyness was a female strategy in the Renaissance to let women appear to be chaste and honest as well as to make lovers set a high value on their beloved because of the difficulty in gaining their reciprocal love. Coyness was a social behaviour code for Renaissance women. Juliet seems to feel obliged to obey this conventional code of coyness, as shown in the speech quoted above: 'I should have been more strange, I must confess.' In *Troilus and Cressida*, Cressida ingeniously acts as a typical Renaissance woman following this behaviour code of coyness in order to be seen as a chaste woman and to make Troilus woo her more fervently for her coyness.

Cres. Yet hold I off. Women are angels, wooing:
 Things won are done, joy's soul lies in the doing.
 That she belov'd knows nought that knows not this:
 Men prize the thing ungain'd more than it is.
 That she was never yet that ever knew
 Love got so sweet as when desire did sue.
 Therefore this maxim out of love I teach:
 Achievement is command; ungained, beseech;
 Then though my heart's content firm love doth bear,
 Nothing of that shall from mine eyes appear. [1.2.286—95]

Cressida knows exactly how to react to Troilus' wooing as an upper-class woman: her love should be difficult to be gained. She pretends to reject Troilus' love and acts disdainfully for his love, so that she might manipulate him in their love-game to make him believe she is more valuable than she actually is. She cunningly appears to be shy and coy, so that she can be respected as an honest and chaste woman. As far as her behaviour is concerned, Cressida is actually an honest and

disposition of the Infant".⁵⁰ For an example of the influence of mother's milk, in *Titus Andronicus*, Chiron and Demetrius, two sons of Tamora, the ex-queen of the Goths and now wife of Saturninus, the Emperor of Rome, rape Lavinia and mutilate her wrists and tongue so that she cannot speak about their cruel crimes to anyone. Their brutality is greatly influenced by Tamora's wicked nature through her milk, which they sucked from her breasts.⁵¹ In *Coriolanus*, Volumnia, mother to Coriolanus, influenced his brave, courageous, but arrogant nature: 'Thy valiantness was mine, thou suck'st it from me' [3.2.129]. In *Romeo and Juliet*, according to the scene of the Nurse's memory of the time of Juliet's weaning [1.3.23–48], it is clear that Juliet was given milk from the Nurse. Thus, it would not be difficult for an Elizabethan audience to think that Juliet has to some extent a similar disposition to the Nurse.

When Capulet's wife talks to Juliet about marriage to Paris, she emphasizes its importance for the Capulets and in society; while the Nurse naturally relates marriage to the physical result after sexual conduct, that is to say, pregnancy: 'No less! nay, bigger: women grow by men' [1.3.95]. Knowing that Juliet would meet Paris at the banquet, the Nurse tells her to 'seek happy nights to happy days'[1.3.105]. The words 'happy nights' explicitly indicates sexual pleasure for the couple. She advises Juliet, who badly laments for Romeo's banishment and her forced marriage, to abandon Romeo and to marry Paris. There is a bawdy note in her advice.

Nurse. For it excels your first; or if it did not,
Your first is dead, or 'twere as good he were

⁵⁰ Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England 1550-1720* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 29.

⁵¹ Susan Dunn-Hensley, 'Whore Queens: The Sexualized Female Body and the State' in *'High and Mighty Queens' of Early Modern England: Realities and Representations*, pp. 101–16 (pp. 109–10).

As living here and you no use of him.

[3.5.223—25]

The Nurse compares Juliet's first match with her 'second match' [3.5.222] in terms of social status for men. The Nurse concludes that Paris 'excels' Romeo, Juliet's 'first' husband, because Romeo, banished from Verona, is no longer a gentleman. This realistic advice shows the accepted view that marriage is a social institution concerning the wealth and status of both families. The Nurse, however, draws the same conclusion from a different reason, which seems to be more appropriate for her character. Even if 'he were' alive, Romeo is 'no use' as a husband for Juliet in the sense of 'profit' and 'sexual enjoyment' because he is not in Verona.⁵² The Nurse always connects marriage with sexuality. In this respect, she presents the idea that human love should be naturally fused with sexuality, copulation, and child bearing. Her view on love and sexuality does have some effect, whether she is conscious about it or not, on Juliet's personal idea and determination of love and marriage.

It might be surprising for the audience who think Juliet naïve and innocent, when Juliet openly speaks of her sexual desire for Romeo [3.2.1—31]. Her language is without any art. Her erotic emotion is paradoxically depicted as honest and modest.

Romeo's Effeminization

Juliet plays a male role in her relationship with Romeo, as I have demonstrated. In the later scenes, Romeo perceives himself as being made to be effeminate.⁵³ When Mercutio suffers a mortal wound, Romeo blames himself for his refusal of Tybalt's challenge. The incident leads to Mercutio's death.

⁵² *The Oxford Shakespeare Romeo and Juliet*, note on 3.5.224.

Rom. O sweet Juliet,
Thy beauty hath made me effeminate,
And in my temper soft'ned valor's steel! [3.1.113—15]

Thomas Wright in his *The Passions of the Mind in General* says that '[...] a personable body is often linked with a pestilent soul; a valiant Captain in the field is infected with an effeminate affection at home.'⁵⁴ Stephen Orgel, quoting the same lines, states that 'women are dangerous to men because men's sexual passion for women renders them effeminate'.⁵⁵ Wright apparently warns against the dangerous effect of love for the male integrity. In this sense, 'sexuality itself is misogynistic'.⁵⁶ Romeo's passion for Juliet makes him unwilling to fight Tybalt and metamorphoses him into a womanish-man, although he fears to lose his honor and integrity as a man. Both Wright's statement and Romeo's rebuke, as Orgel points out,⁵⁷ are associated with the traditional antithesis of love and warfare: 'a valiant Captain in the field' described by Wright and Romeo's 'valour's steel' mentioned by himself recall armour or a weapon like a sword of a warrior. This theme of love and warfare is effectively used in both the beginning and the ending of the play, as I shall examine later.

Juliet's Self-Direction

In Renaissance patriarchal society, marriage was a highly important issue not only for parents but also for their sons and daughters. In particular, marriage became a troublesome issue when daughters did not accept matches arranged by

⁵³ Iwasaki, 『シェイクスピアの文化史』 [*Shakespeare no Bunka-shi*], p. 19; Orgel, p. 26.

