

THE FEMALE GROTESQUE
AMID THE CARNIVAL OF RENAISSANCE DRAMA

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Chapter 1

Introduction

A warm September Saturday drew me and my daughter into the county fair. As our feet marked the path through poof dirt rising and falling around our shoes, a mix of cotton candy, caramel apples, and puke bathed our senses. A synthesized calliope beat the rhythm of a slowing carnival, tired from a week of barkers' husky voices promising wonders, sleight of hand robbing naïve fairgoers, female dancers enticing young men into dark spaces, and mechanical thrills thrusting riders to inverted positions. Amid the now-still bumper cars stood an abjected figure, a child of the carnival; a haunting image evoking pity and fear, a little girl, about the age of four, about the age of my own daughter, an innocent unposed but made spectacle nonetheless. The carney child's cherub face, lined with smears of her home, gazed emptily at us. Dusty blonde hair crawled down her back, her body tented by a brown dress made of what seemed like burlap. When she lifted the hem to inspect her scabby knees, I saw rickety legs, bent sticks holding no promise for track meets or prom nights. Sadly, no bright lights and dark shadows masked the ugliness of the fair, the reality of the inside carnival world. Before me stood the mirror potential of my own blonde-haired daughter, and I wondered what would become of these children in their womanhood. True, whoredom, performance, masking, and thievery pulse through the fair like diseased blood, but, then, "normal" society oozes these same infections. After all, didn't Jonson imply that although he wrote about Bartholomew Fair, a carnivalized world inhabited the streets of London, one as inverted and as interesting as Ursula's? Surely, this idea applies equally to modern society. Something, somewhere would make the difference between my

daughter's life and the carney child's. At least, I hoped so; the danger of no difference existed.

This dissertation contains a collection of women, some carnivalized by their societies and others who instigate the inversion, comedy, and tragedy of their play worlds. Certain of the women have the potential to become the ideal, but society changes them; others suffer reinterpretation; still others choose marginalization through transgression. Some come from historical London and France; others caricature types circulating in the authors' world, women drawn on the pages of manuscripts to comment about an historical moment. Fictional or real, these women represent the female grotesque, a term proffered by Mary Russo for female anomaly.¹ I will first discuss carnival, its ties to comedy and tragedy, and its production of the female grotesque and will then move to the tedious world that Hal fears in 1 Henry IV: holiday become everyday in unlicensed festivity. After connecting carnival to its social context and discussing perceptions of the grotesque, I will examine the ideal female as a measuring stick for aberration before investigating definitions of the female grotesque. The dissertation claims that the female grotesque exists as a scapegoat for masculine insufficiency, as an explanation for the ill-health of society, as a demonization of Other, and as a portraiture of authoritative anxiety. She distorts language and plays an integral part in purgative and reformatory processes, with results falling out generically. I will examine carnival and the female grotesque in Ben Jonson's Bartholmew Fair,² Dekker and Middleton's The Roaring Girl,³ Shakespeare's 1 Henry 6,⁴ Dekker and Middleton's The Honest Whore Parts 1 and 2,⁵ Middleton's Women Beware Women,⁶ and Shakespeare's King Lear.⁷

The carnival experience transcends festival into the everyday and relates to comedy and tragedy. The female grotesque inhabits a marginalized space but as a major player produced by and in sync with the comic or tragic carnivalized world around her. To examine the interrelatedness of genres and of the plays themselves while judging the complex effect of the female grotesque, I must move beyond Bakhtin's interpretation of carnival as a glimpse into utopia and peer into a dark world where liminal transgression means the breakdown of society expressed through murder, degeneration, and humoral disease. The female grotesque poses herself at the nexus of two generic visions, comic and tragic, waiting to "become" and to assume power. Amid feasting and bodily evacuation, like Gargamelle of Rabelais' The Fearsome Life of Gargantua,⁸ she often gives birth to social satire. Carnival in this dissertation will represent an inclusive term that relates to festival as denoted in Carnival, festival, or Saturnalia and as suggested in the term "carnavalesque." Containing attributes of Carnival as described by Bakhtin in Rabelais and His World, these plays manipulate inversion, language, the grotesque, and the return of sobering Lent to comment on their societies. Only Bartholmew Fair has an actual carnival experience, but all of the works include feasting and festive weddings as rites of passage,⁹ so that carnival spills into the everyday without official consent.

Bakhtin's vision of carnival resembles a schoolboy's love of the fair. He experiences the glitter, changes, and release and calls them good because he has escaped school's official authority for a day. The palm reader, the female dancer, and the hermaphrodite open a world of possibility alien to the ordered nature and society he negotiates every day. While only mildly in tune to the scripted prophecy, sexual danger, anguish, and thievery existing in the shadows of the fair, he responds with laughter, fear,

and relief that the fair contains them, and that by the grace of God, he remains within the bounds of normality and can discuss the “others” inhabiting the fair. This view interprets carnival as a contained, marginalized celebration recurring at a specific place, during a specific time period, and under official license, but one incorporating the grotesque.

During Carnival proper, a season just prior to Lent, behavior and dress changed as daily life became a celebratory performance of parades in which people wore masks, men dressed as women, women sported men’s clothing, and people acted the parts of clerics, devils, fools, wild men, and wild animals. People became more aggressive, exchanged insults, made accusations, and sang satirical verses.¹⁰ Rooted in religious celebration, much of the activity emerged from abbeys and included the female grotesque. For instance, abbey plays depicted the unruly woman, and in Wales men conducted the *ceffyl pren* or rough music and wore women’s garb.¹¹ English travelers to Italy relate that Carnival participants elected Kings or Abbots of Misrule who ruled over mock sieges featuring the figure of Carnival, a barrel-riding, fat, cheerful man who fought with Lent, his opposite: a thin, old woman, wearing black and having fish hung on her.¹² Carnival closed with a mock trial of Carnival and Lent in which they confessed, and Carnival experienced an execution and a funeral. Serving as social discipline, the battles and trials contained the figure of Carnival who refused “to understand any fixed and final allocation of authority” and who alerted the people of the ephemeral and episodic nature of the festival, as “a limited release that is all the more appreciated for its rarity.”¹³ Since Carnival has roots in pagan ritual sacrifice, officials in Venice beheaded a pig, and in Madrid they buried a sardine with full honors to signify order’s return.¹⁴ In the “world-upside-down” of festival, religious occasions took on secular meaning, as pagan

rites transformed into Christian observances, so that an uneasy relationship between Church and performance developed in England as it distanced itself from Catholicism. Yet only by allowing Lent and order to return or by demonstrating death as a consequence of chaos could festival release subversion and return to the everyday, purged of license.

Although Britain had weak ties to Carnival proper, in part due to its break with Catholicism, it had other festivals with similar characteristics, since in a “sense every festival was a miniature Carnival because it was an excuse for disorder.”¹⁵ For the upper classes, the inherent inversion symbolized chaotic misrule against the existing or natural order¹⁶ and flirted with danger, as divisions of age, gender, class, and reasoning often broke down amid the celebration. For instance, the Feast of Fools traditionally included cursing the congregation rather than blessing them. On Childermass in England, the church allowed the children to conduct the services on the anniversary of Herod’s massacre. Also occurring during the misrule of the twelve days of Christmas, the Feast of Innocents celebrated the birth of God’s son in a lowly manger, an inversion of divine symbolism. On New Year’s, gender inversion might occur as men and women occasionally exchanged clothing;¹⁷ and Hocktide allowed abuse between the sexes.¹⁸ In keeping with non-springtime festivals which overturned appetitive restraint by focusing on feasting,¹⁹ one description of seventeenth-century English pre-Lenten celebration speaks of “such boiling and broiling, such roasting and toasting, such stewing and brewing, such baking, frying, mincing, cutting, carving, devouring, and gorbellied gormandizing, that a man would think people did take in two months’ provision at once into their paunches, or that they did ballast their bellies with meat for a voyage to

Constantinople, or the West Indies,”²⁰ all in preparation for meatless Lent. Theater co-opted all of these themes, usually to satirize the participants who relentlessly seek satisfaction of appetite.

At least two interpretations about the effect of licensed festivity surface: control and renewal. Carnival characteristics afforded the ruling elite during Elizabethan and Stuart rule to direct the people’s energies. James I claimed in his Book of Sports (1618) that men who work all week need recreation and sports to “provide release for subversive energies.”²¹ Sir Henry Wotton reported from Venice, 16 May 1606, that the Italian State used the Corpus Christi festival “to contain the people still in good order with superstition, the foolish band of obedience.”²² Thus, the ruling class manipulated the meaning of festival to maintain peace and harnessed the forces of misrule,²³ because suspending “some of the ordinary rules of social life” has a serious purpose.²⁴ Carnival, then, presents a social moral, “not as an idealized spirituality,” but as the “crude practicality of social existence,”²⁵ since the celebration allows the lower class to express suppression without the negative consequences of all-out rebellion.

Conversely, inversion and feasting should produce festive renewal individually and collectively. In licensed festivity, Bakhtin interprets “destruction and uncrowning” as “related to birth and renewal,”²⁶ through events in which one glimpses a prelapsarian world.²⁷ C. L. Barber calls the experience a saturnalian pattern moving through release to clarification.²⁸ Release from daily routines and the rules of hierarchy incite merrymaking that leads to “a heightened awareness of the relationship between man and ‘nature’—the nature celebrated on holiday”²⁹ by mocking the unnatural. Thus, Carnival can move toward a happy resolution through activities that under other circumstances

signify negative processes. If the individual returns to a “moral being” through ritual and ritual-like practices,³⁰ then the performance of the carnival experience has goals similar to theater. For Bakhtin, Carnival accomplishes the same ends as comedy: laughter, renewal, and the reincorporation of characters into the norm. Laughter mollifies the participant’s relationship to the “official” which always contains fear and intimidation, and everything “that was terrifying becomes grotesque,”³¹ or a matter of ridicule. Man faces carnival’s hell, which “represents the earth which swallows up and gives birth”³² or transforms into a monstrous pregnant death; however, couched as a human body, death, disease, and destruction lose their power.

Bristol suggests that two oppositions play out in carnival: Carnival and Lent, Carnival and the everyday. With liminal breakdown, licensed festival may carry over into everyday, unlicensed festivity. Although Carnival has official license granted only once a year, permanent dissolution does not form part of its characteristics;³³ and anticipation of celebration may lead to the unlicensed festivity of a carnivalized society hungrily demanding an unofficial feast. When society expresses uncontrolled appetite, the focus on the marketplace, rather than on virtue, leads to the decentralization of power and the degeneration of values into consumptive practices and language. Combined with the loss of inhibitions due to the carnivalized environment, this feast provides the occasion for metaphorical cannibalism in which marginal, lower people can “digest” the privileges of the upper³⁴ in the heat of inversion. Also as related in plays, the court itself may adopt carnivalesque ideals and attend appetite rather than morality. In both cases, “feasting” lends itself to an imbalance of passions, which then leads to more appetite. Bakhtin speaks of the “triumphant nature of every banquet”³⁵ in which renewal defeats

sadness, but rude guests can insist on more than his/her part or refuse to return to the everyday world. Then, the banquet transforms from an “occasion for wise discourse, for gay truth”³⁶ to an event where a participant may die in the birth of the truth.

Carnival as a collective sense of festival continued on the stage, but the effects came under debate.³⁷ Everyday inversion, the breakdown of morality and hierarchy, the appearance of the grotesque, the questioning of rules, the focus on the body, the reduction of language, the confusion in class mobility, all oppose the traditional concept of the Elizabethan Golden Age, yet appear in Elizabethan and Jacobean drama. These elements often suggest that the festive mentality has a negative core which moves beyond questioning to denying “any vantage point from which a value can still be affirmed.”³⁸ If society cannot re-establish hierarchies after a carnival experience, then Stephen Gosson’s concern that tragedies lead to emasculation by immoderate sorrow turning into “womanish weeping and mourning” and that comedies work against balance as “they make use of lovers of laughter, and pleasure, without any meane, both foes to temperance,”³⁹ gains some credibility. To the contrary, Carnival and its stage representation can serve higher goals. Festive comedies dramatize release and “present a mockery of what is unnatural which gives scope and point”⁴⁰ to their scoffs and jests, a perfect element for the grotesque. For Barber, satire occurs only incidentally in Saturnalian comedy, but “clarification comes with movement between poles of restraint and release in everybody’s experience.”⁴¹ Additionally, Jacobean writers often dramatized unlicensed celebration to express concern over “their increasingly unfamiliar and unruly city” and reflected authority’s anxiety about “the symbols of its coherence, the devices of its integrity, being taken over and turned against it.”⁴² The marginal

placement of the stage in the Liberties allowed a dramatic discourse in which the state's "incontinence"⁴³ found voice to claim licensed authority as its progenitor. While making its moral statement, dramatic performance melds with festival as a natural cyclical release and qualifies the rest of the year since holidays, misrule, and Carnival thread through the year and define its emotional rhythm.⁴⁴

Comic or tragic, secular drama defined carnival misrule "against and delimited by proper rule, its reigning antithesis,"⁴⁵ and the audience expected a return to regulation. Even though Stephen Gosson, in Plays Confuted in Five Actions (1582), claims that private men learn "to forsake their calling because they desire to walke gentlemen like in sattine & velvet," as do the players, and that "the whole body must be dismembred, and the prince or heade cannot chuse but sicke,"⁴⁶ plays satirized these London fashions; challenged social carnival, including licensed folly or madness on display in institutions such as Bedlam;⁴⁷ and criticized the dominant culture, while asking if man cannot aspire to higher goals. Comedy allows the audience to mock itself; tragedy leads the spectator to cry about the state of the state; and both genres demand cure or containment but anticipate the impossibility of either. While comedy "is much more sensitive to topical circumstance [than tragedy]"⁴⁸ and tragedy investigates broader abstractions, the "piety and moralism of [. . .] popular culture is one response to anxiety,"⁴⁹ whether in festival or theater. Jacobean tragedy's religious ideals heighten emotional, moral, and spiritual responses⁵⁰ to show "disgust with the flesh and with fallen man's depravity,"⁵¹ also a Calvinist ideal. But if the tragedians "based the revenge motive on the passions of love, hatred, and ambition,"⁵² they also gave the victim agency through this revenge. This

aberrant power causes the audience to respond with pity and fear, which, according to Aristotle, are the ends of tragedy and, according to Bakhtin, represent the effect of carnival's comic grotesque. The female grotesque, then, resides at the point when comedy can transfer into tragedy and tragedy can mutate into celebration; however, comedy analogizes society and its victimization with the female grotesque, whereas tragedy tests society's resilience against internal disease as embodied by her.

Few critics speak of the connection of tragedy to carnival, but sacrifice and violence underlie the analogy. Girard says that ritual, including carnival, sublimates violence, so that an acceptable sacrifice replaces one that has become unacceptable.⁵³ "Carne," meaning flesh, may not relate just to the leaving off of eating flesh for Lent or to the gluttonous behavior during carnival, but to the Christian basis for continuing a pagan means of expression. One may extend "Carne" to the body of Christ which suffered violent persecution, serves as the meditative focus of Christians during Lent, and provides the reason for celebration at the conclusion of Lent with the Feast of Holy Communion. This sacrifice means renewal for Christians, but without the Resurrection, the sacrifice means only tragic violence. Regarding secular practices, Girard notes the mock sacrifice of king and queen as symbolic punishment for incest in certain cultures⁵⁴ to show that royalty cannot escape its sins and even takes on the sins of the people; thus, festival/ritual brings about order through ritualized violence. If ritual wards off social upheaval by sublimating illegal violence into socially acceptable expression, violence and transgression underpin most festivity, including theater, with the female grotesque used as a sacrificial object. Like carnival, tragedy looks toward the resurrection of values, but specifically through suffering. Roger Callois argues that festival violence contains a

“ritual catharsis characterized by transgression and paroxysm” that renews and reintegrates participants into social order “through release of repressed energy and resentment, through elimination of waste matter and defilement, and through sexual excess and debauchery.”⁵⁵ As in tragedy, order does not always result, and misrule violence may continue and cause damage,⁵⁶ but the return to stasis remains the goal.⁵⁷

The existence of tragic and violent potential within carnival indicates that everyday unrest waits for release, since it resides in the social context of official and unofficial carnival. Elizabethan and Jacobean England had the germs of inversion and festivity, so that holiday had in a sense reduced to the ordinary. Elizabeth manipulated gender norms by calling herself a prince and by remaining unmarried. Moreover, Stubbes in his 1583 Anatomy of Abuses, exposed the prevalence of dicing, dancing, fashion, gluttony, sports, fairs, and whoredom in the performance of Elizabethan life.⁵⁸ Later, James compounded the negative reaction to Stuart rule with prodigality, and anxiety about him turned to disillusionment.⁵⁹ Sir Anthony Weldon (1583-1648) and Francis Osborne (1593-1659), who influenced subsequent histories and perceptions about Stuart court life through their rumor-based publications about James’s court, emphasized the king’s extravagance and his male favorites.⁶⁰ Considered learned, peaceful, patient, clement, moderate, and just by Laud,⁶¹ James became vilified due to his anti-Puritan positions, his generosity, his selling titles, and his frequent borrowing. Some critics even felt that courtiers held the power; Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester (1583-1656) said that James did not use kingcraft because ““he had not the power to deny a suit.””⁶² Financial advantage defined power, and courtiers provoked discourse and served as models for the lower classes, at least according to city drama and revenge tragedy.

Plays incorporate carnival as a natural social occurrence that can lead to reform. In comedy, everyday life includes the elite performing problematic activities that sound suspiciously like carnival. Gallants dice, gamble, frequent taverns, target married women, purchase fashionable clothing, and often land in jail for crimes or bankruptcy; therefore, comedies pit a credo of fun against the work ethic in a portrayal of social class struggle. If Saturnalia drifts toward satire,⁶³ and if festive violence explodes with the purgatorial spirit, then unlicensed festival probably leads to reform also. In England, Jacobean tragedy used the inversion occurring in religion, philosophy, and morality⁶⁴ to suggest the need for reform, as the plays examined the loss of traditional values due to discoveries in cultural, intellectual, and artistic areas. Since the Reformation shifted the burden of moral discipline to the individual⁶⁵ and termed natural law as innate reason given by God⁶⁶ so that immoral desire represented a breach in sovereign reason,⁶⁷ tragic drama often portrays the female grotesque as the person needing redemption. Dramatists played with the idea that moral law does not signify a universal and natural structure but a variable product of custom,⁶⁸ and the grotesque became an aberrant part of nature or social constructs with moral implications.

Marginalized, yet licensed, theater used marginality by portraying transgression of the grotesque against dominant culture; hence, the grotesque occupied a physical and conceptual position. For Bakhtin, grotesque realism results from the emphasis on the lower body, “its open unfinished nature, its interaction with the world,”⁶⁹ a description fitting nicely with early modern perceptions of the female and presupposing a psychology in which the grotesque knows no boundaries. Real carnival used theatrics to display corporeal excess by using puppets of giants, goddesses, and devils; demonstrated gender

inversion through the exchange of clothing; and warned of sin's consequences, as in the case of the medieval Spanish Corpus Christi procession in which a giant dragon representing the Beast of the Apocalypse carried a woman as the Whore of Babylon on its back to contrast the grotesque female to the ideal Virgin Mary in Lenten representations.⁷⁰ Thus, in carnival or festival the duality of woman as responsible for the fall of mankind and as an instrument in salvation⁷¹ exteriorizes cultural definitions of female. While the spectator gazes at the figures, the grotesque acquires power as an object reminding Christians of eternal damnation or of heavenly reward.