⁵⁴ Thomas Wright, *The Passions of the Mind in General* (London: 1601), A Critical Edition, ed. by William W. Newbold (New York: Garland, 1986), p. 237.

⁵⁵ Orgel, p. 26.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

their fathers or other male authorities. Disobedient behaviour by daughters threatened to undermine male authority. In other words, when daughters disobeyed fathers or male authority and insisted on their own choice of marriage, they were regarded as endangering the society to which they belonged. However, some heroines in Shakespeare's plays challenge the social code of behaviour imposed on daughters. This suggests that a new idea of marriage, conjugal love and sympathy, influenced by the movements of humanism and Protestantism came to be formed in the mid-sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century.

In *The Merchant of Venice*, a father has absolute influence on the marriage of his daughter even after his death. Portia obeys her father's will concerning the lottery of the three caskets for choosing her future husband [1.2.27–33]. In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, a father's authority threatens the life of the disobedient daughter. Egeus commands his daughter Hermia to marry Demetrius, whom he has chosen for her marriage, but she does not obey him because she is in love with Lysander, who loves her, too. Then, Egeus comes to Theseus, the Duke of Athens, to solve the matter of her marriage. Theseus admonishes her to obey her father's authority.

The. What say you, Hermia? Be advis'd, fair maid.

To you your father should be as a god;

One that compos'd your beauties; yea, and one

To whom you are but as a form in wax,

By him imprinted, and within his power,

To leave the figure, or disfigure it.

[1.1.46–51]

As Theseus says, in Shakespeare's day, fathers had absolute power over their

daughters 'as a god' to humans. The phrase 'within his power / To leave the figure or disfigure it' suggests that a daughter's life or death depends upon her father's will. If Hermia stubbornly refuses to obey Egeus, she should 'Either to die the death, or to abjure / For ever the society of men', which means spending her life in a nunnery, as Theseus tells her [1.1.65—66]. Living as a nun means that she must stay unmarried all through her life. For Hermia, even if physically alive, this would have the same meaning as death because she would not be allowed to marry Lysander. Not being afraid of dreadful punishment for her disobedience to male authority, Hermia resolves to marry Lysander by herself.

Hermia in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Anne Page in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, Desdemona in *Othello*, and Perdita in *The Winter's Tale*, and Juliet in *Romeo and Juliet* are all disobedient to their fathers in their choice of husband.

Let us go back to the story of Juliet. Juliet challenges male authority when she refuses her father's offer of the arranged marriage to Paris, after her cousin Tybalt is accidentally killed by Romeo. Because she has already secretly got married to Romeo with the help of Friar Laurence, Juliet has to refuse the match arranged by her father. Juliet is expressing her concern for Romeo in showing heavy grief concerning the death of her cousin Tybalt.

Jul. Feeling so the loss,

I cannot choose but ever weep the friend.

La. Cap. Well, girl, thou weep'st not so much for his death,

As that the villain lives which slaughter'd him. [3.5.76—79]

Lady Capulet believes that Juliet is lamenting the death of Tybalt as 'the friend,' since both of the pronouns 'his' and 'him' indicate Tybalt. The word 'friend' here is ambiguous. According to *OED*, it refers to not only a person who is not

hostile but also who is 'a lover, or paramour' in Renaissance England.⁵⁸ In Juliet's lines, 'the friend' has a double meaning: her dead cousin Tybalt and her secret husband Romeo, who has been banished from Verona for killing Tybalt. Juliet deliberately uses deceitful and ambiguous pronouns to hide her true feeling for 'the loss' of Romeo, whilst weeping for the loss of Tybalt. When Juliet says 'no man like he doth grieve my heart' [3.5.83], for Lady Capulet 'he' seemingly refers to Tybalt, but for Juliet 'he' is Romeo. While Juliet tells her mother about her vengeful spite on the villain Romeo due to his killing Tybalt [3.5.85–86], Juliet, at the same time, shows her passionate feeling for Romeo.

Jul. Indeed I never shall be satisfied
 With Romeo, till I behold him—dead—
 Is my poor heart, so for a kinsman vex'd.
 [.] O, how my heart abhors
 To hear him nam'd, and cannot come to him
 To wreak the love I bore my cousin
 Upon his body that hath slaughter'd him! [3.5.93–102]

This is another example of intentionally ambiguous pronouns in Juliet's laments. Her 'kinsman' seems, at least to Lady Capulet, to mean Tybalt; however, Juliet actually refers to Romeo. In the same manner, the following pronoun 'him' indicates the two people, Romeo and Tybalt, on different levels. Even though Juliet adds the word 'dead' to let her mother believe that she would wish Romeo to die because he killed Tybalt, she expresses her passionate love for Romeo.

Juliet's laments before her mother hint at her later denial of the arranged marriage to Paris. Juliet intends to let her mother believe that she deeply laments

⁵⁸ *OED*, 'Friend', 8.a.

the loss of Tybalt by means of ambiguous pronouns such as 'the friend,' 'a kinsman,' and 'him'. As soon as Lady Capulet tells Juliet about her father's offer of the wedding to Paris, Juliet decisively refuses the offer: 'I will not marry yet' [3.5.121]. Juliet makes an objection to her mother. Lady Capulet represents her husband Capulet as far as the matter of marriage is concerned. She does not neglect the important duty of a wife to obey her husband in her daughter's marriage. In the following scene, Juliet shows her father her reluctance to marry Paris [3.5.146—48]. Thanks to her heavy grief at the loss of Tybalt, she allows her parents to believe she does not want to marry at this stage. Actually Juliet cannot marry Paris, because she has already married Romeo. Flying into a fury due to his daughter's disobedience, Capulet commands Juliet to marry Paris. He exerts powerful male authority over his daughter.

Cap. God's bread, it makes me mad! [...]

Graze where you will, you shall not house with me.

[.....]

And you be mine, I'll give you to my friend;

And you be not, hang, beg, starve, die in the streets,

For, by my soul, I'll ne'er acknowledge thee,

Nor what is mine shall never do thee good. [3.5.176—94]

A daughter in a patriarchy is regarded as the property of male authority, as Capulet states 'you be mine'. This idea gives a father the power to deal with his daughter as he wishes. He freely marries her to anyone whom he likes. If his daughter does not obey him, he exerts male authority to punish his disobedient daughter. If Juliet disobeys her father Capulet, she must 'hang, beg, starve, die in the streets', cursed by him because she has lost male support for herself.

The Antithesis of Love and Warfare

Shakespeare utilizes bawdy puns in the beginning of the play to imply the tragic ending and to relate the language of obscenity to the love-death theme, as many critics have pointed out. The antithesis of love and warfare suggests not only male sexual desire for women as it is found in the bawdy puns of Samson and Gregory in the opening scene of *Romeo and Juliet* but also male anxiety at losing dignity and integrity as Romeo recognizes that he has been effeminized by Juliet [3.1].

In the opening scene of *Romeo and Juliet*, the dialogue between Samson and Gregory, who are servants of the Capulets, explicitly shows obscenity through wordplays.

Sam. 'Tis all one; I will show myself a tyrant: when I have fought with the men, I will be civil with the maids; I will cut off their heads.

Gre. The heads of the maids?

Sam. Ay, the heads of the maids, or their maidenheads, take it in what sense thou wilt. [1.1.21 – 26]

The two servants of the Capulets talk about sexual desire indulging in the wordplay of 'maidenheads', and it is interesting that the word itself is literally 'cut off' between 'heads' and 'maids'. This is a bawdy wordplay, and it implies that Juliet is to lose her virginity in due course and foreshadows the ominous end of the play.

The dialogue between Samson and Gregory also suggests another aspect of the relationship between men and women, that is, violent male dominance over women. Their wordplays of fighting and sexual intercourse, a metaphor of

love-warfare, are one of the traditional conceits in Renaissance love poetry based on Petrarch's poems. The motif of love and warfare often interspersed with bawdy puns is consistent throughout the whole play. In addition, the swords which Samson and Gregory probably carry with them in this scene inevitably remind the audience of their erotic implication as a phallic symbol. This association of sword and phallic symbol is linked to the eyesight of beloved, which is regarded as Cupid's arrows in Neo-platonic Petrarchan love poetry conventions.

The eyes of the lady bring joy into the lover's heart; at the same time, they carry severe anguish to the lover because of the ambivalent nature of love, that is, the bitter and the sweet, as Romeo laments for the 'gall' and 'sweet' of love [1.1.194]. Sir Philip Sidney also describes this peculiarity of love in *Astrophel and Stella*.

O eyes, which do the spheres of beauty move,
 Whose beams be joys, whose joys all virtues be,
 [.]
 Yet still on me, O eyes, dart down your rays!
 And if from majesty of sacred lights
 Oppressing mortal sense my death proceed,
 Wracks triumphs be which love high-set doth breed.⁵⁹

Sidney depicts the contradictory nature of love by the sweet eyes providing 'joys' and the bitter ones of which the beams 'dart down' on a lover unto death. This bitter side of the love is emphasized in terms of Cupid's arrows in *Romeo and Juliet*. Not knowing that Romeo has fallen in love with Juliet, Mercutio still

⁵⁹ Philip Sidney, *Sir Philip Sidney: Selected Prose and Poetry*, 2nd edn, ed. by Robert Kimbrough (Madison, Wis.: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), p. 186.

makes fun of Romeo's melancholic love for Rosaline.

Mer. Alas, poor Romeo, he is already dead, stabb'd with a white wench's black eye, run through the ear with a love-song, the very pin of his heart cleft with the blind bow-boy's butt-shaft. [2.4.13—16]

The beam of Rosaline's 'black eye' is linked to 'the blind bow-boy's butt-shaft,' which is regarded as a dangerous weapon to stab a lover's heart. This associated image of eye beam and Cupid's arrow reminds us of Romeo addressing Juliet from under the balcony of her room: 'Alack, there lies more peril in thine eye / Than twenty of their swords!' [2.2.71—72]. Juliet's eyes are associated with a sword piercing the heart of Romeo. These metaphoric images of eye connected to a sword and Cupid's arrow anticipate Juliet's later speech, when she is informed that her cousin Tybalt has been stabbed to death by Romeo, and eagerly asks the Nurse about Romeo.

Jul. Hath Romeo slain himself? Say thou but ay,
And that bare vowel *I* shall poison more
Than the death[-darting] eye of cockatrice.
I am not I, if there be such an ay,
Or those eyes [shut], that makes thee answer ay.
If he be slain, say ay, or if not, no.
Brief sounds determine my weal or woe. [3.2.45—51]

The punning on 'ay' – 'I' – 'eye' emphasizes the deadly power of the eye as the death-darting eye of cockatrice. The cockatrice is a mythic monster whose

glance kills people, as Levenson annotates.⁶⁰ If the Nurse answers 'ay,' Juliet ('I') shall die because of her answer, which is poisonous and fatal enough to take away her life like the cockatrice's eye beam.

The idea that the eyes or eye beams of a lady can give a fatal injury to a lover was popular in Renaissance love poetry. Otto van Veen visualizes this idea under the title 'Lookes are loves arrowes' with a poem in his emblem book *Amorum Emblemata* (fig.13).⁶¹

My loves lookes unto mee, the force of love empartes,
Each glance an arrow is, which from her eyes proceed,
Now Cupid rest thy self, to shoot throw haste no need,
For her lookes wound my harte aswell [*sic*] as do thy dartes.

This woodcut and poem epitomizes the idea that love enters through the eyes when a woman's beauty comes through 'her eye' into a lover's heart. Shakespeare brings the metaphor of the eye beam as an arrow into reality for the love of Romeo and Juliet.⁶² Romeo, pierced by the 'peril' of Juliet's eyes [2.2.71], falls in love with her but at last dies for love; Juliet, attracted by him when she sees him at the banquet, takes her life with a 'happy dagger' [5.3.169]. Their love for each other, coming through the eyes, leads them to death at the end. The associated image of eye and sword is related to the antithesis of love and warfare, and implies the tragic end of Juliet's life with a 'happy dagger'.