Since, as I discuss below, early modern theology and biology generalized all females as grotesque, drama used the transgressive grotesque who tries to "own" her aberration. Arthur Clayborough suggests that the grotesque represents "an incongruity between some phenomenon and an existing conception of what is natural, fitting";⁷² therefore, the grotesque character defies hierarchy, gender norms, or morality and, left unchecked, prevents the viewer's return to the everyday. Operating in an "alienated world" created by an impersonal force associated with the "id," the grotesque should "banish and exorcise the demonic element in the world";⁷³ thus, early modern writers provided characters living in the margins where they negotiated life as "an unrecognized reality, or a necessary but latent possibility of reality"⁷⁴ portending judgment, since monsters, metaphorically grotesque or physically deformed, denoted a "threatening cousinship between man and beast"⁷⁵ and signified man's sinful nature. Monstrous bodies merged the terrible with the wonderful to produce attraction and terror. By the seventeenth century, attitudes moved toward a more humanistic scientific approach, entwined with the idea of religious prodigy; in this thought, aberrations, even the female

grotesque, operated to inspire man's awe, not as godly warning but to imply that the world exists for man's pleasure, not for God's glorification.⁷⁶ Monster as prodigy became nature's sport or freak of nature, but the term "freak" broadened to whimsy or fancy.⁷⁷ Since mental deformity always existed within definitions of "monster," the word served as a trope for sinful behavior in a world-turned-upside down; and people interpreted monstrous births primarily as ominous signs of God's displeasure, an attitude going against scientific discourse but lending itself to moral determination.⁷⁸

The idea of the grotesque and its representation became a discriminating tool in religious discourse. In the Reformation's early years, Protestant writers used monsters as prodigies to condemn Catholics, and royalists targeted Puritans with figures of aberration, though only broadsides, ballads, and religious pamphlets employed them by the end of the seventeenth century.⁷⁹ Puritans interpreted "anticke" figures as objects of shame and fear,⁸⁰ and Calvinist Sir John Davies, author of Nosce Teipsum (1599), suggests that people "were afraid and ashamed of the 'antickes' and 'chimeras' because they were part of the inner self, what the soul saw when it looked at its own image."⁸¹ Moreover, Nashe's Christes Teares makes clear that moral deficiency reveals itself grotesquely, as Aristotle did "call sinnes Monsters of nature for as there is no Monster ordinarily repute, but is a swelling or excesse of forme, so is there no sinne but is a swelling or rebelling against God."⁸² In the plays studied, the authors often use the female grotesque to condemn all sin or a particular version of Christianity.

The female grotesque performs deeds contrary to society or her natural role because of physical or moral deformity or even because of beauty. Francis Bacon, in "Of Deformity," explains the cause/effect relationship of internal and external appearance:

“Deformed persons are commonly even with nature; for as nature hath doth ill by them, so do they by nature; being for the most part (as the Scripture saith) ‘void of natural affect’; so they have their revenge of nature.”⁸³ Bacon goes on to say that people have a choice in how they interpret their deformity and that “it is good to consider of deformity, not as a sign, which is more deceivable, but as a cause, which seldom faileth of the effect.”⁸⁴ Vengeful behavior, then, is a reaction in which the person seeks freedom from scorn,⁸⁵ but Bacon in “Of Beauty,” suggests that “beauty “for the most part [. . .] makes a dissolute youth”⁸⁶ in the morally defiled; therefore, many grotesque female characters possess outward beauty. Since the “grotesque instills fear of life, rather than fear of death,”⁸⁷ viewers respond strongly to imminent consequences. On stage, outward expression of deformity may lead to comedy as one tries to reduce fear and revulsion by laughing, but inward grotesquerie without an outward physical sign plays on tragic themes as a cautionary indicating earthly pain and hellish recompense.

In contrast to the grotesque, the ideal or “normed” female remained chaste, silent, and obedient to avoid moral deformity. As property of the father or husband, she represented a paradox of powerless power in her role as mistress of a miniature kingdom, where marriage provided her signification as a *femme coverte* with restricted rights, privileges, and responsibilities. Patriarchy defined her as weak-minded and weak-bodied but allowed her a soul as a non-beast. James I’s physician, Helkiah Crooke, wrote against “calling a woman ‘A Creature by the way, or made by mischance’ and denying her a soul ‘a man hath.’”⁸⁸ Yet, her lack of the genitalia of power and her relationship to Eve, the destroyer of paradise, stigmatized this image. As part of her curse, the woman’s body at least once a month expressed its defilement, and she tended to suffer hysteria or

“fits of the mother,” an imbalance cured by sex or by bloodletting; therefore, even in her illness or madness, she usually came under male control. These statements express generalizations, but they blur the distinction between anomalies and the ideal. For example, well-educated, powerful, outspoken, and independent, Elizabeth gained binary definitions as the Virgin Queen capable of transforming England into “a paradise on earth,”⁸⁹ or as Thomas Wenden, a Colchester yeoman called her, “an arrant whore,”⁹⁰ the sexually grotesque. Whether ideal or grotesque, the female existed with diametrically opposed labels based on sexuality and directed at the link to Eve.

Scientific, philosophical, and religious ideology became “kinder” to females, but men generally defined them as physically and mentally deformed males, and, therefore, inferior. Luther argued for woman’s natural inferiority to man before the Fall,⁹¹ but said that she received equal treatment after death.⁹² Cornelius a Lapide in 1638 claimed that Eve “might represent man as a copy of him” in the image of God also but that “woman is not in the full sense of the word the image of man, if we talk of image in the sense of mind and intellect.”⁹³ Although Lapide grants the female a rational soul, he restricts her to a position of submissiveness because the “authority of man extends not only to inanimate things and brute beasts, but also to reasonable creatures, that is, women and wives.”⁹⁴ God, it seems, made Eve out of spare parts from the original creation. Aquinas did not even give Eve the image of God, but defined her as the image of man, so that only the grace of God permits her to claim His image;⁹⁵ therefore, woman has no identity other than a copy of man and an adopted child of God, marginal positions at best. In short, marginality and incompleteness signified the female; however, Martin Luther, said that “woman is in no way a botched male” and that those who accuse her of such

“‘are themselves monsters and sons of monsters’ for decrying a creature made by God ‘with the care he might have devoted to his most noble work.’”⁹⁶ Yet as writers noted, women worked differently from men.

To the early modern, normal female functions, such as gestation, lactation, and menstruation, differentiated her from the male and made her grotesque. Significantly, in the humoral model, men and women both produced seed, the fluid essential for conception,⁹⁷ and the woman’s God-given role in procreation mediated claims of monstrosity;⁹⁸ but it also contributed to the idea of her insatiability because she desired children and sex.⁹⁹ Biological definitions of the female body shifted after 1600 as scientists tried to harmonize the classical conceptual framework of one sex, the humoral system, and a common corporeal body.¹⁰⁰ Aristotle and Galen had interpreted the female as a developmental cessation due to lack of heat in generation causing internal retention of the genitalia,¹⁰¹ so that males and females have parallel organs;¹⁰² but a physiology of specific sexual function replaced anatomical parallelism around the turn of the century, even though the idea of two seeds or of sexual oneness persisted. The argument of the woman as “equally perfect in her own sex”¹⁰³ replaced the idea of woman as less perfect than man, a delineation that allowed for differences but made selective idealization possible. Definitions denoted the female as Other, so that femininity remained a social construct even in scientific discourse and precluded an acceptable third category, the hermaphrodite, regarded not as a midpoint between male and female but as a monster.¹⁰⁴

Humoral definitions of the female indicated her fallen state. Aristotle and Galen had described woman as being cold and moist and as desiring completion by heterosexual

intercourse.¹⁰⁵ Her imperfections in this model come from the lack of heat produced by her humors;¹⁰⁶ however, after 1580 scholars no longer assumed her humoral type “to be a sign of imperfection,”¹⁰⁷ but suggested instead that it represents her natural balance. Hierarchical models still described the cold, moist woman’s body as an imperfect version of the hot, dry, well-regulated man’s,¹⁰⁸ so that quiet and submissive seemed a natural assignment for the female. Some Renaissance authorities suggested that overlaps between male and female humoral balances occur due to life style, climate, and diet; but the lack of rigid distinction may give rise to ethical problems with the female dominating the male.¹⁰⁹ Thomas Laqueur argues that in “the blood, semen, milk, and other fluids of the one-sex body, there is no female or male and no sharp boundary between the sexes” and “insists upon the ‘flux and corporeal openness’ that Galenic humoralism attributed to human physiology.”¹¹⁰ This idea provides a carnivalized reading of the female body and her transgression against social norms, since treatises “construct the female body as effluent, overproductive, out of control,”¹¹¹ unbounded like Bakhtin’s carnival grotesque.

Negative reactions to the perceived quality of female blood and body parts also marginalized the female as inferior. According to Galenic medicine, the finest female blood, less pure, less refined, less perfect than the finest male blood, has a proclivity to corruption.¹¹² Crooke argued that women have more blood because of their cold temperament,¹¹³ a perception linked to their association with “incitation to lust and concupiscence”¹¹⁴ since the super fluidity of blood meant that it stirred easily. The combination of her blood characteristics with the influence of the uterus, which affected garrulity, produced hysteria, and weakened rationality while increasing the violence of

passions, led scientists to figure the normal female as more prone to physical illness and mental upset than men: females had stronger bouts of hate, anger, fear, but also compassion, pity, and love, all signs of weaker minds. Doctors may have described woman as perfect in her sex, but none gave her equal psychological control. They rather thought her subject to the moon and to fancy and claimed that her imagination during pregnancy caused deformities and birth marks.¹¹⁵

Since her bodily-produced psychology had moral implications, society defined the female in terms of pollution needing containment. To scientists, cold and moist blood produced a wax-like, retentive memory subject to metamorphosis. Deceit, inconstancy, lack of stamina, infidelity, and inventiveness¹¹⁶ came naturally to her, and, combined with a good memory for injury, ensured that she would take the low road creatively. As warmer blood indicated virtue, female coldness precluded women from moral behavior, and many people disagreed with the female's capacity to obtain and exhibit virtue, though most agreed that she had an equal if different capacity for morality.¹¹⁷ But patriarchal discourse still linked the vices of ambition, avarice, and lechery to the female¹¹⁸ and suggested that she had an inferior moral apparatus.¹¹⁹ By the end of sixteenth century, many doctors ascribed to her some dignity but not equality to man; they rejected the notion of the female as a deprived form of the male, but the idea remained part of Renaissance thought as a whole.¹²⁰ Gouge, Whatley, and Snawsel assumed "that woman's body, unlike the prince's, is *naturally* grotesque"¹²¹ and in the need of constant surveillance. Conduct books tried to correct the female propensity toward the grotesque; in reaction to this regulation, the ideal makes the best of her natural frailty and knows her place, but the truly grotesque capitalizes on her weakness and marginal position.

In defining the female grotesque, one asks if she exists as the antithesis of the ideal or as a hyperbolic reading of the normal, since all women in the early modern period had the physical, mental, and spiritual capability of becoming grotesque. The Bakhtinian ideal represents the classical, closed body synonymous with virtue, sobriety, and honor,¹²² but the ideal female, “the fenced-in enclosure of the landlord,”¹²³ became a protected possession because of her body’s openness. By Bakhtin’s definition, then, a female can never represent the classical body; therefore, physicality cannot fully determine the female grotesque. She must represent an incongruity in a male-centered world already describing the female as the grotesque. In fact, she wore men’s clothing outside of carnival, spoke out, used her sexuality for power, seemed to possess a secret knowledge, or engaged in traditionally masculine activities, and earned labels such as “deformity” and “monster.” Unable to direct her own life, the female had to find fulfillment in marriage. As Belsey suggests, even in revolt against convention, she found her happiness in men, but submission in a brutal masculine world forced women to become grotesque, and they “were placed at the margins of the social body, while at the same time, in the new model of marriage they were uneasily, silently at the heart of the private realm which was its microcosm and its centre.”¹²⁴ But, as “a hybrid creature”¹²⁵ combining feminine and masculine attributes, the female grotesque challenged hierarchy. Attempting to gain what she lacked due to absence of male parts, she targeted masculine rights, desire, and voice. In English early modern culture and drama,¹²⁶ her voice railed against discursive morality. By assuming control, the female grotesque interrogated class and gender hierarchies and subverted “the enclosed body in the name of a body that is

‘unfinished, outgrows itself, transgresses, its own limits.’”¹²⁷ Moreover, her interaction with a degraded patriarchy exacerbated her inherent deformity.

The viewer’s self-reflection in the presence of the female grotesque should lead toward dominant or emergent morality. Russo argues that “temporary loss of boundaries tends to redefine social frames” but society is “inevitably set back on course”;¹²⁸ the grotesque transgressive woman of a carnivalized state thus serves to “*undermine* as well as reinforce” pre-inversion social ideals.¹²⁹ The comic and festive “disorderly woman” [. . .] “gives rein to the lower in herself and seeks rule over her superiors,” but her image does “not always function to keep women in their place”¹³⁰ because the writer “intends to baffle, intimidate, and shock the viewer or reader and to stimulate his own (critical) thought process”¹³¹ to demand change in the world breeding the grotesque female.

Elizabethan and Jacobean plays use the female as a representation of corruption, with the analogy of female sexuality as anti-feminine, anti-court, and anti-Puritan rhetoric.¹³²

The tradition of gendering city and country as female and the “sympathetic relation of the grotesque to metaphor”¹³³ allow writers to use the grotesque female as a symptom of social disease. Since the female’s body and mind signify defilement, she becomes the mode through which writers separate the state from the image of the Virgin Queen in favor of the “arrant whore,” thereby dividing from the sacred. Comedy attempts to control the female by marrying her off, reinstating discourse, and reincorporating the transgressor into society by purgation and/or reform. On the other hand, tragedy demonstrates the serious consequences of powerful women who hurry Lent through death and who become more dangerous through their discovered sexuality when the “unbridling is then changed into crafty reckoning, hysterical spells turn to murderous

plots”¹³⁴ Uncontainable, the female grotesque must bleed for a diseased society to purge itself.

In the plays studied, marriage (The Honest Whore), rape (Women Beware Women), economic necessity (The Honest Whore), familial breakdown (King Lear), or military power (1 Henry VI) provide the fodder for characterization of the female grotesque. Moll Frith in The Roaring Girl and Ursula in Bartholmew Fair examine physical and emotional sites of indeterminacy as powerful subverting tools in a patriarchal society. In the case of Joan of Arc in 1 Henry VI, the juncture of references to the ideal Virgin Mary and the common whore question the female claim to religious authority because of sexuality and witchcraft. I pair The Honest Whore with King Lear to examine shrews and The Honest Whore with Women Beware Women to discuss the courtesan/whore. The Roaring Girl and 1 Henry VI form the basis of my discussion on cross-dressing and witchcraft. Bartholmew Fair prepares the reader for ideas of carnival and the grotesque and begins a discussion about patriarchy’s creation of transgressing females. The chapter on language indicates the female grotesque’s control of language, often in the form of carnival’s marketplace billingsgate and ambiguity, to reduce the male by using duplicitous meaning. My discussion on purgation argues that it should lead to reform, but often both methods produce negative results. The chapters exploring the female grotesque within particular dramas begin with a full discussion of carnival’s presence in the play because the female grotesque emerges from disorder and inversion and intensifies carnivalesque conditions; therefore, one cannot fully understand her role without understanding the conditions that breed her. Furthermore, her actions and reactions to her play significant parts in the carnival’s release of energy and disorder’s

tenacious hold on society. Order does not always return with the removal of the grotesque, because of people's fallen condition.

Chapter 2

Bartholmew Fair: The Female Grotesque Heats Up

This is the very womb and bed of enormity as gross as herself.

(2.2.102-03)

In Bartholmew Fair (1614)¹³⁵ Ben Jonson constructs a permeable barrier ineffectually separating the crazies of the outside “normal” world from the rational, practical, albeit grotesque, inhabitants of the Fair. Although existing in perpetual carnival, the Fair does contain an organized social system mimicking Jacobean society, one that facilitates the incorporation of visitors and the revelation of their grotesque natures. Fecund corporeality defines this system and determines that mother Ursula, the Pig Woman, with her sweating, fatty body symbolizes judicial and religious authority in this supposedly inverted commercial world. The womb of the Fair, the sow of a litter of cutpurses, punks, ballad singers, food vendors, and puppet makers, Ursula provides a physical emblem for the text as she directs her “children’s” activities. Jonson explores categories of female, normal and grotesque, to reveal that no real difference exists between them. In this carnival, the Virgin figure internalizes danger because underneath the veneer of chastity, lurks a dangerous, voracious female. Chaste virgins, widows, and wives represent the crooked rib of fallen man, and the social vision of them endorses the concept of a naturally degraded female soul. In fact, Ursula projects a funhouse mirror

image of Win Littlewit, Mistress Overdo, Dame Purecraft, and, at times, Grace. Typical of carnival mirrors, the reflection of the Londoners distorts characteristics, as females use the grotesque to survive, often shaming the males in the process.

Critical analyses differ about the play's relationship to Bakhtinian carnival. Coronato notes that Michael Bristol discourages a Bakhtin reading; however, both critics interpret the work as an example of carnival misrule with "an optimistic bent for refinement"¹³⁶ through its imitation of real life, a description suggesting that carnival does more than release social energy; it harnesses that power for improvement. This interpretation seems contradictory to Coronato's belief that misrule represents the "unreformable seamy side of human nature,"¹³⁷ unless one defines refinement as a less complete process than reformation. Although these critics recognize the carnivalesque characteristics outside of the Fair and argue that Lent will not come to stop the celebration, they do not delve deeply into the question of the female grotesque. Joining Frances Teague's assessment of Ursula as *Até* or *Discordia*, Coronato completely omits the Pig Woman from his assessment of justice in the play, but, like Barish, looks instead at masculine authority.¹³⁸ Teague presents an account of the drama's relationship with the real Fair, as she discusses religion in the play, notes Jonson's avoidance of the St. Bartholomew Massacre of 1572, recognizes Jonson's "ambivalence to Catholicism,"¹³⁹ and mentions his 1598 conversion of convenience to the religion. She thinks that the author intends solely to attack Puritans and the foolishness of English society.

The play's alignment of religion with the grotesque and Ursula's participation in justice indicate that neither the churches nor the justice system can control human behavior. Folly will always survive. I will argue that Ursula parallels specific traits of

the other characters within their social institutions, specifically law and religion, and that she has kinship with the other females in the play.¹⁴⁰ While Lori Haslem explores motherhood as a humoral imbalance in need of purgation and though she recognizes Ursula and her booth as sites of the grotesque and female shame,¹⁴¹ she does not draw specific parallels between the Pig Woman and the women in the play. Furthermore, she does not look at justice and religion and their relationship to the female characters as distorted by the Fair experience. I will argue that Ursula's grotesque characteristics represent the normal in the play's world, both inside and outside of the Fair. The Pig Woman symbolizes the carnivalesque nature of Jacobean society: its justice system, religious discourse, and evaluation of the female. The play situates justice as a masculine domain affected and overruled by the female grotesque whose booth becomes the locus at which primitive ideas of justice attempt to squelch ideas of proof and deliberation, as contemporary official justice sports fool's clothing, unable to distinguish actual from illusion, lost in primal Fair chaos. Moreover, within this realm the female grotesque contends with the hypocritical zealot, and the supposedly "ideal" women flirt with their inherent fallen natures because patriarchy does not keep watch over them.

Bartholmew Fair differs from the other plays in my study because carnival represents a specific place, a particular demographic, and a position of frustrated powerlessness. Thus, the outcome of the different processes varies a bit from those of the other plays. Since the female controls the action, Jonson leaves the reader questioning the nature of order. Does it mean just the lack of chaos? Does it mean moving through life imperfectly, but moving all the same? Usually, order returns in comedy because punishment corrects social deviance, and in the case of tragedy, death establishes a new

regime. Neither of those situations occurs in this play. Moreover, people purposefully partake in carnival, venturing from what they perceive as security to a world of disorder, to force inversion in a continuum of pre- to post-festival behavior. Festivity will move beyond the boundaries of the Fair, into the city proper where imbecility can take full reign in the not-so-normal, normal world where monsters daily command the institutions and streets in a town where people like Cokes can gawk at parrots and monkeys (1.4.110). In actuality, the early modern Fair provided a central location where for three pence “Working People, Servants and Children” or for six pence the “Gentry” could see the Corsican fairy, a dwarf normally shown in Cockspur Street for two-shillings and six-pence.¹⁴² Marginal and fascinating, the Fair attracted people from all walks of life to witness deformity, sin, and the beast in man.