The motif of love and warfare is enacted by Juliet herself at the denouement of the play. Romeo is effeminized, but Juliet behaves like a man and bravely

⁶⁰ *The Oxford Shakespeare Romeo and Juliet*, note on 3.5.47.

⁶¹ Otto van Veen, *Amorum Emblemata* (Antwerp: 1608; New York: repr. Garland Publishing, 1976), p. 150. The spellings are preserved as original except for modernization of 'u' for 'v' and 's' for 'long s' to avoid misunderstanding.

⁶² Soji Iwasaki, 『シェイクスピアのイコノロジー』 [*Shakespeare no Iconology*] (Tokyo: Sanseido, 1994), p. 47.

chooses her death herself. Her last words 'O happy dagger, / This is thy sheath' [5.3.169–70] recalls the sexual image suggested by a dagger as a phallic symbol as well as the motif of love and warfare from the beginning of the play. Her speech 'there rust, and let me die' [5.3.170] additionally increases the erotic overtones in terms of the sexual meaning of the word 'die'. Associating the actions of 'prick' or 'stab' with these sexual connotations of copulation, she finally stabs herself with a dagger. Juliet metaphorically plays a male sexual role. The gender reversal between Romeo and Juliet, which repeatedly occurs throughout the play, is at its height at the end of the play.

Renaissance men might have felt that they were threatened by women. Juliet openly expresses her love for Romeo and follows faithfully her own passion. She is not restrained by the conventional code of coyness imposed on women.

In Elizabethan England women's honesty had two aspects of meaning: sincerity in mind and chastity in sexual behaviour. An upper-class woman was expected to behave to the man who wooed her in accordance with the social code of coyness. She should seem to be shy and inexperienced in love, and she could be assumed to be chaste, whether or not she actually had carnal knowledge. Therefore, women's coyness could be deceptive. Juliet, however, does not use the accepted social code of coyness but follows her will and openly expresses her passionate love for Romeo. She seemingly might not be taken as chaste and modest because of her boldness. However, her honest performance paradoxically proves her to be chaste and modest. Thus, Juliet's virginity and her honest expression of passion influenced by the Nurse's view on love and sexuality enable her to behave sincerely and truly to her lover. The gender reversal between Romeo and Juliet supports her active role in their love relationship. Shakespeare uses the conventions of Petrarchan love to depict a new heroine who dynamically and positively pursues her own fortune and chooses

her marriage by herself.

Other Gender Reversals in the Two Tragedies

I would like to conclude this chapter by referring to other tragic heroines who go beyond the gender boundary of patriarchal society. Desdemona in *Othello* disobeys her father and chooses Othello as her husband by herself. After her marriage, she behaves as if she were above her husband, or at least equal to him, which behaviour destroys her in the end. In *Macbeth*, Lady Macbeth goes beyond the patriarchal gender boundary, and behaves as if she were an aggressive and merciless man in order to achieve her and her husband's ambition. Her manly behavior leads both of them to their destruction in the end.

In the beginning of *Othello*, Desdemona's father Brabantio is informed that his daughter has eloped with Othello, a Moor. In front of the Duke of Venice, Brabantio accuses Othello of tempting his daughter; Othello, however, replies that she has chosen him. Desdemona logically explains to the Duke her 'divided duty' between her father and her husband [1.3.180—89], as Cordelia does to Lear in *King Lear* [1.1.95—104]. Sid Ray points out that Desdemona 'displays independence of thought and action, refusing to be ruled by father, and her legacy, persuasive speeches'.⁶³ Knowing his daughter's disobedience, Brabantio warns Othello: 'Look to her, Moor, if thou hast eyes to see; / She has deceiv'd her father, and may thee' [1.3.292—93]. In patriarchal society, a daughter's behaviour of choosing her husband against her father's opinion was regarded as 'Against all rules of nature' [1.3.101]. A man should be a head for a woman. In this sense, Desdemona is categorized as a disobedient woman.⁶⁴

⁶³ Sid Ray, "No Head Eminent Above the Rest": Female Authority in *Othello* and *The Tempest* in *High and Mighty Queens' of Early Modern England: Realities and Representations*, pp. 133—50 (p. 139).

⁶⁴ Desdemona is called 'our great captain's captain' [2.1.74] and 'my fair warrior' [2.1.182], as the indications that she is regarded as superior to Othello. See Erickson, p. 90.

After she has become the wife of Othello, Desdemona behaves as an equal to her husband.⁶⁵ She is considered by the people around her to be superior to him because she is white and a Christian. Cassio describes Desdemona to Montano.

Mon. But, good lieutenant, is your general wiv'd?

Cas. Most fortunately: he hath achiev'd a maid

That paragons description and wild fame;

One that excels the quirks of blazoning pens,

And in th'essential vesture of creation

Does tire the [ingener].

[2.1. 60—65]

Desdemona is highly praised for her beauty and excellent nature beyond descriptions of any poets. Cassio portrays Desdemona as if she were a supreme creature, as Honigmann notes that the word 'inginer' indicates 'exhaust (the power of the) divine inventor (God)'.⁶⁶ If the word 'wived' in Montano's line means 'effeminized', this implies that Othello would be subjected to Desdemona.

On the night when Othello and Desdemona arrives at Cyprus, Cassio is dismissed from the position of lieutenant for causing a disturbance, which was actually plotted behind the scenes by Iago. Cassio, following Iago's advice, asks Desdemona to help him to restore his lost place as soon as possible. She gives Cassio her assurance that she will help him. Desdemona goes beyond the gender boundary, because Cassio's cause belongs to the public world, that is, the male territory into which she, as a good wife, should not step.

⁶⁵ Ray, pp. 139—40.

⁶⁶ *The Arden Shakespeare Othello*, ed. by E. A. J. Honigmann (Walton-on-Thames, Surrey: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1997, repr. 1999), note on 2.1.65.