To provide a clearer understanding of the space inhabited by the characters, I will examine the aspects of the Smithfield Fair’s history tangential to my argument, a discussion revealing that the interplay of appearance and reality infuses the history of the Fair and its relationship to religion and justice. Rayer, Henry I’s court jester-turned monk, experienced a spiritual visitation from Bartholomew the Apostle who promised him renewed health as a reward for building a church in the saint’s name “in the suburbs of London at Smithfield,” the man to give only his diligence while Saint Bartholomew would “provide necessaries.”¹⁴³ During March, 1123, the monk founded the priory, which became a site of pilgrimage in the King’s Market on a plot of marsh ground that the Fair later enveloped. Morley speaks of Rayer studying the “purgation of this place” and of his awareness of “Satan’s wiles, for he made and feigned himself unwise” in order to hide his work, which he later “instructed with cunning of truth in divers churches,”¹⁴⁴

whose parishioners then came to help construct the building. The open field before the church later became a place for Londoners to play, to watch executions, or in Bloody Mary's reign to see Protestant heretics burned alive.¹⁴⁵ The anxious relationship with religion left gaps for perversion and for Jonson's allusion to Catholicism, Puritanism, and the theology of carnivalized unbelief.

The early history suggests a holy site based on the inversion of authority with trickery in the pursuit of profit as the established order. Begun as a hospital for the poor, the Priory became a site for false miracles staged by Rayer to entice visitors to the Fair,¹⁴⁶ which opened in 1133 with a royal charter to Rayer. Granting "peace to all persons coming to and returning from THE FAIR" during the Feast of St. Bartholomew, a three-day event in August, the document promised that Henry I would "defend this church" and would confiscate the possessions of all offenders.¹⁴⁷ He even set up a court to regulate activity. The charter conflates the Fair with the church, as it begins by speaking of the Fair but ends with the King's guarantee to "defend *this* church" (italics mine), thereby suggesting that festival, religion, and the judicial system exist interdependently with one institution supporting, maybe even commenting on the other. Of significance, it defines the Fair as a place separate from the rest of London, an excluded, alien district where normal considerations may not apply. Boulton implicates Henry I with Rayer's suspect behavior and claims that the charter "enabled him to fleece the pilgrims during the three days' festival of his patron at Smithfield";¹⁴⁸ thus, the monarch sanctioned misrule like that of the cutpurses and punks in Bartholmew Fair.

Moreover, the Fair blended commerce, sex, violence, religion, and the grotesque, which occur in Jonson's play as well. As the number of pilgrims grew, a cloth fair

opened in Edward I's rule (1272-1307),¹⁴⁹ and under Henry VIII (1509-1547), the opening of the market became a "display of the power of the city" when the King ordered the "Lord Chancellor, and subsequently the Mayor and City fathers in a parade"¹⁵⁰ to open the Fair. In later years, "Lady Holland's Mob" inaugurated the Fair's opening on the evening of August 22 by going through the streets of the Fair "ringing bells, pushing and hustling foot-passengers, and breaking lamps."¹⁵¹ As Lady Holland was a brotheler, sex joined festivity to become hallmarks of Smithfield through the inversion of order, and the Fair became a place of "wondrous entertainments, intermixed with sinful excesses,"¹⁵² a place where thieves, punks, and cheats gathered to work in the tradition of Rayer's fleecing. The Fair and church developed a hodge-podge of sinning and salvation with "Cripples about the altar," "monks with their fingers in the flesh-pot,"¹⁵³ and Catholic theater with the devil emerging from a Hell-mouth¹⁵⁴ "to cower at the Virgin's feet."¹⁵⁵ The latter suggests the relationship between the pure woman and by implication, the fallen woman, a situation also in Bartholmew Fair. The Fair enticed with monsters, religious puppet shows, fire-eaters, musicians, rope dancers, dwarfs, animals, and the physically deformed or unusual.¹⁵⁶ Overall, the grotesque reigned at the Fair, and the people loved these aberrations, even though later Protestant broadside ballads, "on which the edifice of Protestant prodigy literature rested,"¹⁵⁷ reflected Calvinist interpretations of deformity as God's wrath working against man's sinful nature.¹⁵⁸ According to Sir John Davies, the Calvinist author of Nosce Teipsum, man responds to monsters with fear and shame because the spectacle to the viewer represents his inner self, the deformed soul.¹⁵⁹ Jonson captures this feeling in Bartholmew Fair, as the visitors' grotesque

qualities find physical presentation in Ursula. The Fair, the Pig Woman, and the play force man to examine himself to see what really lurks inside his cosmopolitan skin.

By Jonson's time, the "ethics of the fairground characters had not improved,"¹⁶⁰ and whores, jugglers, gamblers, and puppeteers still walked the newly-paved paths of Bartholomew Fair and Smithfield,¹⁶¹ enticing customers to fun and illegality. Visitors to the Fair "ignored the 'enormities'" of the Fairmen and "came to enjoy themselves,"¹⁶² by eating pig, drinking ale, and viewing nature's oddities. Entrepreneurs showed natives and specimens of wildlife from the New World, and marketing often focused on beasts and their connection to mankind through references to the female grotesque, "the strange and monstrous Female Creature."¹⁶³ Associating the female with the indefinable exotic, men feared their inability to label her, and their perception of the female as a changing creature made her less than human, more than a beast, but a reflection of their own souls. Jonson uses Ursula for that reason. James I had a somewhat positive approach to the Fair, but because of Puritan complaints, the Stuarts "were often forced to disavow as profane and licentious the very forms of entertainment and forms of audience response that they licensed."¹⁶⁴ Similarly, in Bartholmew Fair, authority figures cry against the profanity of the Fair, all the while fully experiencing, even assimilating into the spectacle. James I even argued in Basilikon Doron that festivals served as a time "to allure them [the people] into a common amitie among themselves."¹⁶⁵ Similar to modern Bakhtinian theory, the monarch used fairs as a release valve and as a means of decreasing inter-class tension; Jonson indicates this situation by having characters intermingling in a good laugh at a patriarchal authority figure.

The play also reflects the external secular attempts to maintain discipline and to regulate business among the throngs of merchants and visitors who frequented the Fair. Justice Overdo presides over the “court de peepowdrez,”¹⁶⁶ a court which twice a day heard charges concerning debt, conflicts with visiting merchants, contracts, and trespasses such as breaches of the assize of bread and beer. Thus, Ursula’s having Mooncalf “mis-take away the bottles and cans in haste before they be half drunk off” (2.2.97-98) could end in a lawsuit against her. To this fraudulent business practice, Overdo gives his most intense response: “This is the very womb and bed of enormity gross as herself! This must all down for enormity, all, every whit on’t” (lines 102-03). His remarks collapse Ursula’s physical appearance with her trade so that she becomes a breeder of fraud. Interestingly, the fact that Ursula has appeared before Justice Overdo many times over the last twenty-two years (line 70) validates her as a legally recognized merchant who could suffer public corporal shaming by carting or staking at the pillory. In either case, the body’s presentation for public scorn served as means of correction upon reasonable proof.¹⁶⁷

By grease sizzling in the flames, foaming ale, aromas of tantalizing gingerbread wafting in the air, and a sweating, cursing Pig Woman, Jonson captures a five-sense orgy in this place where the inner grotesque roars in a Bacchanal for the masses,¹⁶⁸ so that the female grotesque and the Fair uncover the imperfect core of authority from the outside world. From the beginning of the Induction, Jonson signals that the grotesque within the Fair reflects “normal” society. As a matter of consequence, the Stage Keeper will not allow the play to begin because “Master Littlewit, the Proctor, has a stitch new fallen in his black silk stocking; ‘twill be drawn up ere you can tell twenty. He plays one of the

Arches, that dwells about the Hospital, and he has a very pretty part” (Induction, lines 2-6). Immediately, an outside member reveals imperfection as a city dweller involved in the judicial and health systems hovering around Smithfield. Since the history of the Hospital tells us that charlatans often practiced here, the play fuses the justice of the Court of Arches in Bow Church, the court of appeal from the diocesan courts,¹⁶⁹ with the image of a degraded, cozening Hospital. Therefore, religion and justice become part of the grotesque and the means by which to laugh at characters that base belief on appearance, not substance, so that “dedication to justice, even in a Justice, may exist with folly.”¹⁷⁰ No New World oddities inhabit this play, just original man emerging from the inner recesses of the soul dressed in the robes of justice, the black suits of religion, and the aprons of whores to satirize reality. Further along in the Induction, by telling the audience not to ask “what Mirror of Magistrates is meant by the Justice, what great lady by the Pig Woman” (lines 138-39), Jonson juxtaposes justice with a parodic legality embodied in the Pig Woman who, due to her portliness, can claim the title of “great lady.” Through bodily references, the playwright leads us to question the meaning of normality as related to gender, law, and religion.

Once the audience breeches the gates of the Fair, Ursula’s corporeality serves as the embodiment of appetite, female immorality, a type of justice that springs from a focus on the body, and the Fair’s religion. An insider takes her qualities as admirable; an outsider feels revulsion, maybe fear, and at times pity. For example, though Overdo labels her his “second enormity” (2.2.70), Knock’em calls her “good Urs” (2.3.20). Yet, no matter the commentator, Ursula represents the commercialization of appetites. As the “Body o’ the Fair” (2.5.67), this “walking sow of tallow” (2.5.70) claims maternal rights

as the “mother of the bawds, mother o’ th pigs, Mother of the Furies” (2.5.69), and the “little bear’s” body becomes a metaphor for those aspects of the Fair—bestial behavior, sex, food, and female justice.

Although her body expresses masculine potential, Ursula represents the grotesque female and, therefore, comments on Jacobean women. Self-described as “a plain plump soft wench of the suburbs because she’s juicy and wholesome” (2.5.75), Ursula integrates her identity with her commodity and alludes to her sexuality with a reference to the suburbs and to her corporeal readiness for her other trade, sexuality. But, her disease-free sexuality sets her apart from perceptions of the prostitute as a syphilis-ridden beast. Curiously, in descriptions of Ursula, Jonson specifically mentions only an apron, which can symbolize cookery and cuckolding, as a white apron identified prostitutes in medieval England.¹⁷¹ Moreover, the white apron still had sexual reference during the seventeenth century, as Bishop Hall’s poem, which says, “Hie, ye white Aprons, to your landlord’s sign,”¹⁷² suggests that brothels illegally disguised themselves as inns and used the white apron as advertising. One can easily picture Ursula in her apron standing under the sign of the pig; however, male visitors in the play, aware of the connection, fear drowning in the shameful liquids pouring from her body (2.5.85), in this case sweat, and frequently impose the idea of Ursula on the world just outside. For instance, Quarlous claims, that she would make “excellent gear for coach-makers in Smithfield to anoint wheels” (2.5.73-74), by the use of her body in a grotesque but superficially legal form of commercialization. By relating her to the outside world, Quarlous allows the audience to imagine her in the place of other women whose sexual “liquids” may grease the wheels of business with sex.

From a position of debasement, she wields carnivalesque power that enacts force but represents limited authority due to the outsiders' perceptions of her as part of the Fair's spectacle. While Ursula's large body lends itself to an interpretation of God commenting on the sins of the Fair, Jonson, uses her to signify Jacobean society and to challenge outsiders who pretend purity, wholeness, and temperance and who come to change the Fair. Significantly, Knock'em's comment, "this's an ill season for thee" (2.3.38), elides with the entrance of Overdo and the group of outsiders; however, male anxiety about an aberrant female, not moral correctness, makes the outside characters want poetic justice for this reminder of their own appetites. Quarlous alludes to London's treatment of shameful sexual figures when he asks, "Do you think there may be a fine new cucking-stool i'n the Fair to be purchased? One large enough, I mean. I know there is a pond of capacity for her" (2.5.106-08). Early modern official society dipped prostitutes and bawds in mire and filth to baptize grotesque bodily filth in mud with excrement as a suffocating symbol of internal evil that would make the whore "see" her shame.¹⁷³ While Ursula's sweat- and smoke-marked exterior reflects her inward filth as a woman who provides satiety for man's appetite with food or sex, the visit to the Fair becomes a cucking for the citizens so they may realize their inward shame. With society and the play's argument that all women have the potential of falling from their already debased state and with Ursula representing internal justice for the Fair people, visitors need to alienate her because they subconsciously understand that her body exemplifies the entire Fair experience, even their souls.

Since outsiders consider the Fair a public space and the inhabitants view it as their private dominion, outside masculine justice and religious authority comes into conflict

with the inside, female domain. Jonson uses the dynamic to question if any type of legalism or righteousness can actually correct the folly of human nature, as grotesque justice and law, later called “This parliament of monsters” in Wordsworth’s Prelude, controls the Fair.¹⁷⁴ External justice insinuates itself at every opportunity, but the play constructs it as a joke in relation to the swiftness of the Fair’s corporal punishment. If Overdo represents the “Old Testament type of the testy, antiquated legalist,”¹⁷⁵ then Ursula signifies pre-law, eye-for-eye justice, even bestial reaction to intrusive forces. Justice in the Fair demonstrates how simply, though ineffectually, authority can administer correction. The foolishness of Justice Overdo, the ineptness of the Fair’s officers, and the lack of “malice in these fat folks” (2.3.18), in “mad merry Ursula” (2.3.46), who keeps state in her chair from which her rump literally exudes its corporal punishment, indicate the carnivalesque teetering on the edge of anarchy within representations of order that become scoffing matters. Obviously, a character associated with Discordia cannot serve as an arm of the law; however, both male justice by Overdo and his officers and female justice by Ursula, the Mother of the Furies, become arbitrary in the carnival setting.

The outside government attempts to negate Ursula’s control by infiltrating the Fair with Justice Overdo to whom Haggis and Bristle ultimately report, but the characters’ foolish preoccupation with grotesque appearance, not the law, compromises justice with delay. Rather than representing immediate reprisal for infractions of the law, Overdo merely takes names, but never serves his warrants or contains the grotesque, and often misinterprets what he observes, because the Justice looks for the appearance of guilt, not the rational proof demanded by the Court of Piepowders. Therefore, to Overdo,

“a severe justicer” (4.1.65), Ursula represents an enormity and Knock'em carries the marks of a cutpurse with his sword, boot, and feather (2.3.11-12), but Edgeworth, a real cutpurse, represents a young man endangered by the Fair simply because Mooncalf calls him “A civil young gentleman” (2.4.22). These comments do not show justice as blind, just foolish and capable of using personal prejudices to implement order through the overuse of paperwork. This type of proscriptive justice maddens Trouble-All because of peremptory attention to morality or ethics and law's subservience to individual prejudices and ambitions. Even the actual officers of the Fair, Haggis and Bristle delay their response to trouble because of curiosity about the grotesque. For instance, in Act 3, scene 1, Bristle explains the officers' absence from the fray at Ursula's booth: “You [Haggis] said, ‘Let's go to Ursula's’, indeed; but then you met the man with the monsters, and I could not get you from him.” (lines 10-13). Jonson's portrayal of these characters and Overdo, who cannot stay out of the stocks himself, indicates that justice predicating judicial execution with appearance uses power disguised as real justice and that only people not distracted by the grotesque or aberration can address enormities effectively; yet, being accustomed to the grotesque does not guarantee productive justice.

Situated in a milieu of moral turpitude, Ursula swiftly and intemperately administers corporal punishment to offenders of the Fair, but her efforts undermine justice and indicate the problems of a strictly female judicial system. Classical references to female justice apply to Ursula when Winwife refers to her as “Mother of Furies, [. . .] by her fire-brand” (2.5.69), a suggestion of Aeschylus's trilogy, The Oresteia, in which the entities hound Orestes with mental and physical tortures for his mother's murder. The Mother o' the Fair reincarnates the primitive ideal of measure for measure as

presented in The Libation Bearers rather than the ideals of Western justice by trial in The Eumenides. In humorally-based justice, Ursula spews scathing language and instinctively grabs the tools of her trade to inflict bodily harm when Quarlous threatens the sanctity of her booth (2.5). Since her reaction resembles that of a wild animal who growls and snaps, Ursula's justice seems even more primitive than the Furies', and she deliberates less than Overdo. Unlike the ameliorated Furies of Aeschylus, Ursula does not represent "a paradox of violence and potential" that suggests law in which anger becomes the "pangs of conscience that can lead to self-fulfillment,"¹⁷⁶ but justice which begets physical pain. This type of law actually endangers the system because it focuses on the immediate moment, not long-term consequences. Ursula's suffering a burning fall when she rushes to exact punishment demonstrates the harm that intemperate behavior causes social justice; and Quarlous' resumption of argument demonstrates the ineffectiveness of rash, physical reaction to trouble. Thus, like the Eumenides, the play suggests that male and female justice must unify, or at least compromise.¹⁷⁷ Therefore, Ursula relies on Knock'em to help her maintain order and Mrs. Overdo screeches out, "I charge you on my authority" and then adds, "In the King's name and my husband's put up your weapons" (4.4.98-99), because "womanhood" (line 126) does not have the real authority of "justice-hood" (line 127). While Mrs. Overdo, the "fine female lawyer" (line 131), portrays the uselessness of a female acting alone, Ursula's and Overdo's actions imply that punishment does not equal justice, that corporal measures do not always produce the desired results, and that a male must apply the principles of a more normal Lady Justice who represents deliberation, a mean between rashness and delay.

While thinking of Ursula as a pre-classical figure of justice might elicit a panicked shudder, positing her as a female medieval Vice figure evokes an interesting discussion about Jonson's comments on Puritans and Catholics, as both religions suffer at the stroke of his pen. Vice becomes a grotesque female who can uncover the hypocrisy of believers. Descriptions of the Pig Woman also lead to the notion of carnival as a means by which Satan calls his apostates homeward to a bower that satiates appetitive drives. Because Catholicism was not a danger to the stability of government or crown in 1614,¹⁷⁸ Jonson satirically places Ursula, the "Mother o' the bawds" (2.5.67), as the leader of an abbey of wayward nuns, priests, and hearth girls by having Knock'em refer to the booth as "old Ursula's mansion" (2.5.37-38). While this descriptor may compare the Fair's buildings to affluent housing in London or to the mansions of medieval drama, the OED reveals that as early as 1451 the Rolls of Parliament referred to housing for an ecclesiastic as a "mansion." Furthermore, by 1526 Tyndale termed the body containing the soul as a mansion.¹⁷⁹ Accordingly, Ursula's booth becomes a theatrical home in which to locate the life of the soul and its temptation.

Ironically, by alluding to Catholic roots in his description of the booth, the author denotes the restricted opportunities afforded to women by Henry VIII's reformation. Women without families to support them no longer had religious abbeys to join for financial and spiritual purposes, and many married or turned to prostitution. In addition to serving as a sexual parallel to the wealthy women of the early church who "ran religious 'houses,' small communities of celibate men and women,"¹⁸⁰ Ursula represents a radical response to the Catholic Church's progression into the doctrine of embracing female sexuality in the form of marriage. Historically, when priests considered

consecrated virgins “transcending their gender” by adopting celibacy and often even wearing men’s clothing, they had to develop some means of control for this threat from traditionally inferior women who embraced the superior state of virginity.¹⁸¹ Therefore, the Church developed the doctrine of the chaste wife, determined celibacy as the norm for priests, and provided abbeys for the “Brides of Christ” who were to remain secluded and separate. Women did enter abbeys out of religious fervor, but many also entered as a form of controlling their own bodies, thereby rejecting marriage based on financial security and escaping potential allegations of witchcraft, a charge often made against widowed or single women because of the fear of the female’s abandoning the “traditional view of woman as person married or destined for marriage.”¹⁸² This booth in the Fair replaces the abbey as a home for the female experience.

As a perverted abbess, Ursula offers women not just pig, but also a chance to experience a degree of independence from marital chastity by using their sexuality, granted at the expense of social acceptance. Jonson simultaneously associates female independence with the Church and the corruption endemic in that system while acknowledging contemporary conditions for women: Jacobean society endangers female chastity because women no longer find sanction in the Catholic Church. Ursula’s mansion provides an inverted convent from which cut-purses, bawds, and prostitutes do the devil’s work, which exposes foolishness, corruption, and hypocrisy in the sainted elect, and then return “at night in her lodge, and share” (2.4.36). A convocation of carnal tempters composed of the choir, represented by Nightingale; the summoner or tithe gatherer, performed by Edgeworth and other cutpurses; the eucharist office as suggested by Trash and Ursula; and the hearth girls, played by the punks, gather in the Mother

Inferior's office to discuss parish affairs and the follies of their new parishioners. The inclusion of hearth girls, women employed by priests basically to fulfill the office of wife by cooking, cleaning, and meeting the carnal needs of the holy fathers, may indicate prostitution's history with the Catholic Church in England during the pre-Reformation period and the priests' efforts to reclaim their interests in profitable brothel property in the Liberties during Catholic Mary Tudor's reign.¹⁸³ Moreover, as in the case of *Win-the-Fight*, indoctrination in the holy pig booth for any female does not change her, but releases repressed sexuality. By having Ursula's booth reflect the corruption of the Church's system of chastity and by implying the few options available for women, Jonson creates a sexual religious struggle to which Grace never falls victim by remaining outside of Ursula's booth, thereby keeping Virtue and Vice somewhat separate.