Des. Do not doubt that; before Emilia here,
 I give thee warrant of thy place. Assure thee,
 If I do vow a friendship, I'll perform it
 To the last article. My lord shall never rest,
 I'll watch him tame, and talk him out of patience;
 His bed shall seem a school, his board a shrift,
 I'll intermingle every thing he does
 With Cassio's suit. Therefore be merry, Cassio,
 For thy solicitor shall rather die
 Than give thy cause away. [3.3.19–28]

Desdemona promises that she will not fail to persuade Othello to return Cassio to the post of lieutenant. Her determination to 'tame' Othello in order to help Cassio implies that she is a teacher of her husband, as a falconer strictly trains his wild bird. She intends to talk to Othello about Cassio's suit in bed as well as at table until Othello accepts it. Desdemona, even though not consciously, repeatedly exhorts Othello to help Cassio, as Emilia describes: 'she speak for you stoutly' [3.1.44].

Oth. Who is't you mean?
Des. Why, your lieutenant, Cassio. Good my lord,
 If I have any grace or power to move you,
 His present reconciliation take;
 [.....]
 I prithee call him back. [3.3.44–51]

Desdemona entirely believes that she is deserved to have her wish satisfied

because she is loved by Othello. She is also confident that she has the 'grace or power' to influence or even manipulate her husband Othello because of his love for her. Thus, Desdemona unconsciously deviates from the female virtues of silence and submissiveness, and behaves as if she were a head above Othello.

However, Othello cannot bear to be subjugated by Desdemona. He persists all the more in male sovereignty in domesticity as well as in public life because he is a Moor; Sid Ray points out that 'his blackness necessitates Othello's strict adherence to European principles'.⁶⁷ In addition to his position as a stranger in Venice, the society of the white, his social status as a soldier does not allow Othello to be controlled by his wife, a woman, the weaker sex, that is, his inferior.

In patriarchal society, a wife's disobedience and speaking out were thought to indicate that she was not faithful to her husband and was sexually unbridled. Desdemona never thinks how her behaviour is considered in the male-dominated world. In the scene where Desdemona tries to persuade Othello persistently and clamorously, and Othello seemingly yields to his wife, Desdemona declares that 'What e'er you be, I am obedient'[3.3.89]. Her behaviour enables Othello to believe that she is disobedient. In addition, Iago cunningly leads him to believe that Desdemona is lecherous and having an affair with Cassio.

Desdemona behaves towards her husband as if she has the ability to persuade him to do whatever she likes, simply because he loves her. This behaviour is against the patriarchal ideology of wifely duty to her husband, and she, without knowing it, destroys her marriage.

In *Macbeth* we meet another woman who goes beyond the gender boundary of patriarchal society. Lady Macbeth manipulates her husband Macbeth through her eloquent words in order to lead him to take the crown of Scotland from

⁶⁷ Ray, p. 140.

Duncan. In the early part of the play where Lady Macbeth receives a letter from her husband telling her about his military success and the strange prophecies given by three witches, she decides that she will throw away her femininity and assist him to realize his ambition.

Lady M. Yet do I fear thy nature,
 It is too full o' th' milk of human kindness
 To catch the nearest way. Thou wouldst be great,
 Are not without ambition, but without
 The illness should attend it.
 [.....] Hie thee hither,
 That I may pour my spirits in thine ear,
 and chastise with the valor of my tongue. [1.5.16–27]

In the above speech, Lady Macbeth worries about her husband's gentle and tender disposition that might prevent him from usurping the throne. His tender nature is compared to 'milk' a feminine element indicating maternity, which foreshadows her speech about manliness in a later scene. On the other hand, she calls her courage 'valour', a word that is often used to describe masculine bravery in war. The gender reversal between them is explicitly indicated: Lady Macbeth has a powerful speaking ability to transform her husband into a brave man. She declares that she will never be a woman.

Lady M. Come, you spirits
 That tend on mortal thoughts, unsex me here,
 And fill me, from the crown to the toe topfull
 Of direst cruelty! Make thick thy blood,

Stop up th' access and passage to remorse,
 That no compunctious visitings of nature
 Shake my fell purpose, nor keep peace between
 Th' effect and [it]! Come to my woman's breasts,
 And take my milk for gall. [1.5.40—48]

She evokes spirits, as Kenneth Muir annotates, to help her to be brave by using the popular allusion to the opening lines in Seneca's *Medea*: 'Come, spiteful fiends, come heaps of furies fell, / Not one by one, but all at once!.'⁶⁸ Lady Macbeth metamorphoses herself into a witch-like being.⁶⁹ She no longer needs her 'breasts' nor 'milk,' the symbols of femininity; she wishes to be unsexed and be masculine. She behaves as if she were a man, and tries to encourage and manipulate her husband by her powerful words to force him to grab the throne from Duncan for himself.

When Lady Macbeth recognizes that Macbeth is hesitating to assassinate Duncan and to usurp the throne from him, she bitterly accuses him of timidity, and drives him to be manly enough to realize his ambition.

Lady M. Art thou afeard
 To be the same in thine own act and valor
 As thou art in desire? Wouldst thou have that
 Which thou esteem'st the ornament of life,
 And live a coward in thine own esteem,

⁶⁸ *The Arden Shakespeare Macbeth*, 9th edn, ed. by Kenneth Muir (London: Methuen, 1962; repr. 1983), note on the line 1.5.40.

⁶⁹ James Schiffer, 'Macbeth and the Bearded Women', in *Another Country Feminist Perspective on Renaissance Drama*, ed. by Drothea Keller and Susan Baker (London: The Scarecrow Press, 1991), pp. 205—217. Schiffer suggests a beard as the symbol of Lady Macbeth's masculinization, and discusses her manly behaviour and Macbeth's effeminization.

Letting "I dare not" wait upon "I would,"

Like the poor cat i' th' adage?

Macb. Prithee, peace!

I dare do all that may become a man;

Who dares [do] more is none.

Lady M. What beast was't then

That made you break this enterprise to me?

When you durst do it, then you were a man;

And to be more than what you were, you would

Be so much more the man. [1.7. 39—51]

Macbeth is an honored military man, praised for his bravery by the men around him, so he cannot endure being taunted as a coward or being compared to a shameful cat. Lady Macbeth knows about her husband's nature, namely that he can not endure being regarded as a coward. Macbeth declares that he will show off his masculinity by accomplishing the plot. As Kirilka Stavreva points out, Lady Macbeth uses 'the rhetorical strategy of shaming'.⁷⁰ Lady Macbeth eloquently appeals to his pride as a brave and manly soldier in order to stir up his courage. She continues her untamed words by saying that she is throwing away her maternal tendencies.