Jonson subtly extends his religious metaphor by having hell consume images of temperance so that beastly sexuality can cause and survive the fall of man. Busy situates the assessment of Ursula and the Fair within Puritan doctrines of the body. He comments:

But the fleshy woman, which you call Ursula, is above all to be avoided,
 having the marks upon her of the three enemies of man: the World, as
 being in the Fair; the Devil, as being in the fire; and the Flesh, as being
 herself (3.6.32-35)

Additionally, Mooncalf's reference to the booth as "my mistress' bower" (2.5.51-52) illustrates the Fair's inclination for appetite over reason and theology by leading the reader back to Spenser's *Bower of Bliss*, where *Acrasia* turns lustful men into actual pigs. His statement reminds us of one of the closing comments of *Canto*, "Let Grill be Grill"

(II.xii.87.8),¹⁸⁴ which is imagistic of Bartholomew Fair's roasting of pig and the fact that people went to the Fair to unleash their inner realities. Since, as Guyon states, people choose "To be a beast" (II.xii.87.5), Busy gorges on forbidden pig with a reformed mouth in this unholy tent. After fortifying himself at Littlewit's house in a parodic eucharist with "a great white loaf on his left hand, and a glass of malmsey on his right" (1.6.33-34), the Puritan enters the "tents of the wicked" (2.6.66), where he feels comfortably at home. That the Fair excursion represents a spiritual journey becomes evident even in the actions of Cokes, who repeatedly mentions that he shares the name "Bartholomew," a reference to the Fair's Catholic roots. Paralleling Busy's zealous fervor, Cokes' imbecility takes on a fantastic element that deflates after members of this church of thieves steal his belongings and new toys. The stupidly innocent young man loses his spirit and wants to go home, but the devil's accomplices have merely to dangle more idols, the puppets, in front of Catholic Cokes to detain him. As neither hypocritical Puritans nor foolish Catholics can resist the Fair's ritual and idols, unauthentic faith dissolves from the heat of temptation in the presence of the female grotesque.

The beast of the Fair, Ursula, lumbers on edge of hell, emerging from her fires as the devil from a medieval hell-mouth to interact with the apostates, and her occupation replaces carnival's adoration of the Virgin Mary by concentrating on first woman, not the mother of God. She claims of her booth, "Hell's a kind of cold cellar to't, a very fine vault, o' my conscience" (2.2.42-42). This hotter-than-hell place represents paradise degraded and contained, a place of pilgrimage to exercise, not exorcise, inner devils. Fearful of melting "away to the first woman, a rib, again" (2.2.50), Ursula not only connects her femininity to traditional perceptions of women as daughters of Eve, but she

also collapses the female with the devil by claiming that Nightingale “may follow me by the S’s I make” (line 52), a visual tracing in the ground indicating the mis-directions the Fair will take its prey by allowing the visitors to cause their own falls with minimal assistance. Worried that “The Fair fills apace, company begins to come in, and I ha’ ne’er a pig ready yet” (2.4.46-47), Ursula suggests that she uses human appetite for food as the means to tempt her Adams and her Eves. On the margins of the Pig Woman’s hell, people rationalize away their souls into sin, and Jonson pairs Puritan and Catholic in a contention designed to shame both.¹⁸⁵

In this domain, Satan, this “inspired vessel of kitchen-stuff” (2.5.72), claims souls by using the tool of religious hypocrisy. The play portrays theology as a rational set of beliefs that can fall equally to appetite or to logic. Within this easy struggle, Catholicism takes a literal beating from the Puritans, and Ursula’s inspiration suggests Satan’s infiltration into the Puritan sect. For instance, Busy has no trouble sanctioning the trip to the Fair and into the booth because of his ability to rationalize. His reliance on rationalization with the body emerges when he tells them that they may not look but may smell their way to pig to prevent corruption by the sights. Busy demonstrates appetite outside of the Fair, but Knockem’s description of the good brother’s voracious devouring of “two and a half [he ate] to his share,” drinking “a pailful,” and eating “with his eyes, as well as his teeth” (3.6.46-48), pales the gluttony at the proctor’s house and indicates Busy’s fall from grace with his use of eyes. Hence, the products at Ursula’s booth exacerbate sinfulness and push hidden puritanical hypocrisy into the open. To allay guilt for gluttony or to put on a show of sanctification, Busy rampages the fine sights of the Fair or “the broken belly of the Beast” (3.6.84), and, while parodying Christ, overturns

the gingerbread tables at Trash's booth, her "shop of relics" (3.6.88). Intensifying the anti-Catholic attack after this association of Revelation and indulgences, he rants against this "idolatrous grove of images, this flasket of idols" (3.6.90) situated on the stage around the high temple of the exalted Ursula who still controls the Fair. As Busy's "sanctified noise" (3.6.96) competes with the litany of the Fair, the barker's cant draws in customers to partake of delicious and fascinating idols; the Fair and its fallen Eve remain intact and will later uncover the extent of the zealot's shallow convictions.

Ursula denigrates religious doctrines of chastity and temperance through the commercialization of punk and pig, "both piping hot" (2.5.37). The body of this "walking sow of tallow" (2.5.70) advertises her trade; however, her presence suggests that the Fair fades away under "modern" commercial practices. In this play, Ursula becomes a visual metaphor for the declining old marketplace. The Fair's commercial organization resembles the old time marketplace where merchants haggled with customers, billingsgate filled the air, and festivity infected the participants as the lower bodily stratum subverted authority. According to Susan Wells, Jacobean merchants moved from the marketplace into private shops and destroyed the feel of the market;¹⁸⁶ therefore, Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*, having only carnival's shady elements left, connects to the past while anticipating changes in the outside world. Salted with sweat and cooked by her fire, proprietor Ursula squeals corporal curses during exchanges with the outside people. Shouting, "Out, you rogue, you hedgebird, you pimp, you pannier-man's bastard you!" (2.5.109-110), she demonstrates the interdependence of food and sex to her business, but Mooncalf's comment that Edgeworth "talks bawdy to you still" suggests Ursula as an over-the-hill, out-of-date piece of flesh. Now, no customers come

for her flesh but only that of the pigs and punks that she peddles; or they flock to newer venues, since her hips play over the sides of her chair until she has become “rumpgalled” (2.2.63), damaged goods. Therefore, the description of her as that “plain, plump soft wench of the suburbs” with a “juicy and wholesome” (2.5.75) body suggests her unused sexuality and lack of venereal diseases, while hinting at her need to have men still consider her in the market.

Ursula’s business thrives in direct proportion to the visitors’ hypocrisy; despite the city people’s belief that Ursula carries the pox, they frequent her booth with insatiable appetites. Oddly, this “lady” shop owner interprets her trade as making her dwindle away, perhaps from being totally consumed by this pig trade rather than bawdy business. She promises Ezekiel they will have “the best the Fair will afford, Zekiel, if bawd Whit keep his word” (2.4.51). Ezekiel’s use of “whimsies” (2.4.50), a vulgar term for female genitalia,¹⁸⁷ also suggests the whimsical toys present and demonstrates the infusion of sexuality in all aspects of the Fair and the interdependence of commerce that parallels the marketplace in London where shop owners on one street might provide feathers, tobacco, dresses, and sex, all in one place to supply the needs of the gallants.¹⁸⁸

To counteract dwindling business, the Fair seeks to commercialize outsiders by indoctrinating them into their theology of degraded motherhood and female sexuality. As Haynes notices, the Fair offers adulterated goods, gingerbread with questionable ingredients, pigs at inflated prices, and disappearing beer;¹⁸⁹ however, the term “adulteration” has special meaning since sexuality and procreation turn women into damaged goods. In the kinship of the townswomen to the Fair woman, Ursula’s “motherhood” corresponds to Win’s feigning pregnancy; neither represents actual

motherhood. Her bawdry relates to Purecraft, as both over-the-hill women commodify female sexuality for their own gain and as they both express concern for their “children.” Ursula provides customers for her whores and cut-purses, and Purecraft rationalizes her convictions in order to take her daughter to the Fair to satisfy her longings because “pregnant women were to ‘have what they longed for, for fear they should fall into labour, or the child be born with the marks of some of the things they had so earnestly desired.’”¹⁹⁰ In this case, Win would give birth to a pig and prove herself a real child of Ursula. Ironically, Dame Purecraft believes that she saves her daughter from the grotesque, but she actually waltzes Win into a booth of enormities where she and Mrs. Overdo acquire the signs of “privy rich” (4.5.65-66) prostitutes who attract customers from the “poor common whores” (line 65). The remaining female, Grace, never falls under the spell of the booth, but she sells herself rather cheaply in a lottery different from the Pig Woman’s trade but similar in effect, since both practices market the female. Within the walls of the Fair, all of the women reveal their grotesque natures, often with the help of the Pig Woman and patriarchy.

As commodity in a market society, Win’s sexuality also links her to Ursula, but unlike the Fair woman, place her under male control. Littlewit defines his wife by her sexuality, bases his affection on her appearance, and creates a spectacle of her. Speaking of her hat and “fine high shoes, like the Spanish lady” (1.1.23-24), Littlewit asks his wife to parade before him as a lady of fashion, with the implication of beautiful clothing tempting suitors; but Win assesses his character: “Come, indeed la, you are such a fool, still!” (line 27). Although the husband claims her to make up ‘tother half: man and wife make one fool” (lines 28-30), “fool” does not describe this housewife who does not mind

her husband's fawning, even enjoys the sexual pleasure. Despite her Puritan affiliation, Win seems comfortable in her sexuality; therefore, her change of signification into a whore at the Fair comes easily. Perhaps her sexual assuredness explains why John offers her to Winwife, saying, "I envy no man my delicates" (1.2.12). Even though Littlewit has confidence in his wife's virtue at this point, female vulnerability spells danger. John knows of Winwife's amorous financial pursuits of Dame Purecraft, but his comment that Win would like to have "a fine young father-i'-law with a feather" (1.2.24) suggests his ambition and alludes to a potential relationship between Win and Winwife based on age suitability. If the mother cannot satisfy a young husband, then the daughter can. Furthermore, Littlewit's comportment around his drinking buddies, Winwife and Quarlous, suggests a merchant displaying his wares. After reminding Quarlous "what we discoursed on last night" (1.3.16-17), the husband then proclaims, "Look you, there she is, and dressed as I told you she should be" (lines 20-21), and then offers his wife's cheek to his friend who kisses her twice. Winwife's response to Littlewit's envying "no man my delicates" (1.2.12) in the previous scene describes Win as a "garden where they [delicates] grow still! A wife here with a strawberry-breath, cherry-lips, apricot-cheeks, and a soft velvet head, like a melicotton" (1.2.13-15). The fruity images emphasize fecundity and prefigure the female association with the Fair's fallen garden where women are sexually ripe objects. Thus, Littlewit's fawning over her, offering her cheek, and parading her publicly do not disturb Win; instead, she responds favorably to the attention.

Outside of the Fair, however, men should control their women because motherhood has the potential to carry shame; and the play suggests the foolishness of the Londoners, male and female. Asking his wife to "play the hypocrite" (1.5.144-45), John

Littlewit manipulates his wife's sexuality by using the natural longings of motherhood to get to the Fair where Win succumbs to the lure of Smithfield. Since Win deceitfully claims to have "somewhat o' the mother in me" (1.5.153), her virtue seems questionable, as she connects herself to female humoral imbalance, to her mother, and to motherhood as defined by Ursula. Her feigned pregnancy illuminates the danger of the female lying about pregnancy and the father's true identity, because, in these terms, pregnancy does not need a husband. Moreover, by choosing to define herself as the fecund female body, Win creates herself as fit for the Fair. The longings suggest uncontrollable appetite that the Fair will cure by disregarding temperance and do "represent a kind of moral corruption, though not in the way that Busy suggests,"¹⁹¹ but as inversion imposed by the Fair. Win's and her mother's rationalizing the trip to the Fair figures women as daughters of Eve who have corruption in their natures and who have the potential to play Vice figures. In the Fair, the satisfaction of appetite leads to the possibility of a fall from whatever virtue the women possess, and the similarity between Ursula and the daughter of a Puritan sanctified sister becomes evident. Since the Pig Woman's motherhood of the Fair makes her the mother of appetite and its satisfaction and Win's longings work "as a metaphor for all of the antipuritanical indulgences of the fair,"¹⁹² the two threaten a society based on temperance and female containment. The booth gives Win's emerging subconscious sexuality the opportunity to dress in the attire of a whore, a more accurate parallel to the beastly Pig Woman.

In the Fair, men still control the outside females' sexuality under the guise of freedom, which actually represents degradation. When Win questions Whit about Knock'em's claim that an honest woman leads a dull life unlike that of a lady, the

Welsh/Irish bawd insists that she “believe him, de leef of a bondwoman! But if dou vilt harken to me, I vill make tee a free-woman, and a lady; dou shalt live like a lady”

(4.5.31). His use of the word “lady” comments on the morality exhibited by the court where gallants call prostitutes courtesans rather than whores; the terminology differs, but the behavior remains the same. But, for the proctor’s wife, who seems unaware of covert male control in prostitution, a glint of freedom from her careless husband means becoming an independent business woman like Ursula who runs fools out of her booth. The play at this point suggests that only by harnessing their insatiable sexual appetite can women achieve independence or a separate identity from their husbands; however, even though some male always lurks on the side, if Win or any other woman makes this life change, connotations of beast will apply to her.

The sexual lessons Dame Purecraft modeled for her daughter surface in the mother’s confessions to Quarlous/Trouble-All in 5.2 to reveal the similarities of her activities to Ursula’s trade and to demonstrate her grotesque inversion of religion. Dame Purecraft operates immoral and ethically unsound, though technically legal, prostitution practices. Admitting that her love for Trouble-All/Quarlous racks her, Purecraft tells the truth because she thinks he hates hypocrisy, and the situation thereby implies that only madmen avoid hypocrisy. Having made 6,000 pounds, by using religion and sexuality, Purecraft explains her techniques: “These seven years, I have been a willful holy widow only to draw feasts and gifts from my entangled suitors” (lines 50-52). Similar to some prostitutes who ensnared apprentices, the older woman pretends chastity to keep her suitors coming back; but her arranging marriages bear more resemblance to bawdry. She explains, “I am a special maker of marriages for our decayed brethren with our rich

widows, for a third part of their wealth, when they are married, for the relief of the poor elect” (lines 54-57). The widow’s part, the money promised at marriage, goes to feed her own appetites, not to relieve her brothers and sisters in the faith. Her final confession parallels Ursula’s practices with her punks and cutpurses: she gets “our poor handsome young virgins’ with our wealthy bachelors or widowers” to steal money from them (lines 57-60). Holiness a trick of the trade, her religion comes from the sermons of Busy who makes “himself rich by being made feoffee in trust to deceased brethren” (5.2.65). Her convictions give birth to sins condoned by a master who operates like Henry I and Rayer. In contrast, no one can call Ursula a hypocrite; she might threaten the souls of people, but they know what she does. Nonetheless, Purecraft can move toward the respectability through marriage because society does not marginalize her or her spousal choice; however, no such ending presents itself for Ursula, unless she marries Knock’em, but even then, business will go on as usual on the outskirts of London proper.

The Fair essentially serves as a female space, open and tempting. When males enter, their authority comes under scrutiny as the Fair claims kinship to the outside women. Crossing liminal boundaries links Win, Purecraft, and Grace to Ursula as daughters of Eve whose sexual inner female wants a voice and freedom. The justice of the female grotesque upstages the official, masculine system, but sexuality degrades the women’s authority. From positions of marginality, however, they grasp at power by using their natural propensity for bad behavior. In the process, they uncover the foolishness of masculine society and the hypocrisy of Catholics and Puritans who have accepted illusion for reality. The play suggests that if the type of justice portrayed by Overdo and the quality of religious conviction as touted by Busy cannot work in the Fair,

then they cannot correct a carnivalized society. Order becomes just calmer chaos that will soon spread back into the Fair to find its “natural” Mother.

Chapter 3

Whoring Viragos

*The woman shall not weare that which pertaineth unto
the man, neither shalt a man put on womans raiment:
for all that doe so, are abomination unto the Lord thy God.¹⁹³*

Due to the richness of carnival and grotesque imagery in Bartholmew Fair, one slips easily from Ursula’s world to other dramatic works to explore what the grotesque female does and how society perceives her. Carnival spills outside of fair boundaries into the London of The Roaring Girl (1611),¹⁹⁴ and even the city cannot contain chaotic relationships, so that carnival grows into the countryside¹⁹⁵ and, in 1 Henry VI (1590),¹⁹⁶ crosses the channel into international politics. Generally speaking, social carnival develops because inhabitants challenge hierarchal presumptions, ignore or denigrate cultural propriety, and exhibit disordered virtue and honor, righteousness and faith, and gender categories. Although the members of a more sober order attempt to retain the vestiges of morality and label carnival participants as the grotesque, the chaotic system continues to engender aberration. Consequently, as a symptom and disease pervading the body politic to the lowest component, inversion skews values and often leads to political, religious, and economic degradation. Unrestrained, carnival can lead to anomaly, war, and family tension. In this milieu, the cross-dressed virago walked English city streets

and burst into country churches in defiance of gender norms and in “reproof to the[se] degenerate effeminate days.”¹⁹⁷ As society marginalized her as a monster, her presence served as an indicator of the deformed moral climate and prompted metaphorical application of her transgendering to society’s hybridized values as a scapegoat and/or a mirror for society revealing anxiety about masculinity, women’s rights, and the state of the state, thus the state of the family. Both historical characters, Moll and Joan, suffer charges of promiscuity, because they challenge patriarchal perceptions and suggest change.

Critics investigate the monstrosity of Moll in The Roaring Girl as the physical metaphor for the city of London now turned monster and even recognize her as a positive portrayal of a somewhat more negative historical person. James Knowles states that the play “deploys the discourse of monstrosity to evoke more complex responses, playing between horror, pleasure, and repugnance,”¹⁹⁸ and argues that Moll’s ability to turn that discourse back on the men makes her a heroic figure. He sees Moll as part of the spectacle of a city described as a park, not a wilderness,¹⁹⁹ a place that encapsulates the commonwealth as a whole.²⁰⁰ Extensively studying the relationship of the virago to early modern ideals, Jean Howard claims that cross-dressing in the play actualizes resistance to patriarchy and marriage customs in a movement for the enhanced freedom of women in London. She also describes cross-dressing as more than a fad during the period and identifies Moll with the *hic mulier* movement.²⁰¹ Linda Woodbridge claims that Middleton and Dekker treat Moll favorably because female playgoers applied pressure to have strong, positively presented women in drama,²⁰² but she also claims that

the dramatic “idea that London women, both prostitutes and wives, tended to be rampant viragos owes quite a bit to the antifeminist tradition” of patriarchal discourse.²⁰³

Criticism of 1 Henry VI, while mentioning the play’s reference to nationhood, female power, and masculinity, never attributes the problems in these areas to the female as the grotesque. For example, Bernhard Klein looks at the “concept of collective identity rooted in the Elizabethan myth of nationhood,”²⁰⁴ notes the inversion inherent in Joan of Arc’s gender, age, and national allegiance that “complicates the use of war in service of the nation,”²⁰⁵ and recognizes the similarity between the representation of Joan and Elizabeth I, an issue discussed below. He particularly focuses on Joan’s pairing with Talbot, the “politically charged figure of English manhood”²⁰⁶ defeated by a woman, a French one at that. Lisa Dickson comes closest to discussing the chaotic conditions that spawn the character, as she interprets Joan as the embodiment of Henry V’s absence, which destabilizes hierarchy, power, and knowledge, and then claims that the males use “power of the gaze to define, and thus, to contain her [Joan’s] disruptive potential.”²⁰⁷ Examining Joan’s visual contact with Charles, Dickson also suggests that the maid actually reduces his power position but that the use of sun imagery for Joan makes her a “usurper, a monster, a conceptual nightmare.”²⁰⁸ On the other hand, Nancy A. Gutierrez argues that Joan never has control because she “is always the object of looking herself,”²⁰⁹ that she always uses patriarchal tools in costuming, language, and action. As evident in all of these discussions, the relationship of power, gender, and spectacle form the core of the play, as expected from a work featuring the enemy as a cross-dressed female who possesses military and linguistic skills, both usually masculine domains. Despite an occasional reference to “monster” or “hermaphrodite,” these critics

do not explore the relationship between monster and the course of the play, especially its relationship to the ambiguity embodied by Joan and perceptions about the grotesque.

I will argue that the authors of both plays use the ambiguous female grotesque as wonder and sign to embody the carnivalesque inversion endemic in English society, to establish the meaning of manhood against the prevalence of effeminate males, and to support substance over appearance. In addition to the major female character, other grotesque women also work against mainstream thought, trying to establish their dominion.

The use of the virago finds a pattern in George Gascoigne's The Steele Glas (1576) which describes Satyra (satire) as "a right Hermaphrodite" whose glass shows the degradation of society due to masculinity waning into effeminacy as part of carnival's inverted order: "Bright gold and silver, (metals of mischief) / Hath now enflamed, the noblest Princes harts"; "The stately lord, which wonted was to kepe / A court at home, is now come up to courte"; feathered soldiers exhibit fear "And yet in towne, be jetted every streete" degraded by "covetise," "drunkenesse," "privy grudge," "lightness of belief," deceit, and lust; and the "Merchant, he whose travaile ought / Commodiously, to doe his countrie good" seeks his fortune and "feeds the vaine, of courtiers vaine desires"

²¹⁰ According to the OED, "effeminate" at this time referred to a person that has become "Womanish, unmanly, enervated, feeble, self-indulgent, voluptuous; unbecomingly delicate or over-refined."²¹¹ In the early modern social carnival, Muld Sacke says that effeminate males "decke themselves up in effeminate fashions, Sweares, Swaggers, haunts Playhouses, Dicing, Carding, Tavernes, Tobacco shops, Ale-houses, cozens Merchants and Tradesmen" to support their prodigality."²¹² Moreover, this pamphlet

lists Puritans who “commit all villany,” Papists who plot, and lawyers who bastardize “the funamentall Lawes by wrested glosses” and who “emptie his Clyents Cap-case, and fill his owne.” It also goes on to list vintners, tailors, judges, usurers, millers, gentry, constables, and inn-keepers who become effeminate because they fall away from correct moral coordinates to self-serving behavior. The masculine man, then, unswervingly defends honesty and courage, but the virago lives in a society where personal advancement and pleasure replace concern for the common good, where men act like women and women try to take control, where she exists as a product and symptom.

Carnivalized, hybridized values of Jacobean society in The Roaring Girl manifest in Moll’s ambiguous physical presentation, even though she challenges inversion. In the play’s London, the boundaries of masculinity and femininity blur into a hermaphroditism that blends the excesses of society and the marketplace so that “commerce and celebration—confront each other dramatically.”²¹³ Because society validates conspicuous consumption and prosperity at the expense of virtue, disorder comes from the respectable gentry and the gallants, not the marginalized groups, from people such as Sir Alexander Wengrave whose gallery, unlike those in most aristocratic houses, offers “private comfort for his guests and an expression of wealth [. . .] rather than civic charity.”²¹⁴ The image of the moneyed gentry ignoring charity in favor of possession stands in contrast to former times and to Moll, who helps honest indigents and lovers against the greed of the patriarchal society. Additionally, shopkeepers give their wives authority to speak openly with customers, gallants who plume their appearance in readiness for sexual battle rather than for national glory. These young men prey on city wives who in return toy with vows of chastity, all parties thereby compromising family

values. Fake soldiers prey on charitable members as thieves bargain with officers, and young sons defy the law of patriarchy, while avoiding legal officials. In all cases, contention comes from the pursuit of wealth, the standard for the city carnival; and although the virago's body mirrors hierarchal confusion and her own marginalization, she steps forward to suggest the need for change in masculine behavior and in the relationship of appearance and substance.

The Roaring Girl uses the hermaphroditic female grotesque to criticize the immoral carnival of effeminate gallants and the citizens who pattern their behavior on the court. This play's first performance did not, however, occur during the reign of a masculine, warring female but in 1611 during the rule of a peace-loving, thereby feminized, James I.²¹⁵ Between a sexually open court, a budding capitalist society, and the softness of peace making men less virile,²¹⁶ London produces Moll Frith who, like Joan of Arc, represents the outcast Other revealing the weakness of her contemporaries; but Moll extends the role of virago by making a stance for women's freedom of choice and, thus, serves as "the individual manifestation of the larger political unrest of the times,"²¹⁷ an anomaly of Jacobean times looking back to a strong Elizabeth I. By her own admission the historical Moll saw herself as a reaction against the times: "I was hardly twenty, from whence I date myself, when viewing the manners and customs of the age, I see myself so wholly distempered and so estranged from them as if I had been born and bred in the Antipodes."²¹⁸ Moll called herself "as good as Queen Regent of Misrule, being obeyed from the two great principles of subjection, love and fear," able to "preserve from and to deliver to the gallows upon any the least spleen or conceived displeasure."²¹⁹ Since carnival and the grotesque defined the real Moll, the character has

a persona that has the potential strengths of both genders—a man with courage and a woman with reason, the qualities necessary to give voice to the emerging active female.

Clothing and behavior turn this woman into an aberration, but she notes that social expectations make women grotesque. Strutting through the town, often wielding a sword, Moll Frith assumes several masculine costumes that marginalize her. Historically, the preface to Moll's "autobiography" details her as "a prodigy of those times she lived in,"²²⁰ a grotesque figure among many others on the streets of London. Middleton and Dekker have her enter, not in breeches, but "in a frieze jerkin and a black safeguard" (2.1), bi-gendered clothing with the jerkin as male and the safeguard as female attire. As Moll smokes a pipe with the men, Mrs. Gallipot comments, "Some will not stick to say she's a man, and some, both man and woman" (2.1.190-91). Moll's physicality, preferred clothing, and habits in this first scene define her as the socially grotesque. Although her outward bearing suggests naturally occurring physical hermaphroditism, the play moves toward constructed bisexuality, since Moll states that she "love[s] to lie o' both sides o' th' bed myself" (2.2.35-36) and then describes marriage as a process that creates grotesque women, as it "is but a chopping and changing, where a maiden loses one head and has a worse i' th' place" (lines 41-42) to lose her identity when she blends with man in a socially endorsed institution. While Moll's attire produces a grotesque, independent woman who has "head now of myself" (line 40) and who becomes the vehicle for opposition to the old guard's regard of women and value, she represents a whole person, a female comfortable wearing male clothing²²¹ as a costume through which she expresses herself and the inverted times and for which people condemn her.

Her humorality and sexuality give people reasons to marginalize her as the frightful Other. To the public, Moll's internal heat overshadows her compassion and leads them to fear her. Mrs. Openwork refuses to serve the mixed-dressed female, and Frith's "spleen's up" (2.1.222) to prompt verbal revenge. Also, as the humoral arm of street justice, Moll beats a "Fellow" who abused her in a tavern one night; but, conversely, she lends her aberration in the service of love and free choice, even singing soulful "dreams" about women and money (4.1.106-12). Her willful transgressions—speaking loudly and honestly, confronting male authority, frequenting taverns and shops, associating with thieves, wearing breeches, and wielding a sword—earn her patriarchal judgment. Considering her behavior an unnatural spawning, the older generation attempts to marginalize Moll, while the younger men express superficial acceptance. Young Goshwak's description of Moll as "fantasticalest girl" (2.1.186) associates Moll with the "grotesque and bizarre, but without the opprobrium of Sir Alexander's medico-moral language of prodigy, inhumanity, and pollution";²²² however, marginalization does occur. By comparison, Sir Alexander's moral tale scathingly denounces the prodigal son's choice of nature's wonder for a wife:

'A creature,' saith he, 'nature hath brought forth
 To mock the sex of woman.' It is a thing
 One knows not how to name: her birth began
 Ere she was all made. 'Tis woman more than man,
 Man more than woman, and—which to none can hap—
 The sun gives her two shadows to one shape;
 Nay, more, let this strange thing walk, stand, or sit,

No blazing star draws more eyes after it. (1.2.126-35)

Giving an appropriate description for the grotesque who resists categorization, the father cannot label Moll but knows that she produces a spectacle potentially infecting the family. As part of carnival, her ambiguous body signals development into the unknown, and her masculine bearing seems to make a joke at the expense of women; however, Moll has another purpose: She will mock men and serve as the “steel glass” for society.²²³

Having penned 1 Henry VI in the early 1590s on the heels of the Queen Elizabeth’s Tilbury claim of a prince’s blood coursing through her veins, Shakespeare also keys into inversion. Contrary to the tradition that gendered battle as masculine and peace as feminine, females became associated with war, at least dramatically.²²⁴ Klein suggests that Elizabeth I’s and Joan la Pucelle’s language bear similarity, while the image of the queen similarly dressed in military gear “exploits all the contradictions of the female ruler: the weakness of body versus the physical strength, reliability and heroism expected from the (male) military leader.”²²⁵ If one considers perceptions of the female body as laid out in the introduction of this work, this statement suggests that a female with power works in opposition to masculine values and that her body’s natural weakness, which may include appetite, undermines her position. Joan, then, represents the best choice to help define English valor, as men have the opportunity to deny sexuality in favor of virtue and faith; but the image of a masculine-woman draws upon division, so that the warring French Joan also reveals “the price to be paid for selfish aristocratic feuding.”²²⁶ The play demonstrates the need for English unification around the crown, whether Elizabeth I’s or Henry VI’s, especially in the chaos of war where “the need for strict order, rank and hierarchy, in camp as well in battle”²²⁷ requires unity.

Amid political backstabbing and Machiavellian religion, the presence of a sexually alluring, cross-dressed virgin on the battlefield adds another dimension to inversion, forces the English to rally around masculine heroics, and effeminizes the French so that they lose the myth.

Carnival chaos occurs in 1 Henry VI quickly after Henry V's death, a time of political and religious inversion for England in which day yields to night. As Bedford acknowledges, order will come when a comet "Brandish[es] your crystal tresses in the sky, / And with them scourge the bad revolting stars" (1.1.3-4).²²⁸ England will need the light of heaven, like a barrage of fireworks, to end carnival. While a funeral seems to have few qualifications as carnival, the inversion caused by the loss of a king and the instatement of a new reign suggests the blend of sadness and joy often accompanying carnival-like events, especially when subjects view Henry V as the "only" king because as a Christian ruler he moved England from carnival to the order of Lent.²²⁹ In contrast, despite Henry VI's godly devotion, his reign represents a movement back toward carnival through inept statecraft and, as Exeter notes, "This jarring discord of nobility, / This shouldering of each other in the court" (4.1.188-89) that breeds inversion. In the dramatic and historical events, carnivalesque conditions distemper both sides of the English Channel; and since misrule represents the "devil's paradigm,"²³⁰ dissension flourishes. Squabbling nobles guide England's infant king and sully glory for personal ambition, while a bishop maintains whores; on the French side, Charles VI's death six weeks after that of Henry V, his son-in-law, left the country in the incapable hands of Charles VII,²³¹ "an unpromising youth, mentally immature and physically unprepossessing,²³² a supposed bastard."²³³ In both countries, a carnival king, one with

the office but not the respect, rules; and the centers of power focuses on the flesh, “carne,” not faith. The developing carnivalesque states produce the grotesque, so that Bedford’s exhortation foretells the appearance of Joan who serves antithetically to anyone, especially Talbot, who can produce renewal by unifying the English in God’s service.

Shakespeare changes Joan of Arc into the grotesque by associating her with a warrior woman and possessor of a phallic symbol. The stage direction says, “Enter the Bastard of Orléans with Joan la Pucelle armed” (1.3), a generic description of her attire that coincides with the martial maid’s own references to her outfit. She mentions only her “keen-edged sword / Decked with five flower-de-luces on each side” (1.3.77-78) made of iron that she took from Saint Katherine’s. Interestingly, since Shakespeare does not mention the Bastard as carrying arms, Joan has dominance. Her breeches do not cause the anxiety among the males who label her “an Amazon” (line 83), but her aggressive use of the phallic symbol comprising the most significant part of her garment threatens them. History, however, refers to Joan’s shocking martial garb, stating, “The Dauphin was doubtful about the peasant girl dressed like a man.”²³⁴ Shakespeare’s choice not to include her costume may have resulted from theater practices, may have followed his source,²³⁵ or may have occurred as a conscious effort to make her power come from a phallic symbol in conjunction with her usurped power from the Church in order to create fear of both masculine and feminine aspects of Joan as warrior and representative of God.

On the other hand, the beautiful Joan does not have the body of the grotesque; therefore, her deformation takes the form of spiritual and behavioral aberration. The

prophetic French woman wears male clothing, makes war, and initiates sexual liaisons, thereby perverting sacred communication and collapsing the cult of Mother Mary with Venus through masculine attributes. Termed first “A holy maid” (1.3.30), Joan mentions a vision of “our Lady gracious” (line 53), the holy Virgin Mary, who will use her as “the English scourge” (line 108); however, Joan earns the title of “an Amazon” (line 83) in single combat with Charles. To the French, God sends Joan as a sign of His punishment for the English. Yet, Charles calls her the “bright star of Venus” (line 123), a pagan reference breaking theological unity. Since the males sexualize Joan’s holy gift, her body, not her spirit, will serve as her source of effeminizing power and of her grotesque labels and will make her presence ambiguous. For instance, Joan appears “A woman clad in armor” who “chaseth men” (1.7.3), the English, from Orléans until they become “like to whelps” (line 26); but, as noted later, she passively/aggressively pursues sexual relations with the most powerful man of her army. Considering herself a subject rather than an object while wearing man’s clothing, she initiates action, but her assertiveness makes the English define her as the “Devil or devil’s dam” (line 5), Charles’s “shameless courtesan” (3.5.5), and a “hag of all despite” (line 12). A deformed version of St. Joan, she destroys her sainthood with dissembling and sexuality and inverts all that the medieval English and French Catholics considered holy and pure. In this role, she will prove the English godly and the French effeminate.

Now that I have established the basis of Moll’s and Joan’s grotesque labels, I will discuss the historical English reaction to viragos to understand why the authors use them. Female cross-dressing became a public issue in the 1570s. By 1576 George Gascoigne’s The Steele Glas questioned the fashion, and then Phillip Stubbes’ Anatomie of Abuse

(1583) outlined the transgressive female as an irreligious aberration, saying women in men's clothing "degenerate from godly sober women" since "the Apparel of another sex is to participate with the same." An immutable "signe distinctive to discern betwixt sex and sex," the skirt or breech served as a compass to human physicality, behavior, and morality by acting as the "veritie of his owne kinde."²³⁶ Breeches signaled assertiveness, which dramatically and socially stigmatized women as "mankind" or "masculine,"²³⁷ and as challenges to patriarchy, so that critics of the fashion, including William Averell in his 1588 Marvelous Combat of Contrarities, labeled them as "monsters" and "hermaphrodites."²³⁸ Despite a brief respite, by 1606 women wearing breeches and swords became more common, and dramatists took up the debate. Significantly, the occurrence of 1 Henry VI in 1590 and The Roaring Girl in 1611 came at key moments in the conversation against the masculine woman. Both works create a new image of the female, with the Jacobean portrayal "contemporary to the revived transvestite movement."²³⁹ While I do not argue that Shakespeare joins the argument about the female transvestite in his representation of Joan, I do think that the presence of a female on the throne prompted his use of the masculine female.

Understanding the male/woman as subversive to the order of his rule, in 1620 James I commanded London ministers to preach against cross-dressed women;²⁴⁰ and John Chamberlain, who in a letter to Sir Dudley Carleton on 12 February 1612 mentions Moll Cutpurse, suggests that playwrights and ballad singers should use their talents to advertise against the lewd behavior of transgressive women because the "King threatens to fall upon theyre husbands, parens, or frends that have or shold have power over them and make them pay for yt."²⁴¹ In order to contain the offending female, authorities

separated them from proper society by identifying the problem publicly, by making spectacles of the women, and by labeling them as grotesque whores. Since patriarchy called any outspoken, publicly active woman a whore, cross-dressed, “masterless women” could not escape sexual marginalization.²⁴² From early on, officials feared that the wearing of the French doublet allowed women “easy access to their bodies.”²⁴³ This statement has two implications: Women found it easier to seduce men in these clothes. Likewise, women could pleasure themselves. Moll’s comment, “I please myself, and care not else who loves me” (5.2.327), may play into this interpretation. In a society condoning sex for procreation, not personal enjoyment, a woman able to pleasure herself literally cut out the middle man and challenged religious doctrine. This concern had far-reaching ramifications if left unchecked: if women did not need men to help them with their bodies, then the state or family may not need a man to lead it.

Patriarchy associated women who defied authority by cross-dressing with illicit sexuality coming from a humoral imbalance that required correction. For example, concerning Arbella Stewart’s famous example of cross-dressing, Dudley Carleton, writing to the English ambassador at Paris, Thomas Emondes, speaks of Stuart’s “hott blood that could not live without a husband” and suggests that exile in France would cool her down.²⁴⁴ Joan la Pucelle and Mary Frith likewise declare their positions as “masterless women,”²⁴⁵ and also earn criticism as being hot blooded, but their purposes fit more closely to that of the female who entered church or walked the streets “to signal her freedom from the traditional positions assigned a woman in her culture.”²⁴⁶ For example, mimicking Joan Towler of Essex, some women attended church in man’s apparel to challenge authority and prompted John Williams in 1619 to preach against

women wearing male clothing to church,²⁴⁷ because, just like Joan in France, the women caused distraction from worship.

But, the practice of breaking gender²⁴⁸ and class distinctions²⁴⁹ led to legal and moral consequences. Women who tried to infiltrate male army ranks received punishment; authorities whipped and incarcerated Joanna Goodman in 1569 for dressing as a male servant to go with her husband to war.²⁵⁰ In this light, Joan la Pucelle comes across as even braver and more transgressive since she fights, not just attends. Also, the Aldermen's court records often couple charges of prostitution and cross-dressing and indicate public shaming for the offenders. For instance, court records that conflate clothing with honesty suggest that a cross-dressing spinster, Dorothy Clayton, "abused her body with sundry persons and lived an incontinent life."²⁵¹ Since many of the cross-dressed women prostituted themselves out of economic necessity, their apparel became a sign of "their enforced sexual availability,"²⁵² so that Moll speaks out for these women. Punishment for these cross-dressers meant marginalization. Authorities pilloried and whipped lower-class women, and "merchant wives were harangued from the pulpit."²⁵³ Interestingly, the women had to wear men's clothing during their time at the pillory before a stint at Bridewell, so one has to wonder at the effect on the spectators. Also, although officials meant for spectacle to shame the transgressor, some women may have wanted the public gaze by cross-dressing, so this performance actually gave them what they sought, attention. Overall, this punishment lacked bite, and Moll tells her reader that authorities pilloried her, but did not cure her of wearing male garb.²⁵⁴ Handling the virago meant separating the masculine woman from the good woman, accusing the cross-dresser of whoredom, and expelling her from human community by labeling her "good

for nothing.”²⁵⁵ Sermons, letters, and pamphlets marginalized her, and the plays’ characters attempt to follow suit in their treatment of Moll and Joan.²⁵⁶

The plays use these positions of marginalization to comment on patriarchal lack of substance. In The Roaring Girl the authors use the female grotesque to shame contemporary man fallen from the lofty heights of myth toward mere shadows of masculinity, while Shakespeare in 1 Henry VI builds a national masculine mythology in the midst of carnival. Placing “modern” man against a changing female London, Middleton and Dekker use Moll as a metaphor for the city and allow her to confront the effeminate masculinity pervasive in Jacobean England. Reflecting medieval assumptions of the grotesque as nature’s overabundance, the writers visualize the consumptive part of the burgeoning capitalist society through Moll’s body that has thighs able to “make any porter’s back ache” (2.2.95-96), since cities “are personified as feminine because culture ‘recognizes that women are active participants in its special processes, but at the same time sees them as rooted in, as having more direct affinity with, nature.’”²⁵⁷ As the market grows, the grotesque becomes larger, so that the female quality of voracious sexual appetite applies to the uncontrollable consumption dictating the virtues of the marketplace and people in general. Moll’s body serves as a carnivalized, socially deformed figure that looks forward to a new regime that does not define people by class, gender, or marital status. While the old order does nothing to make her feel welcome, Sir Alexander Wengrave even cursing her, the young men approach her as an oddity but a natural part of their society. Moll becomes a battleground for old wealth to struggle against commercialism in the name of moneyed chastity; her insistence on love for

marriage rather than for dowry and the play's references to prostitution indicate that the exchange of money in the old practice has the same significance as commercialized sex.