Lady M. I have given suck, and know

How tender 'tis to love the babe that milks me;

I would, while it was smiling in my face,

⁷⁰ Kirilka Stavreva, "There's Magic in Thy Majesty" : Queenship and Witch-speak in Jacobean Shakespeare' in *High and Mighty Queens' of Early Modern England: Realities and Representations*, pp. 151 — 68 (pp. 154 — 55). Stavreva links Lady Macbeth's speaking with the witches' weird speeches, and states that their association indicates her masculinization.

Have pluck'd my nipple from his boneless gums,
 And dash'd the brains out, had I so sworn as you
 Have done to this. [1.7.54—59]

Lady Macbeth had an experience of having a baby and nursing it. But now, she says that she could dash out the brain of the baby and destroy it to achieve her ambition, like a cruel and violent murderer. In one of the medieval iconographical traditions of Mary the Virgin, she exposes her breasts to win the mercy of God while Jesus displays his wounds (Fig. 14).⁷¹ The audience who has heard the above speech of Lady Macbeth might have been reminded of the image of Mary the Virgin baring her breasts. Mary the Virgin, who is full of maternal love and mercy, is exactly the opposite image of Lady Macbeth.

When Macbeth listens to this speech, which is against nature, he again fears to execute the plot.

Macb. If we should fail?
Lady M. We fail?
 But screw your courage to the sticking place,
 And we'll not fail. [1.7. 59—61]

That Lady Macbeth repeats the 'we' used by Macbeth indicates that she is sharing the ambition with her husband. Macbeth is unified with his wife in murder and usurpation. By using her persuasive strategy of appealing to his pride and manliness, she successfully manipulates and controls her husband, and drives him to carry out their own goals.

⁷¹ Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976), B & W figure 26. As for the Virgin Mary's milk, see Chapter XIII, 'The Milk of Paradise', pp. 192—205.

Lady Macbeth behaves like a man and governs her husband through her powerful eloquent speech. Her behaviour is against the ideology of an ideal wife in patriarchal society. She is neither silent nor obedient to her husband, and this destroys them in the end.

Desdemona in *Othello* and Lady Macbeth in *Macbeth* are both beyond the gender boundary imposed on women in patriarchal society, that is, the idea that the man is master of the woman.⁷² Consequently, not only the married lives of those two women but also their own individual lives are tragically destroyed in the end. On the other hand, Katherine in *The Taming of the Shrew* salvages her marriage by making a pretence to be tamed and obedient to her husband, as I have described in the first chapter. This might be where Shakespeare thinks tragedies are different from comedies.

⁷² Like Juliet, Desdemona, and Lady Macbeth, Goneril and Regan, the elder daughters of Lear in *King Lear* go beyond the gender boundary in patriarchy, and destroy the whole family in the end.

Conclusion

In sixteenth and early seventeenth century England, humanistic education was extended even to girls in noble families, partly because fathers thought education to be an efficacious means of providing their daughters with advantageous marriages. Under this circumstance, Mary I and Elizabeth I were regarded as the best examples of Renaissance learned women in England. Mary I followed Vives, whose instruction demanded that women should be silent and obedient to male authority; Elizabeth I, on the other hand, was instructed by Ascham, who encouraged her to learn and perfect rhetorical speaking abilities. Although she was a 'weak vessel', nonetheless, thanks to her education, Elizabeth successfully reigned over her realm and male subjects. I have examined her political strategy of using androgynous images in her eloquent speeches.

In this prosperous age governed by the most learned female monarch, Shakespeare created active female characters like Rosalind, Viola, Perdita, and Juliet, who could behave and speak out freely and eloquently like men in order to pursue their own fortune. According to patriarchal ideology, outspoken women were generally regarded as outlaws, because they did not have the female virtues of silence, obedience, and chastity. They crossed the gender boundary and performed gender reversal roles in a male-centered society. Although the critical view on female eloquence was conventionally associated with sexual appetite, Shakespeare gave female characters chances to express their thoughts and feelings, as men were allowed to do in the real world. It is notable that Elizabeth's brave and manlike behaviour, and her eloquence are reflected in the characters of Rosalind, Viola and Perdita, who determine their own future by disguising themselves in male attire. In *Romeo and Juliet*, Shakespeare portrays Juliet as a courageous and active young woman who chooses her own husband. She also

mirrored the cultural mood that saw learned women behave more actively than ever before. Although Elizabeth was not a feminist, her masculine personality and behaviour might have given some inspiration to help the playwright produce such active female characters.

The tragic end of *Romeo and Juliet* might have served as a warning that severe and rigorous male authority could destroy the young and their posterity, thereby endangering the continuity of family. On the other hand, Rosalind, Viola, and Perdita, who disguise themselves in male apparel and pursue their fortune, come back to the patriarchal society, where they belong, at the end of the plays and are blessed by their parents. They are united with their partners in the form of marriage. These happy endings might imply Shakespeare's possible answer that happy marriage should be fundamental and essential in maintaining the prosperity of society. Some five hundred years later, in modern societies, women behave and speak out as actively as they like and choose marriage partners by themselves, like Rosalind, Viola, and Perdita. Women in modern society no longer need to disguise themselves in male attire to pursue their own lives. Might Shakespeare have predicted that a society where men and women are equal would come in the future?

In the course of this study, I have realized that the naïve and innocent Juliet that I had imagined was a stereotyped woman accordant with the idealized female virtues of silence, obedience, and chastity imposed on women in patriarchal society. This ideology of feminine virtues was predominant. They suppressed women who wanted to live their own lives and express their thoughts and behave freely. I have examined through this essay how important and effective education was in liberating them. In this study, I have discussed only a limited number of noble women and female characters in Shakespeare plays; it is necessary in the future that the relationship between female characters of literary

works other than Shakespeare's and historical women who lived in those days should be examined, in order to obtain a clearer and fuller picture of the relationships between women and education and between women and literature.