The dualistic persona of the female as chaste and whorish comes into contention as expressions of the city itself. For instance, Dekker notes that London "hast all things in thee to make thee fairest, and all things in thee to make thee foulest: for thou art attir'de like a Bride, . . . but there is much harlot in thine eyes."²⁵⁸ The city and its female citizens serve as mother, wife, and whore simultaneously. With the exception of "whore," Moll resists female categories because she emerges from a marketplace of changing female roles. According to the historical Moll's diary, she participated in prostitution as a bawd, a title giving her some power over males and placing her among the city's merchants. Of interest, the title of Manley's article, "From Matron to Monster: Tudor-Stuart London and the Languages of Urban Description," suggests that the city itself resisted the chaste label and moved toward voracity; therefore, the city needs Moll as a cross-dressing female to justify its own character. Within a negative reading of social or commercial transformation in London, gender roles changed as the perception of chastity and commerce evolved, or devolved depending on one's religious bent, and city comedies served as a platform from which to question these roles and material injustices to marginalized groups, particularly unruly females.²⁵⁹ In these plays one sees the old guard losing ground against newer ideas in a battle that may not represent a total deviation from social norms. The pressure that the unruly woman put on social norms comes back to her in accusations of whoredom and witchcraft in the marketplace, a city division that transformed into "simply the location of exchange and profit rather than a gathering place, a common space"²⁶⁰ where rich merchants rubbed elbows with men of

political and financial power. The business district developed into a hybridized area where genders and classes mixed; and city comedy, like the Puritan viewpoint, presented “the market as an institution in a corrupt world, the vehicle for efficient pursuit of one’s particular vocation,”²⁶¹ and demonstrated the necessity of keeping the family intact. The plays presented the city as degraded, even like the grotesque female, but as a central, and in the end, worthy part of life; however, they do question the male condition when females become masculine.

The Roaring Girl addresses the problem of the feminine gallant in this changing city through focusing on the men’s costuming with feathers and splashy colors, not cross-dressing,²⁶² and on their lack of moral consistency. The young men of The Roaring Girl spend a great deal of money and time on fashion instead of on manly activities. Moll’s gender ambiguity embodies and challenges effeminate males who, in contrast to the fathers and citizens of the play, approach life as a party or as an opportunity to challenge patriarchal expectations. Dekker and Middleton use the grotesque female as the counterpart to the womanish man, *haec vir*, as a mirror for the monstrous male. Sir Alexander Wengrave reviles the young men’s character, singling out his disrespectful son as a force “Shaking the firm foundation” (1.2.117) of his house and old age but also as “No city monster neither, no prodigal, / But sparing, wary, civil, and—though wifeless— / An excellent husband (lines 119-21). The old man’s story explains several things about London and gender expectations for a male. First, when he speaks of masculine interaction in city life, the vocabulary of the grotesque reveals fear. Second, old men still expect the younger generation to adopt older morals and to build a fortune, not to carnivalize the family with whores or intemperance. Curtalax, referring to greed when he

says Jack would take his dead father's skin "and sell it to cover drums for children at Bathol'mew Fair" (3.3.155-56), implies social compulsion against carnival as a threat to family and dynastic masculinity; however, the officer also calls the father ²⁶³ a "usurer" (line 153), a title in Mulde Sacke referring to the feminine male. Clearly, the older order interprets marketplace economics as a threat, even though the buying of a knighthood and the selling of a son for a dowry seem like prostitution or usury by putting a monetary value on virtue, the human body, and affection.

Three types of masculine femininity arise in conjunction with the roaring girl: the rebelling son as represented by Sebastian, the wayward gallant as characterized by Laxton, and the false soldier as played by Trapdoor and Tearcat. All of the men in the play commodify women and expect either to entrap or to win them with money. The play shies away from the myth of the history play toward bawdy comedy using the shame of contemporary masculine virtue that the older generation thinks, like Moll's ambiguous gender, represents neither this nor that but a slippery convenience. ²⁶⁴ In this portrait, the deforming lack of male genitals indicates diminished manhood, but the older generation comes off no better.

The play reduces masculinity to a pair of testicles devalued by the lack of bravery and dominion usually associated with the body part to show the absence of substance. Sebastian and his father represent two men that have lost the noble qualities of their status. To the father, the son's rebellion is a feminine act that superimposes the grotesque on his son and family. Alexander Wengrave comments on the age and Moll: "What, will he marry a monster with two trinkets? What age is this? If the wife go in breeches, the man must wear long coats like a fool" (2.2.73-75). Sebastian comes across as the female

in the couple, and the older man fears appearing to be foolish, because “modern” society reduces gender roles and class status to nothing of value, mere trinkets. Moll, then, can determine the value of testicles. Wengrave also implies that his son lacks the virtue represented by these parts: courage, a quality that Moll embodies and that usually represents knighthood. Ironically, Sir Wengrave perpetuates the diminution of masculine ideals by labeling himself with an unsubstantiated title, “my good knight” (1.2.70). If he became a knight by purchase or by business activities, the term has no historical value. In fact, the father uses the language of commerce to express his virtue and probably his means of attaining the social level that he occupies. Comparing himself to an oil lamp, he describes his values: “Fed with continual oil, I *spend* and *throw* / My light to all that need it, yet have still / Enough to *serve myself*” (1.2.101-03, italics mine). One can easily interpret his “light” as money and his title as purchased since in a commercialized society his “light” established his house rather than testicular fortitude having won him honors. Wengrave may have the appearance of the knight but lacks the substance as “an unmarked knight” (5.2.154), who has had no distinction or fame before this time. He may not exhibit the feminine qualities of the younger men, but the father robs masculinity of its virtue, so that Honest Moll is “As good a man as your [his] son! (line 153).

Other males share the reduction to ineffectual testicles despite their appearance of sexual proclivity. To achieve stability, the effeminate city needs a masculine female to fill the gap caused by the absence of virility. Moll refers to Laxton, saying, “Do you think I cannot ride a stone-horse unless one lead him by the snaffle” (2.1.246); and the gallant sexualizes the pun by commenting on her sitting the horse. Laxton’s name, which precludes him from this activity, provides a visual of the metaphorical shame of socially

emasculated males. In keeping with the times, the gallants of fashion describe this perfection of masculinity as having manners but no land, form but no “good stool in’s chamber” (2.1.63), religion but no scruples as “he preyeth daily upon elder brothers” (line 64), and valor but no real courage as his economic state makes him “run three streets from a sergeant” (line 66-67). This list comprises the morals of the new order, appearance over substance, quite unlike Talbot’s priorities. Moll’s reaction to the gallants echoes the argument made in Muld Sacke against “your Hornes, your Garters, Roses, and other your Feminine masculine fashions.”²⁶⁵ When helping Jack Dapper try on feathers at Mrs. Tiltyard’s shop, Moll comments that “the gallants of these times are shallow lechers” (2.1.291), lacking the substance to try the chastity of a female. Since females must play the more active part, Mrs. Gallipot seduces Laxton into a form of private prostitution in which he never performs sexually.

Moll’s altercation with Laxton represents the means by which to move through society honestly and manly. Moll thinks nothing of associating with cutpurses, bawds, and thieves who honor a code of honest dishonesty, but she cannot fathom a relationship with a man who poses as social correctness while not having the courage to claim his real character. Since Laxton’s dependence on women for his livelihood, and in turn on their husbands, genders him female, a whorish one at that, the cross-dressed female proclaims the grotesque nature of contemporary males. She quails the effeminate womanizer in Gray’s Inn Fields, while calling him and his friends presumptuous “lechers / That thou’rt more favour with a lady / At first sight than her monkey all her lifetime” (3.1.75-77), a curious statement that connects males to the antic and to oddity, thereby making them the spectacle and the pet. In this social inversion, the exterior does match the submissive

interior man, as the clear-sighted Moll sees. As she stands in “exultant speech over his sexually wounded body,”²⁶⁶ Moll publicly defines herself by declaring her ability to get men to prostitute themselves to her, to make them feminine. Moll and her two trinkets metaphorically castrate Laxton at phallic sword point, but her verbal victory does not carry the significance of Joan’s over Talbot because society has degraded to the point that its heroes, in this case the admired gallant, have no value.

The scene with Trapdoor disguised as a mendicant soldier signifies the depths to which masculine valor has diminished from mythic heroics and exemplifies Moll’s insistence on true self-representation. Disguised as a begging wounded soldier, the cozener dismisses the courage of men who did receive wounds in battle; but he also mirrors the times by attempting to establish empathetic camaraderie among his presumably battle-untried marks by calling attention to his lack of testicles. The feigned soldier claims injuries in his “nether limbs” (5.1.73) and service “Not in the Low Countries, if it please your manhood, but in Hungary against the Turk at the siege of Belgrade” (lines 79-80). Though equating sexual activity to duty, he negates that possibility of either by using a war that occurred a hundred years before his time.²⁶⁷ Like the gallants’, Trapdoor’s battles occur in the bedroom of his mind. His dependence on the charity of men and on verbal manipulation genders him feminine in contemporary discourse and in opposition to the masculine woman; however, Moll argues for the substance of masculinity, saying, “Thou deserv’st to be hanged up by that tongue which dishonours so noble a profession” (5.1.104-05). Looking back to militaristic masculinity with firm distinction between virtue and dishonor, the roaring girl comments on the social milieu that breeds men like Trapdoor by relating that he “hath been brought up in the Isle

of Dogs, and can both fawn like a spaniel and bite like a mastiff, as he finds occasion” (lines 112-14). Honest Moll insists that the times have turned men beastly; they scarp and snarl in competition in a society that ignores true valor, often settling for just the appearance of virtue, begging for notice.

The question of the emasculated male necessitates the examination of their relationship with women, particularly Moll, an area where appearance and substance deviate greatly and that suggests the need for women’s free choice in accepting their social roles. Commodifying the female in a discussion outlining his ambiguous sexual drive, the “perfect” gallant thinks he can get a girl if not for money, then for cost of a room. Contrary to the idea that “the play insists on Moll Frith’s chastity,”²⁶⁸ the roaring girl stands for the choice in sexual behavior, the same choice that a man possesses. Cross-dressed Moll resists the virtues of city dames and gallants in the name of women, common decency, and economic independence in a seduction scene tantalizing the audience with homoerotic undertones; however, the scene represents just another ambiguity. Having already described Moll as an unfeminine girl whose “voice that will drown all the city” (2.1.172), and then having witnessed her strike a Fellow, Laxton declares his intentions to bed her in grotesque form. He proclaims:

Gallantly performed, I’ faith, Moll, and manfully! I love
Thee for ever for’t. Base rogue, had he offered but the least counterbuff,
by this hand, I was prepared.

.

Prithee, sweet plump Moll, when shall thou and I go
Out o’ town together? (2.1.240-42, 250-51)

Laxton seems to affect Moll for her manliness, a moment that toys with sodomy, but he treats her as any other woman, presuming that she will go with him, that “Money is that *aquafortis* that eats into many a maidenhead” (2.1.177-78). To him, she has female parts, not male ones, and the scene suggests his fetish with male clothing and may explain his pre-occupation with obtaining money to buy them. When he meets her dressed as a male, he comments, “Thou’rt *suited* for the Three Pigeons at Brentford” (3.1.51-52, italics mine), his emphasis on the clothing, not her manliness. Nonetheless, perhaps representing a trend in London for prostitutes to occasionally wear male clothing to seduce male customers,²⁶⁹ the scene confronts the slippery difficulty of trying to match intention, verbal use, and appearance, as the disparity degrades women and men.

The effeminate male reduces everything to a “beastly journey” (2.1.259) that society must deter because of its effects on women. Laxton represents what Muld Sacke calls “the flatterer, rightly called the most cruell of tame beasts [. . .] the poison of truth” who ignores women’s freedom of choice. Their meeting is a combat to uncover the reality of a city gallant, the emasculated male as an agent of evil. Moll blames men for the fall of women by noting their effect on the economic status of women through ruining female reputations and by leaving whoredom as the only recourse. Female shame or chastity should come from free choice, not masculine entitlement; however, as Moll tells us, women may have only shame as an option since society’s moral compass points to commodification. Defying men who entangle “Distressed needlewomen and trade-fall’n wives” (3.1.92), she addresses the economic reality of women, while indicating that the gallants define masculinity as the commodification of women, an attitude that in turn emasculates them since they conquer a weak, not formidable, foe. In a commercial

society, females become the prey in order to survive. This possibility perhaps prompts her to challenge Wengrave's valuation of Mary or any other choice for Sebastian in terms of dowry. The rejected girl may not face a bright future, but in the right circumstances, such as her father's bankruptcy, may have to use her body as well. Moll speaks for a cause that surpasses these two men; she pleads for the economic and spiritual plight of women under a patriarchal society.

The commodification of women by these men is not merely a convenience, but represents real masculine feelings about the female: male love or sexual impulse equals hate in this carnival world, the issue against which Moll responds. Laxton uses Mrs. Gallipot and admits, "I hate her, but for means to keep me in fashion with gallants" (2.1.78-79). Sebastian pretends to love Moll (2.2.191) before informing her of the situation, but he finds love with a cross-dressed man/woman repugnant, saying his father's plan will hurt him "if he shoot so wide / To think I love so blindly" (2.2.185). He compares her ambiguity to "opposite policies, courses indirect" that he must take because "Plain dealing in this world takes no effect" (2.2.189-90). Only grotesque dealings work in an inverted world full of masculine predators. One questions why Moll knowingly allows Sebastian to use her. True, he does not make her a spectacle and she can refuse payment, but Moll likes to bring together contrarities—the male and female, the father and son. As Sebastian says, "'Twixt lovers' hearts she's a fit instrument, / And has the art to help them to their own" (2.2.193-94). The man/woman, who feels quite complete in herself, makes things less grotesque, an upside down world, right side up by helping love to define an institution so that the female might find respect, not the "chopping" of a dowried marriage where the wife becomes a mere possession, not an object of love.

While Moll represents the truly grotesque in this play, other females reflect hybridized values. Mary and the merchants' wives indicate a changing city and the vestiges of social norms, while giving the roaring girl another opportunity to talk about honest representation. Historically, as the marketplace moved its locus from the margins of town to a centralized area of small shops,²⁷⁰ women became more active as merchants and consumers; and one began to see a different type of woman in the plays,²⁷¹ the ideal wife minimized in favor of the grotesque. Although city comedy represents the more beastly part of humankind "through unbridled accumulation, as various characters try to outwit and swindle each other,"²⁷² it also questions gender roles in a new commercial world. Since Moll's physicality and dress spawn from this milieu of excess, she serves as the voice of the new woman trying to impose herself on a society out of kilter. She and her "kindred" become consumers, independent agents capable of reason but socially unacceptable without men, and controllers of the marketplace as London "created new and unsettling positions for women (middle-class women, in particular)" that made the female visible.²⁷³ Moll and the citizens' wives' public appearances signify women's increased resistance during the period²⁷⁴ and their place in a changing economy. As Wells argues, the female as merchant forms a significant part of city comedies, with prostitutes "represent[ing] personal relations controlled directly by cash," who "are often presented with a parody of normal commercial life."²⁷⁵ I would like to add that while merchant wives in the plays often associate with prostitution, in The Roaring Girl the chaste Mary Fitzallard, who also manipulates social constructs, comes closer to representing a trend among women to consider alternate roles while supporting norms.

The cross-dressed Mary Fitzallard examines the potential for homoerotic desire in Sebastian, thereby questioning gender roles and the definition of masculinity, but her appearance evokes Moll's expression of standards for sexual behavior. Disguised as a male, Mary kisses Sebastian who thinks that "a woman's lip tastes well in a doublet" and that "every kiss she gives me now / In this strange form is worth a pair of two" (4.1.60). Rather than a bent toward homoeroticism, Sebastian's statement represents a sideshow reaction to oddity and ambiguity—male appearance, therefore the idea of male independence, and female demeanor. Moll immediately reinstates normal gender policy by saying, "How strange this shows, one man to kiss another!" (line 49); therefore, homoeroticism plays no significant part in the scene, and the dialogue even suggests that Moll believes that cross-dressing has a time and place. Moreover, unlike Shakespearean cross-dressers, Mary remains silent about her masculine state, and the change of clothing does not give her agency. Although willing to bend some social rules by wearing men's clothing and kissing a man in front of someone else, she remains the silent, obedient female, not a woman wishing to explore male sexuality and empowerment. In the final scene, dressed as a female, Mary completely adopts the female role, as she stands silent on the side, while the Wengraves and her father decide the fate of the marriage. Young Wengrave would not want her to behave like the masculine Moll. Mary represents the ideal form of Moll's feminine side who claims never to have allowed a gentleman's "instrument hang by the walls!" (4.1.90-91) or to have "took down the instrument myself" (line 97). Despite approving of sex with a man, she does not want to initiate it, even though she can, or to masturbate. Similarly, Mary takes action to become a sexually active woman as a passive wife who will not have to seek out sex because of marriage.

More like Moll's masculine aspects, the talkative shop wives represent the too-active female of the marketplace who cannot serve as the city's moral compass because, unlike Moll, they value appearance, not substance. Mrs. Gallipot speaks directly to the matter when she claims to feel "like a needle 'twixt two adamants" (3.2.71) concerning the truth or a lie about her pursuit of Laxton. She chooses falsehood, a predictable decision that puts her family under even more financial stress and one that shows the slipperiness of the women. She can appear as a loving wife helping her husband in the shop and then turn into a sexual predator. Of the masculine shop wives, however, Mrs. Openwork comes closer to the nature of Moll, since her inverted marriage gives her dominion and she probably has freely chosen illicit sex. She represents the female in marketplace who actively controls the husband and his business, and she reveals the double standard that visible women in the marketplace might assume. For example, she questions Mr. Openwork's motivation to work on noblewomen's linen, telling him, "I must confine you" (2.1.156), but states that she "was this morning at his honour's lodging / Ere such a snail as you crept out of your shell" (lines 146-47). Evidently, commercial sewing offers the opportunity to perform sexually, a service that the wife provides but forbids to the husband, so that even without the breeches, she wears the pants.

Although Mrs. Openwork's name indicates covert trade in sex,²⁷⁶ her reaction to Moll, also a bawd, signifies competition in business and in her own marriage, while alluding to a double standard that benefits the female. Because of her own lack of sexual morality, she takes her husband's greetings to Moll as proposition and attempts to run her competitor out of the shop which sells females, not males. Threatening physical violence, Moll speaks again to the use of disguise and pretense, telling Mrs. Openwork

that if the woman were a man, “Thou shouldst never use more shapes” (line 220). Thus, the roaring girl does not reprove the commercial side of contemporary women as much as she argues for honest self-representation. Perhaps as a lesson to the cross-dressed Mary, Moll sings a melody about women’s morals of convenience in calling other females whores though the accusers lay with men other than their husbands. The song says that a wench “lay with one o’ the navy, / Her husband lying i’ the Fleet” but “she began, like all my foes, / To call whore first” (4.1.119-20, 125-26). Referring to behavior similar to the citizens’ wives, the tune and scene ask what whoring entails. People call Moll a bawd, though she says she keeps her legs together; Mary’s rebellion seems sexualized; and the city wives dangle money in front of the gallants they do not bed. The play questions if female agency in a carnivalized society means sexual activity and if it, like male rights, creates a disparity between meaning and appearance that women use to their advantage; however, underneath the wives’ behavior lies the desire to keep their marriages in tact.

Within the portrayals of Mrs. Gallipot and Mrs. Openwork, the authors present the upcoming commercial female who, knowing the quality of masculinity and wanting to run the marketplace, attempts to assume agency; but, this type of woman cannot be a totally positive figure because she manipulates appearance. The commercial district works as a contemporary post-lapsarian paradise for grotesque behavior with the wives chasing men. Laxton, of all people, refers to the marketplace “Eves” who beguile customers and men in general (3.2.260-63). Deceptive yes, but not completely fallen, neither woman appreciates the gallants with whom she must deal, and Mrs. Openwork states, “Happy is the woman can be rid of ‘em all! ‘Las, what are your whisking gallants to our husbands, weigh ‘em rightly, man for man?” (4.2.43-45). According to this

statement, the male shopkeeper means more security than the young man who preys on the new independent woman; however, by the end of this scene, one learns that the shopwives actually prey on the gallants because of the younger men's lack of manhood. Mrs. Openwork states of them: "Idle, simple things, running heads. And yet—let'em run over us never so fast—we shopkeepers, when all's done, are sure to have 'em in our purse-nets at length, and when they are in, Lord, what simple animals they are!" (4.2.47-50). As a grotesque form of independence, these women use men as men use them with money as the mediator. It becomes clear that the wives value their husbands' weight due to what it can provide them. In fact, at no time do they express the wish to do away with men altogether; they may flirt with adultery, but in the end they remain comfortable in their roles as wives. These early modern Eves look at Adam to see what kind of fruit he will bear, but their insistence on production tends to emasculate husband and lover. Moll, as the child of this "Eden," joins fallen man and woman into one configuration. Despite her unacceptable bi-gendered representation, she makes the audience think of the time before Satan entered the garden, the time when appearance and virtue seemed synonymous and when men and women were separated.

In 1 Henry VI the dualistic representation of the virago becomes the visualization of the masculine spirit's attempt to find a stable virile identity by leaving carnivalized effeminacy for mythological greatness. Unlike carnival or London streets, war has no room for men to seem effeminate, as they must appear threatening, not mirthful. Since valorous English masculinity and glory ends with Henry V's death, Shakespeare must sacrifice the feminine myth of Joan of Arc in order to create an English tale of heroic nobility that modifies the effect of an effeminate, weak king, Henry VI, whose

“effeminate peace” (5.6.107) would shame Talbot, a survivor of public ridicule and stoning in the French open marketplace. Although the French attempted to make the Englishman a grotesque oddity for people to scorn, he becomes instead a type of Samson, “they supposed [I] could rend bars of steel / And spurn in pieces posts of adamant” (1.6.29-30). According to Talbot’s self-description, the French need a beguiling Delilah, not an Amazonian warrior, to defeat this English hero.

She comes in the character of Joan la Pucelle, a masculine female who can neutralize Talbot’s sword only temporarily, the entire French army being necessary to conquer him. Before Orléans, she attempts to subdue him in single combat rather than by seduction. As she emasculates the soldier by demonstrating better sword skills, the English forces retreat, but the vilification of Joan raises Talbot to a moral plane above his king and the royal family where he supplants their claims to myth. Unifying mantras of “Talbot” and “Salisbury” summon God who Talbot believes “is our fortress” (2.1.26) and who answers by giving the English victory. In a non-historical event, when Talbot recaptures Orléans, his soldiers claim, “The cry of ‘Talbot’ serves me for a sword” (2.1.81) to re-establish Talbot’s and their masculinity symbiotically. The play, therefore, gives masculine virtue the victory and attempts to establish a patriarchal hierarchy situating the English as the male and the French as the effeminate, subservient party; however, both sides vacillate between gender roles, never attaining a stable sense of identity or nationhood. Thus, as Klein states, “But that the politically charged figure of English manhood [Talbot] is ultimately defeated by the martial French maid might just as easily reflect an uncertainty about the very possibility of achieving a sense of national belonging and collective identity on the battlefield.”²⁷⁷ Talbot’s death leaves the English

at the mercy of a divided command and effeminate leaders, and the French acquiesce to the commands of a masculine woman.

Even before Joan's participation, Shakespeare builds English myth incrementally, links the participants to male heroic ancestors, and suggests that war has the capacity to unify through death. Consequently, this process distances the embattled English from the grotesque feminine. First, Salisbury dies in French guerilla warfare that contrasts to the English open field method and that compares to Joan's use of covert operations in Rouen. The death of the military leader spurs Talbot to fight with more virility in response to shouts of "Salisbury." The English heroes call on history as they make it; Talbot gains the spirit to retake Rouen where "Great Coeur de Lion's heart was buried" (3.5.42), and the war in France becomes the struggle for the masculine heart of its combatants. Next, the ailing Bedford chooses to die on the battlefield and compares himself to Pendragon who visited the battlefield on his sick litter. In this scene, Joan la Pucelle's snide voice, a traditionally female weapon, contrasts to the heroic English verbal defense as Talbot reminds his men of Bedford's "valiant age" which Joan "twit[s] with cowardice a man half dead" (3.5.14, 15). Although the English forces have experienced an unhealthy body politic, history and heroics will now bind them together in masculinity, as the present generation solicits the spirits of former heroes. Talbot's eventual death for "God and Saint George, Talbot and England's right" (4.2.55) re-instills masculinity and the justice of the cause into the effeminate English troops who have previously fled before the French, thereby ensuring the temporary defeat of the French. Young Talbot, a symbol of the future, will not fight Joan, not wanting "to be the pillage of a giglot wench" (4.7.41), and refusing to taint himself with the female grotesque. Despite Young Talbot's death,

his notions of manhood and nation in battle pull England toward a more masculine identity, away from the degraded sexuality esteemed by the French. Following the death of the mythical Talbot and his courageous son, the disparate English forces join against the feminine intrusion to reunify mind, spirit, and body. The play indicates that though a nation can use myth to spur its people toward better things, the present and future must possess courage and valor of its own in order to create a thriving culture. To steel their myth, the English force Joan to a central point where they purify the transgressive female and strengthen notions of masculinity with fire.

The mythologizing of the English masculine occurs contemporaneously with the further feminization of the French by female leadership to give victory to the English. Dickson claims that opposition to a “feminine, French Other,” defines and consolidates “the masculine, martial, English self” in the “possibility that the difference mobilized to justify territorial, national, religious, sexual, or historical dispute prove to be unstable and incapable of consolidating the identities staked upon them.”²⁷⁸ Nancy Gutierrez argues that the sexualization of the French actually allows them to reacquire their masculinity lost in their defeat by the English;²⁷⁹ but I believe that their voracious sexual appetite, a characteristic usually associated with females in the early modern period, effeminizes them, as they hand power over to a female and allow passion to subordinate reason. Thus, their loss of Orléans occurs because of sexual stupor in which Burgundy reports having seen “the dauphin and his trull, / When arm in arm they both came swiftly running, / Like to a pair of loving turtledoves” (2.2.28-30). When the French officers engage in a session of finger-pointing, strumpet Joan’s voice of reason suggests a logical cause: “Question, my lords, no further of the case, / [. . .] ‘Tis sure they found some place

/ But weakly guarded, where the breach was made” (2.1.73-75). Since sexuality moderates her validity, the “breach” may refer to her genitalia and its distracting influence. Schwarz agrees that Joan “represents a clear threat not only to Englishness but also to anything redeemably male in that which is French.”²⁸⁰ The grotesque virago actually plays into the gender ambiguity of the French as expressed by Burgundy’s feminine variability in changing sides against the English. Although only one instance, his lack of commitment indicates a French attribute, as Joan comments, “Done like a Frenchman—[Aside] turn and turn again” (3.7.85); and then exhibits the quality in her last scene by repeatedly changing her story. The lack of constant identity and the tendency toward the grotesque lead the feminine French to a temporary defeat by the masculine English, thereby sustaining the accepted gender hierarchy.

Joan la Pucelle sets the stage for other female characters to achieve abnormality by their relationship to myth and history. For instance, as David Bevington points out, Margaret of Anjou and the Countess of Auvergne also lack female submissiveness, have characteristics of Amazons, and appear in fictional scenes.²⁸¹ Joan’s fictionalized masculinity prepares the audience for Shakespeare’s representation of Auvergne in this play and for Margaret of Anjou, Queen Margaret, wife of Henry VI, in the later plays. Since the name “Pucelle” can mean maid or strumpet, differences in sexuality will provide the vehicle of power for these women. Joan and Margaret of Anjou, “fiercely intelligent and precocious, desperate for power in a male-dominated society and prepared to do almost anything to achieve their goals,”²⁸² dovetail, since Joan’s power diminishes as Margaret’s begins. David Bevington considers Margaret a greater threat than Joan, as she enslaves the English king, thereby giving a French woman control of the throne of

England.²⁸³ In 3 Henry VI Shakespeare connects her verbally to Joan as “an Amazonian trull” (2.1.115), and then solidifies her role as the grotesque with the famous “tiger’s heart wrapped in a woman’s hide!” (line 138). Considering the quality of her behavior, the reader has no problem agreeing with an assessment of the grotesque for Margaret. She, leading an army against the wishes of her peace-loving husband, taunts York with kingship and the blood of his young son, stopping the prisoner’s tirade by stabbing him. In contrast, 1 Henry VI represents her as a somewhat demure beauty whose power comes from momentary submissiveness to her conqueror.

The Countess of Auvergne actually refers to the grotesque in an attempt to establish moral superiority that ends with her serving as another proving ground for English masculinity. Wishing to increase her own fame by the capture of the English hero, the Countess of Auvergne labels Talbot “a child, a seely dwarf” (2.3.21) to reduce his threat to France by making him nature’s mistake or God’s punishment for his parent England. Shakespeare invents this meeting in order to pair Talbot with a “virtuous lady” (2.2.38) over whom he may have complete victory. Coming on the heels of the hero’s shameful skirmish with Joan, this scene shows a French woman’s failure to establish a French myth and allows the English to reclaim respect. Auvergne wants history to write her as a dangerous, powerful female grotesque who compares her fame to that received of “Scythian Tomyris by Cyrus’ death” (2.3.6).²⁸⁴ Unfortunately, this Amazon reference labels her as a mother figure, not a virgin, not a godly female, not a siren, but a pagan woman fighting to reclaim her God-forsaken son, France. She cannot diminish what will become English myth because Talbot represents medieval courage and virtue in dedicating his battle “First to my God, and next unto your grace” (3.4.11-12) rather than

to his own glory. An instrument of God, not a “seely dwarf,” Talbot cannot serve as punishment for England. This comment does not mean that the English do not perceive a lonely countess extending a dinner invitation as dangerous,²⁸⁵ since she too occupies a position similar to the biblical Delilah. The trap she sets has martial and sexual potential that forces Talbot to display strength, not weakness, rational thinking, not passion, in order to remain God’s favored.

In The Roaring Girl and 1 Henry VI, the existence of powerful, cross-dressed females poses another threat to patriarchy: one transgressive female may indicate a trend among women, or she may influence other women to emasculate men. Other females do attempt to gain dominion over men, and their masculine and feminine aspects often reflect those of the major grotesque females. They may have beauty, may even possess virtue, but together, the grotesque women define masculinity and attempt to expand the role of women. Since males cannot maintain their own roles, they cannot contain the women who challenge cultural norms in order to improve a patriarchal society. While Shakespeare’s work posits France and Joan as the enemy, Middleton and Dekker clearly suggest that London, and probably England as a whole, has become its own enemy, a grotesque version of the glory it once represented, through ambiguous values. As such, the hybridized body and mixed social roles illustrate the need for unification and call for appearance to match substance. Although contention may exist, division can meld into unity to dispel carnival inversion. To societies under a masculine queen and a perceived “feminine” king, the virago serves as a mirror of balance, so that passion and reason work together to regulate the body politic.

Chapter 4 The Sexually Grotesque

Neither whoremonger, neither adulterers, shall inherit the kingdom of God.

The biblical passage from 1 Corinthians 6 as loosely quoted in “An Homilie of the State of Matrimony” illustrates two sins of the flesh and the spiritual consequences for the unrepentant believer anticipating the second coming of Christ. St. Paul intended to exclude men who did not purge themselves of carnal desire, those people whom “the devil hath their hearts bound”²⁸⁶ so that they display characteristics of the grotesque by unrestrained sexuality and depravity. If, as John Taylor claims, “The Devill is the chiefe Bawd,”²⁸⁷ then the tempting whore serves as his instrument on earth. By early modern times, the Church and the legal system had for centuries attempted to contain female sexuality by denying whores the sacrament, exposing them to the Word of God, and exacting punishment; however, prostitution still flourished. This chapter explores the effects of whoring and solutions found in Dekker and Middleton’s The Honest Whore, Part 1 (1604), Dekker’s Part 2 (performed in 1605),²⁸⁸ and Middleton’s Women Beware Women (1621)²⁸⁹ by looking at definitions of whore or prostitute and at failed approaches to containment of the female and the social inversion breeding and nourishing her.

Critical analysis of The Honest Whore plays recognize the social system’s engendering of illicit sexual behavior. George Thornton interprets the works as Dekker’s concerns for individual and communal morality in a milieu of society deficiency.

According to this critic, Dekker denounces the change of rule from Elizabeth I to James I as degenerating virtue,²⁹⁰ especially since the lowest levels of society actually imitated the sins of the higher levels.²⁹¹ He notes that Dekker does not completely vilify prostitutes but treats them “as highly respected members of their own chosen profession.”²⁹² John Twynning sees Dekker as using “prostitutes, pimps, huxters, cheaters, gamesters, gulls, gallants, rogues, and the city itself”²⁹³ to look at issues of “social and political disenfranchisement which culminate in their final scenes being set directly inside the institutions”²⁹⁴ which embody the ideological struggles between the court and the city, issues more important than the individual prostitute²⁹⁵ who serves as the mirror for the city to judge its values.²⁹⁶ As the “root metaphor [. . .] for both the abstraction of commodity, the labor process, and pure exchange value,”²⁹⁷ prostitution symbolizes the city’s trade ethos, one that Dekker may think can improve. About the reformed whore, Barabara Kreps claims that since the wife’s only “property is her sexuality”²⁹⁸ and since the male has rights to her material wealth, Matheo’s selling his wife’s clothes in Part 2 has legal precedence but lacks a moral basis; however, the wife does not have “the option of rebellion.”²⁹⁹ This interpretation makes the wife’s concessions to her husband less sacrificial and more culturally demanded, so that she and her goods become commodities. Thus the difference between wife and whore resides in cultural expectations of chastity, so that any unchaste woman becomes the grotesque.³⁰⁰

Most critical analyses of Women Beware Women mention the disordered community, the generic blend within the play, and the female relationships; but, they tend to minimize the deforming power wielded by the female characters, especially in a religious society. For instance, Ornstein classifies the play as a study of moral

disintegration, demonstrating “the psychological nature” of immoral decisions, and touts it as a “realistic bourgeois tragedy” of greed that Jonson would have given comic shape. ³⁰¹ He claims that the play takes the characters to a logical anti-romantic conclusion ³⁰² in which their lack of tragic emotion and the absence of self-knowledge necessitate the ending. Characters cannot grow, nor can they deny their passion; thus, Bianca and the others actually end where they begin—dead to virtue, and the audience remains unconvinced that ethical ideals influence human conduct. ³⁰³ On the other hand, Albert Tricomi discusses Middleton’s “ample powers of irony to expose the sordid underside of this seemingly attractive culture.” ³⁰⁴ To this critic, authorities have psychological control, but the court’s power diminishes under “the tragedy’s informing ideology and its censorious citizen perspective.” ³⁰⁵ Yet, the play’s conclusion must hold some value as a bit of tragic morality since the play asserts divine order to right the debased court. ³⁰⁶ I believe that Middleton gives purpose to the female characters’ existence as a means of pushing society so far toward immorality that it has to right itself in order to continue. Of course, critics investigate the female as a commodified victim of court power dynamics, but some, such as Antony B. Dawson, examine Bianca’s complicity in her rape, while Richard A. Levin extends complicity to Mother. All agree that the transformation in Bianca following her defilement indicates former impurity.

I will demonstrate the relationship of the plays’ prostitutes to London authority, the social carnival in the plays, the whore’s ability to degrade their context even further, and their deformation by contact with other characters. For these women, sexual experience erodes female spirituality and gives males an excuse for continued immorality. The plays join The Roaring Girl in presenting the sexually grotesque female

as a product of economic necessity, but they situate her within a system of masculine desire and inherent evil that assigns the female to a lifetime of sexual commodification that often causes women to become their own worst enemies.

The Honest Whore, set in Milan, and Women Beware Women, in Florence, clearly have similarities with London's court and increasing population of prostitutes. Nick de Somogyi calls the Milan of The Honest Whore plays "as transparent a portrait of London as the Vienna of Shakespeare's [Measure for Measure]." ³⁰⁷ In describing part of sixteenth-century London, John Stow mentions "The stewes on the Banke of Thames" as among the "Houses most notable" ³⁰⁸ in the Borough of Southwarke and writes the following: "The next is Stew lane, of a stewe or hotte house there kept." ³⁰⁹ Coming from the word for a heated room for hot air or vapor baths, "stew" by the late fourteenth century came to mean brothel because of the "frequent use of public houses for immoral purposes." ³¹⁰ Rather than purifying their bodies here, men abused the privacy of public housing so that the buildings became associated with immorality, disease, and the fall of man and woman. By 1578 George Whetstone conflated the place with the person, writing in the 1st Part. Promos and Cassandra, IV iii, "Shall Cassandra now be termed, in common speeche, a stewes?" ³¹¹ His reduction of the female to the place may also imply her humoral condition as a "hot" woman. Moreover, according to Time's Whistle, the stew-dweller, like Livia, manipulated her targets' humors with pictures, wine "provocative to stir up appetite / to brutish luste & sensuall delightes," ³¹² and aphrodisiacs. As her beastly activities made her unnatural to society, few whores chose this heated life; instead, economic necessity drove many into prostitution, an issue in both

plays, so that “the poverty which became her lot also became the primary cause for her sin” and for the increase in prostitution in the seventeenth century.³¹³

Some people, such as Latimer and Stubbes, saw the whore as an enticer who trapped men “in her lascivious net”³¹⁴ and who caused a “plague of syphilis”;³¹⁵ therefore, society treated her as agent and disease. Up until Charles II’s court, Leather Lane in Holborn served as the principal place for mercurial sweat baths or the application of mercury directly to the skin to cure the pox;³¹⁶ but since the Church explained venereal disease as God’s punishment for the sin of man, all patients received whippings upon entering and leaving institutions.³¹⁷ Printed material also made direct attacks on whoring. Stephen Gosson’s Quippes for the Upstarte Newfangled Gentlewoman (1595) denounced the “tempting ware” of the Holland smocks that caught youth who came to “rue the match / when Pox and Pyles by whores they catch!”³¹⁸ Although society blamed female sexuality, described as “unnatural, unsatiabable lust”³¹⁹ making it so that “thrice five men cannot satisfy one woman,”³²⁰ whoring thrived because it had customers or patrons. Burford describes the social dynamics: “Officially repudiated, despised and vilified as they were, they flourished because the same nobility and gentry who disparaged them in public, utilized their services in private.”³²¹ The gallants in The Honest Whore even make going to a brothel a festive, masculine event because society regarded the man more highly “if he is unchaste,”³²² but the prostitute received punishment.