The Figures



1. 'Annunciation', *Homilies of the Monk Jacobus* (Rome, Vatican)



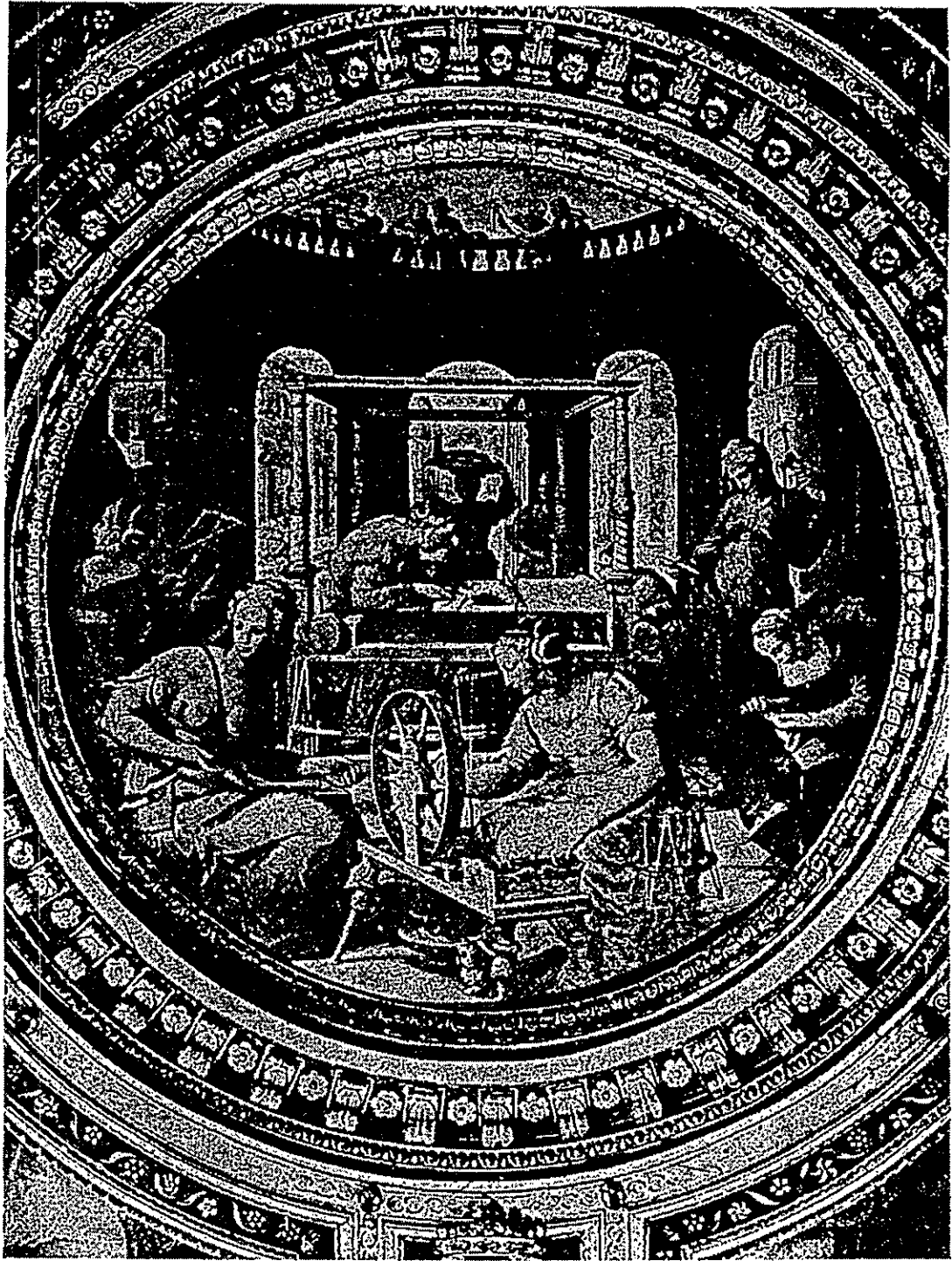
2. 'St. Anne and the Madonna', Galleria Spada (Rome)



3. 'Holy Family at Work', *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*



4. Johann Bämle, 'Domestic Education' (1476)



5. Giovanni Stradano, 'Penelope at the Spinning Wheel' (1555-62)

Voluptas.

Virtus.



6. Sebastian Brant, 'Hercules at Crossroads', *Ship of Fools* (1497)

Vxoriam virtutes.
To my Sister, M. D. COLLEY.



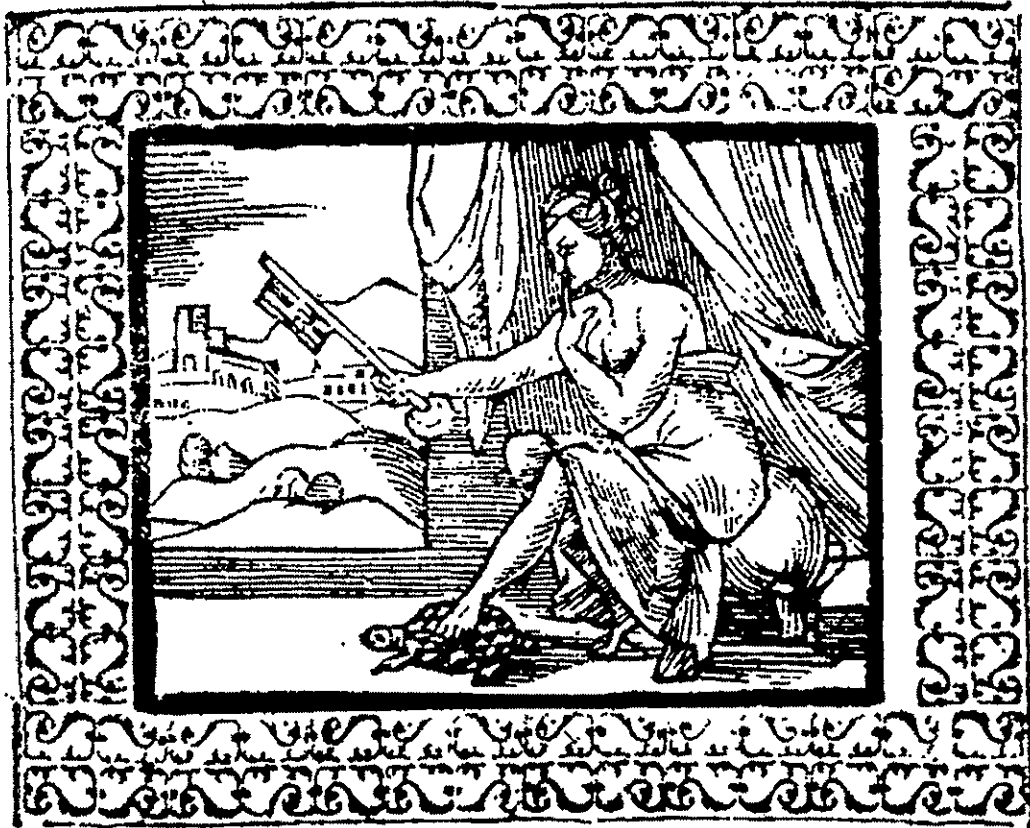
THIS representes the vertues of a wife,
Her finger, staies her tongue to runne at large.
The modest lookes, doe shewe her honest life.
The keys, declare shee hath a care, and chardge,
Of husbandes goodes: let him goe where he please,
The Tortoyse warnes, at home to spend her daies.