Official reaction to prostitution could not control sexual behavior, in part because of ineffective measures or compromised authority. Elizabeth outlawed the stews, calling fornication for hire “the moste horrible and detestable vyce of buggeries,”³²³ brought

back penalties, and employed Bridewell;³²⁴ but her attempts to force unmarried, unemployed women between the ages of twelve and forty to work by threatening prison forced some unskilled females into prostitution to avoid punishment for idleness.³²⁵ During this time religious authorities placed great importance on sins of the flesh; therefore, the Church and state administered public shaming and/or physical pain to demean offenders,³²⁶ but most reformers wanted women to marry or work.³²⁷ Stuart rule took a different approach. In spite of his 1603 order to pull down the brothels,³²⁸ James I did little to halt the increase in the number of prostitutes.³²⁹ A contemporary satire, Time's Whistle, “provides the information that incest and sodomy were rife at court and were protected by ‘the Moste Powerfull’, that is James himself.”³³⁰ Evidently, many men gave their appetites rein, not thinking “on the shipwracke of her soule,”³³¹ the eternal consequences for the prostitute. According to Dekker’s 1609 epistle dedicatory to Lanthe and candle-light. Or, The bell-mans second nights-walke, a sexual carnival turned London into a “Wilderness where are none but *Monsters*.” The suburbs became the place “where monsters are bred up to devoure the cities them-selves” through infection, robbery, and murder. In this moral climate, judicial officers and members of the church support bawdry since “they have whippes in their owne handes, and may draw blood if they please,” but merely wink at the plague of sinful whores who lure a victim and “poison[s] him with sweete wordes and shift[s] him off.” According to Dekker, carnival destroys religious, legal, and marital order and produces the female sexually grotesque, ideas he repeats in The Honest Whore Part 2.³³²

The plays under study involve the court, though, not the city streets; thus, both The Honest Whore and Women Beware Women use the terms “courtesan” and “whore”

for the grotesque and often collapse the distinction between them. In The Honest Whore, Part 1, Hippolyto terms Bellafront a “sale-courtesan” (Scene 6, p. 38), or a woman who makes cash transactions with court gallants, but her behavior as a “sale-courtesan” does not seem that different from Livia’s as a regular “courtesan” in Women Beware Women, since they both gain from illicit sexual transactions. Haselkorn suggests that Bellafront’s decision to become an honest whore, one dedicated to one man, Hippolyto, signifies her transition to courtesan,³³³ or a female serving a member of the court,³³⁴ a non-wife like Livia. Unlike the prostitute, the courtesan had charge of her own house and “was most discriminating in the selection of her lovers.”³³⁵ Living on the court’s fringes, the aging but wealthy Livia has access to and provides for the sexual dynamics of power, and, therefore, has the advantage of picking up the court’s scraps, Leantio, for instance. A sexually experienced two-time widow, she refers to the “hard task to take one man till death” (1.2.34), a task that Bellafront would gladly undertake. Moreover, her wit provides her the means to supply the needs of a bachelor, even the Duke himself, and she acts as a business person just as Bellafront does before her conversion and even touts her ability to pervert virtue into degradation by saying that “who knows more craft t’undo a maidenhead, I’ll resign my part to her” (2.1.178), the “undoing” a traditionally masculine activity. Since she snares Isabella’s and Bianca’s chastity with heated anticipation, the difference between prostitute and courtesan in these plays comes from the power distinctions of the “undoer” and the “undone” female relationships, as noted by Livia’s use of “her.” On the other hand, courtesan and whore are the “undoers” in male/female dynamics in these plays.

“Carnavalesque” describes the societies of both works and explains the appearance of the grotesque at virtue’s death. In The Honest Whore Part 1, Matheo calls honesty a “strange monster” (Scene 1, p. 10) in this world where virtue has become sin. Part 1 uses carnivalesque inversion for several reasons: to fool boyhood; to explore the deformity and recovery of individuals, whether a lost male or grotesque female; and to investigate social hierarchy. In this play, the movement to manhood means having the ability to create the disparity between reality and appearance.³³⁶ For example, the Duke traps Hippolyto, “the desperate boy” (p. 5), with his deceptive inversion “in the midst of feasting” (Scene 3, page 17) by feigning his daughter’s and then the young man’s deaths. These circumstances suggest the possibility of celebration mutating to mourning through corrupt power because of the playacting involved in carnival. Never questioning the reality of the mock funeral, Hippolyto has to withdraw from carnival to undergo a series of spiritual and carnal changes in order to distinguish reality from appearance and to claim his wife as a mature member of society. As an adult, he too can create illusion. Thus, he and Infelice don friar clothing to marry covertly; and in love with Bellafront, he casts aside his reformatory sermons to become a man of Milan who wears the mask of a loving husband because he knows that reality has an advantageous binary, appearance.

Unrestrained sexuality in this play creates an “adulterous, bawdy world” with the potential for “treason, sacrilege, atheism, rapes, treacherous friendship, perjury” (p. 9); and the individual experience underlying these conditions moves through images of the grotesque. Hippolyto begins to understand the inverted world by contemplating carnival’s association with death, Infelice’s end, her picture, and a dead man’s skull. He laments that “the worms / That now must feast with her were even bespoke / and

solemnly invited like strange guests” (p. 9), and in Scene 10, death becomes a feast that destroys temporal concerns. The mourning lover caresses the skull as a figure of carnival representing the duality of corporeal life, the decaying body releasing the spirit into wholeness, after the worms have eaten “all his plot”(p. 67). As the processes of death will reduce the ideal Infelice into a similar grotesque image, feasting and carnival make him question the value of virtue. Hippolyto undergoes the self-examination often occurring at the end of a spiritually explosive carnival experience and should accept and confess his inadequacies before repenting his sins, but carnival holds tenaciously to its participant. He questions the worth of good deeds that “keep men sweet long above ground” (Scene 10, p. 68) and then lie rotting with the body. His near consolation comes from the picture of Infelice, a painting that should mediate the horror of death and gives hope for “Till Doomsday” (p. 68) permanence; however, since good is dead to him, the image of the ideal becomes a mask that disguises the spiritual crisis eating his soul, the lust that leads to degraded sexual conduct in Part 2. By the end, Carnival will take him apart and reassemble him through the grotesque.

Since uncontrolled carnival levels hierarchy with madness, Bethlehem Hospital in Part 1 becomes a place that mirrors the outside world. Bellafront joins society’s mad characters in the mental hell of Bedlam, where society excluded aberration; but one could conversely interpret exclusion as inclusion, since the hospital represented the only place where some people could feel part of a self-contained society.³³⁷ Thus, in this institution, the grotesque receives re-incorporation into mainstream society, especially since the Duke and his friends “lose their place as viewers” and “become part of the mad world of the play, part of the show.”³³⁸ Boundaries erode to express the complete mental

degeneration of society with the hospital's census of gentlemen and courtiers whose "lands no sooner fall into their hands, but straight they run out o'their wits" (Scene 15, p. 95), citizens' heirs, farmers' sons, women "madder than March hares" (p. 96), aldermen's sons, whores, and Puritans. Sweeper explains the conditions outside of the hospital walls: "For the courtier is mad at the citizen; the citizen is mad at the countryman; the shoemaker is mad at the cobbler, the cobbler at the carman. The punk is mad that the merchant's wife is not whore; the merchant's wife is mad that the punk is so common a whore" (p. 96). Distinctions between "angry" and "mad" fall apart to display the mind's inversion as a humoral condition³³⁹ infecting society through the madness of carnival. The scene does not contain the "fully redemptive festivity" of Bakhtin, but it does help the audience see the madmen as products of poverty and social disintegration³⁴⁰ and social carnival's Bellafront as a victim who will exclude herself from its madness.

Part 2 shows that perpetual carnival wastes the very core of the human, but society turns those affected into spectacle. Rejecting grotesque behavior, reformed Bellafront argues that Matheo spends his "substance and time (worth all) in those damn'd shops of hell" (Scene 4, p. 134); but the degenerate Milanese society cannot see the effects, as "Custom in sin gives sin a lovely dye, blackness in Moors is no deformity" (p. 134). A veritable "well unsearchable" (Scene 10, p. 185) of prostitutes and customers infects the streets because a market exists. Prostitutes and bawds commit the same sins as the courtiers who use them, but only the whore "is held odious and contemptible."³⁴¹ The city responds with Bridewell, an emblem "of civic pride" in which authority resolves "all conflicts caused by immoral conduct."³⁴² In Scene 1, Dekker may want to show that some people condemned by society "are worthy of serious sympathy,"³⁴³ but city

officials carry offenders through “the streets like a pageant” (Scene 11, p. 191) and parade the prostitute prisoners in front of the nobles, almost as objects of shame and pride.

Also, the carnival in these plays only exacerbates the inverted social state with marriage, a union that allows the grotesque to mature. While matrimony represents a time to “drive away all sorrow, and all illusions of the brain, to purge the heart and brain from ill smokes and vapours that offend them,”³⁴⁴ the works subvert wedding celebrations: The Honest Whore with a mock death and Women Beware Women with theft, adultery, and the union of an idiot to an ideal woman degraded by unwitting incest. Carnival in Women Beware Women spawns in part from the celebration of marriage, but death and sorrow finalize the event as a result of the tragic genre and moral deformity. Rowe suggests that the author “thrusts these characters out of the wish-fulfillment fantasies of their comic dreamworld and into the harsh realities of a world where comic values have no place.”³⁴⁵ Thus, Leantio’s wedding serves as the face of death in this carnival world where characters metaphorically change comic masks for tragic ones. Mother first taints the feeling of celebration by describing the “birth-joy” as a “curse of sorrows” (1.1.4,5) to connect procreation to the fall and to punishment. Then, Leantio inverts the joy of his marriage by dwelling on the mirror image of the marriage knot, the winding sheet knot, as the consequence of adultery. Perhaps because of the implications of physical death and orgasm, the new groom expresses his marital sexuality as a dangerous, perpetual carnival. To him, “As many holidays / Coming together makes your poor heads idle,” conjugal bliss invents “great expenses” (1.3.6-7, 12) to destroy frugality. A holy day may degenerate into a sporting day of unrestrained sexuality akin

to lust in Florence, a “society of games” where the “universal pursuit of pleasure leads to a cynical disregard for all conventional moral codes.”³⁴⁶ Leantio also verifies his spiritual seduction by carnal celebration that is the norm “rather than an anti-social aberration,”³⁴⁷ stating, “What a religion have I leaped into!” (1.3.21). For his spiritual health, wanton love “must be ruled” (1.3.41) to serve sobriety, not carnival, not the grotesque.

The marriages in this play represent defilement that breaks apart the couple because of the female’s sexual feasting. Isabella’s marriage to Ward focuses on the dowry transaction; and until Ward says that “something stirred in her belly, the first night I lay with her” (4.2.100), the reader has no concept that the two have wed. As an enforced marriage, this contract will produce disaster,³⁴⁸ since even honest wedlock, “like a banqueting-house built in a garden (3.1. 90-92), permits the feasting of carnival to intrude with its “base lust” (line 93). The comparison of degraded marriage to “a fair house built by a ditch side” (line 94) acknowledges the inversion potential in the banquet from the female’s sexuality and the danger of spiritual death in favor of physical satiety. In the language of the grotesque, Leantio talks about the “twin-misery of the world”: one man hoards wealth while another “feasts all upon’t— / One’s damned for getting, th’ other for spending on’t” (3.2.90, 92). His comments apply to sexual appetite at the marriage feast where males come as guests and females as the meal or wealth offered in a one-sided bargain which devalues the female into an antic piece of meat that can serve any number of guests. Contributing to the bacchanal, Livia offers her house as “a place of feasting and revelry,”³⁴⁹ but the comic emphasis on “freedom, hospitality, and the necessity of fulfilling youthful sexual desires”³⁵⁰ mutates into tragedy. The wedding

masque becomes a tableau of death, when “mischiefs acted / Under the privilege of a marriage-triumph” appear merely accidental, as if “all’s by chance” (4.2.158-59, 161); but carnival has a director, the female grotesque.

Both plays examine the creation of the female grotesque as part of social and biological processes, while making the audience ask how women can remain ideal. In Women Beware Women, the feasting component of carnival becomes an avenue for carnivalized sexuality to provide the nourishment for the female grotesque to expand her deformity and to breed other defective females by creating bawds, whores, and courtesans. Moreover, the authors suggest that an ideal woman rarely exists as a central part of society, but only as a masked character in carnival, since any female has the potential to become a whore. Matheo, of The Honest Whore, Part 1, says that “Women, when they are alive, are but dead commodities, for you shall have one woman lie upon many men’s hands” (p. 8), so that the ideal and the prostitute have the same purpose and the same end and, therefore, are equally as grotesque. Since fathers use the ideal to gain wealth for the family and the prostitute uses herself to garner sustenance, the female represents a body doomed for exchange and worm food. Under the guise of honor, the female grotesque infects the world, but no one corrects the situation because carnival has already enervated society. Left uncontrolled, the fallen woman of tragic carnival orchestrates death through her deformity of spirit, sexuality, aging, economic value, and humoral imbalance, whereas comedy offers hope for the female.

When the issue of blame arises, the two plays arrive at different answers using the same analogy. Middleton in Women Beware Women employs setting a watch to suggest that the female grotesque does not run correctly according to society, or more to the

point, tends to set her clock or standards by those of too many men, so that she never runs in conjunction with the one true clock, chastity (4.1). While the author makes the point that the shared female keeps false time, Bianca contradicts the idea, saying, “Restraint breeds wand’ring thoughts” (4.1.32). Thus, no matter the approach taken, containment or freedom, women will become grotesque, unable to keep time with cultural norms, but the play blames society for accepting female irregularities. This work, then, advocates Burton’s comment: “For our body is like a clock; if one wheel be amiss, all the rest are disordered, the whole fabric suffers.”³⁵¹ The humoral female body affects her order and society’s regulation, but men encourage her malfunction. Humoral imbalance, economic pressure, and temptation can help disorder her sexuality; however, in The Honest Whore, Part 2, the ideal Infelice uses the clock metaphor to ascribe individual blame for spiritual deformation through illicit sexual activity. She asks if the clock owner should “upon the workman lay the blame / Or on ourselves that keep them?” (Scene 6, p. 153). The use of “ourselves” implies that the individual, not God, has responsibility for his/her actions.

The names of prostitutes in The Honest Whore Part 2 indicate that many females do not run well, suggest that any ideal female may degrade, and demonstrate the way that they have deformed meaning. Of interest, Burton recounts a traveler in Italy as saying the fathers of deformed daughters change “their lovely names of Lucia, Cynthia, Camaena, call them Dorothy, Ursula, Bridget,” and put them in monasteries as unfit for marriage.³⁵² Although he speaks of physical deformity, one can argue that the play suggests that the deformation of the women’s names as reflections of their reality means that the whore has no right to marriage. Bellafront can marry only because her reformation blends the external appearance of her name with the internal reality of her

spirit, whereas the other whores possess a disparity between seeming and actuality. For instance, Dorothea, or gift of God, transmutes into Doll Target, a toy that targets men or, conversely, that men target. The name Penelope Whorehound suggests a perversion of Odysseus' Penelope who typified the constant wife. Also, Catarina Bountiall's first name comes from maiden, a label meaning virgin, but her last name pictures the bounty of her sexuality and her munificence in sharing it. Mistress Horseleech, however, signifies the way that prostitutes leech off of society, but even that meaning has two implications if one thinks of bleeding as healthy. John Taylor's A Bawd describes the bawd or whore as a wheelbarrow "for the close conveyance of mans luxurious nastinesse, and sordid beastiality." Of significance, she carries man's sin; he, therefore, takes an active part in her fall, and she becomes, in part, a social victim, just as in Middleton and Dekker's play.

The Honest Whore also examines women's sin as part of biology, but her humoral fall takes on theological and social definition. Bellafront represents the too hot female whose "lust burns up your [her] blood" (Scene 6, p. 46) at the expense of her spirituality. Because of their heated blood, prostitutes become slaves of nature and economics by showing "tricks for money" (p. 45) and becoming journey-women for bawds. Men of all status flock to the whore's "intemperate bosom" (p. 45) and further heat her with their "hot luxurious arms" (p. 47) to alter her spiritually and physically and to cause her marginalization. When Hippolyto claims that the prostitute has no soul (p. 44), his statement contrasts the accepted stance that women have souls equal to men's; and he implies that Bellafront's trade killed hers. In fact, the characters frequently compare the prostitute to vilified non-Christians assigned to damnation and associated with usury, the Jew. In the carnival atmosphere that "frequently manifests exclusionary and xenophobic

feelings”³⁵³ against those who do not meet the standards of the majority, Pioratto suggests sexual attraction to Bellafront and prostitution’s business dynamics by calling her “sweet Jew” (Scene 6, p. 39); and the distraught Hippolyto says, “You’re like Jews, scatter’d in no place certain” (p. 46). These attitudes support the play’s comment that prostitutes move somewhat freely from one sector of society to another as an embraced evil. The theology supporting the play marginalizes the Jew and the whore as soulless, unredeemed sinners, since, as Knox reminds his readers, Jews “make plaine warre against all true professors of his holie gospell” and sold “Heaven’s treasure,”³⁵⁴ who bought the souls of all believers from eternal damnation. Since Bellafront, rather than selling her soul, “leas’d away my [her] soul” (Part 2, Scene 9, p. 180) when she loaned her body to “usury,” she can reclaim it, partly because of the humoral process involved.

Bellafront suggests that males actually changed her humoral balance to damage her soul, but humoral theory suggests a husband can correct this imbalance. In Scene 9 of Part 1, she proclaims that Matheo was “the first / Gave me money for my soul” and that he “brake the ice, / Which after turn’d a puddle” (p. 64). The icy crust of virginity broke under the pressure of the hot male, thereby heating the blood of the female and turning her into a lust-driven participant in a filthy carnival. If the “bodily fluids and the waters of nature were elementally unified” with the fluids carrying “the full weight of a character’s destiny,” then Bellafront could expect no other life, since one can semantically expand “the trope of filthy puddles” to suggest the “heart damaged by sinfulness [. . .] a container of foul liquids.”³⁵⁵ Furthermore, according to Galenic thought, standing water, such as in a puddle, breeds contagion;³⁵⁶ thus, the whore can contain nothing but infectious physical and spiritual disease. Speaking of the

interrelation of humoral and spiritual qualities, Hippolyto states, “The soul that leaving chastity’s white shore / Swims in hot sensual streams is the devil’s whore” (Scene 10, p. 72). This moment describes the female as an element of nature and supports the cultural idea that women become uncontrollably voracious after sexual activity, a sign of spiritual perversion. Bellafront knows that her participation at “prodigal feasts” (Scene 6, p. 47) has deformed her with an “ugly blemish / Eclipsing all my beauties” (p. 47) from overheating. In order to make her chaste again, she will have to cool in marriage where she will balance the hot male.³⁵⁷

The Honest Whore’s juxtaposition of the ideal female, Infelice, with the prostitute demonstrates the humoral process in keeping a female chaste.³⁵⁸ Lowering the ideal’s body temperature removes her from the category of the overly heated whore; however, the sexually stifled female seems as grotesque as one unbridled. The difference between the two comes from the ability to bring the restrained female to life primed for chaste sexual activity. The Duke regulates his daughter’s humoral warmth through sleep and waking, emptiness, and rest, three of the six Galenic nonnaturals that should reduce her passion in time for the father to revitalize it for his choice of suitors.³⁵⁹ He portrays Infelice’s mock death as “all those rivers / That fed her veins with warm and crimson streams, / Frozen and dried up” (Scene 1, p. 6), and does not describe her life as “her veins with hot and crimson streams.” His choice of “warm” indicates the humoral balance that ensures virtue but also moves incrementally toward hot; therefore, the poison that threw an icy crust over her becomes a form of birth control and prevents her implementation of free will in the choice of husband. The drugged sleep cools her down, but the Duke would take his methods further. To control his daughter’s passion for

Hippolyto, the father would “starve her on the Apennine” (Scene 3, p. 16) to reduce her fuel. Significantly, in the middle of the feast “a sensible cold dew / Stood on thy [Infelice’s] cheeks” when she hears the father’s feigned report, an indication that the news and lack of food affected her humoral temperature to make her more reasonable or “sensible.” When she awakens, the “coldish heat [that] spreads over all her body” (p.15), alludes to the paradox of the female whom father and husbands want to control as a chaste lover. Therefore, the Duke sends her to Bergamo to cool by inaction, in readiness for marital reheating; however, her self-determined reheating in marrying her choice of husbands suggests that only drugging will produce the ideal desired by patriarchy.

For the grotesque courtesan or whore in these plays, spiritual deformation from heating enables her to intensify carnival through manipulating humors and reality to destroy virtue. In Women Beware Women, Leantio speaks of the paradox of the strumpet, “Sparkling in beauty and destruction” whose “beautified body” he likens “to a goodly temple / That’s built on vaults where carcasses lie rotting” (3.1.96, 98-99). The word “beautified” indicates the strumpet’s self-construction to cover the external and internal damage, and the reference to “temple” suggests religious destruction to the whore and her worshippers. Bawd