8. Andrea Alciato, 'Mulieris famam, non formam, vulgatam esse oportere',
Emblemata: Lyons, 1550

EMBLEME XVIII.

*Within this picture are displaid,
The beauties of a woman stayd.*



This picture here doth liuely represent
The beauties that may best make women proud;
First by the Tortesse at her feete is meant,
She must not gad, but learne at home to shrowd;
Her finger to her lip is vpward bent,
To signifie she should not be too lowd:
The key doth note, she must haue care to guide
The goods her husbād doth with pain prouide.



10. 'Androgynous portrait of Francis I', Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

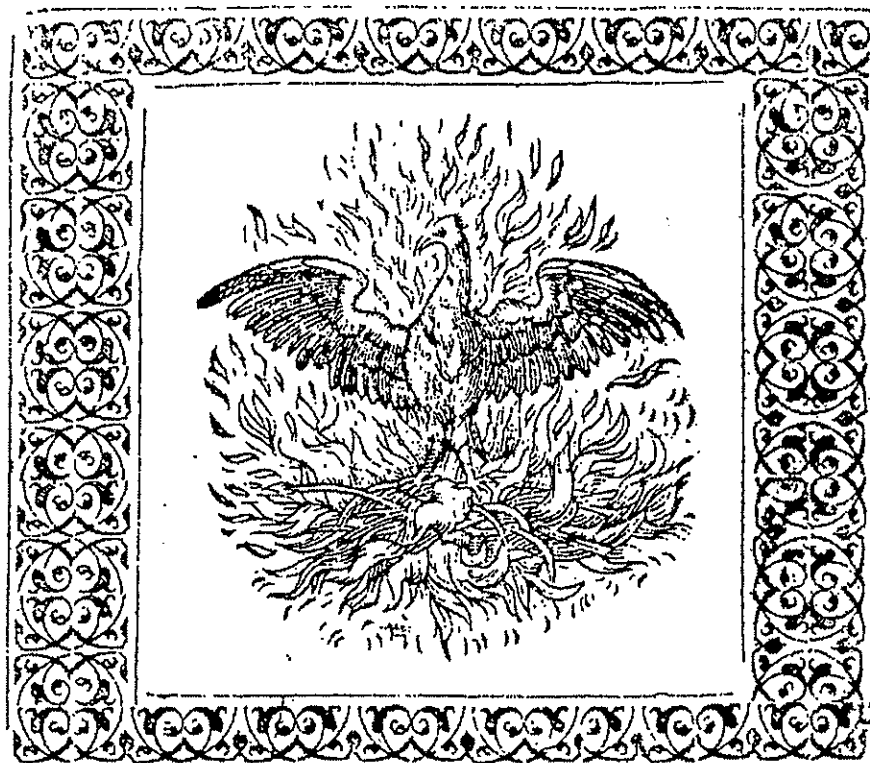
Quod in te est, prome.
Ad eundem.



THE Pellican, for to reuiue her younge,
 Doth peirce her breste, and geue them of her blood:
 Then searthe your breste, and as yow haue with tonge,
 With penne proccede to doe our countrie good:
 Your zeale is great, your learning is profounde,
 Then helpe our wantes, with that you doe abounde.

11. Whitney, 'Quod in te est, prome', *A Choice of Emblems* (1586)

To my countymen of the Nampwicke in Cheshire.



THE Phœnix rare, with fethers freshe of hewe,
ARABIAS righte, and sacred to the Sonne:
Whome, other birdes with wonder seeme to vewe,
Dothe liue vntill a thousande yeares bee ronne:
Then makes a pile: which, when with Sonne it burne
Shee flies therein, and so to ashes turnes.
Whereof, behoulde, an other Phœnix rare,
With speede dothe rise most beautifull and faire:
And thoughte for truthe, this manie doe declare,
Yet thereunto, I meane not for to sweare:
Althoughhe I knowe that Aucthors witnes true,
What here I write, bothe of the oulde, and newe.
Which when I wayed, the newe, and eke the oulde,
I thought vppon your towne destroyed with fire:
And did in minde, the newe NAMPWICHE behoulde,
A spectacle for anie mans desire:
Whose buildinges braue, where cinders weare but late,
Did represente (me thought) the Phœnix fate.
And as the oulde, was manie hundreth yeares,
A towne of fame, before it felt that crosse:
Euen so, (I hope) this WICHE, that nowe appeares,
A Phœnix age shall laste, and knowe no losse:
Which GOD vouchsafe, who make you thankfull, all:
That see this rise, and sawe the other fall.



13. Veen, 'Lookes are loves arrowes' (1608)



14. 'Jesus displays his wounds and Mary bares her breast' (c. 1402)

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Ayano HAMADA
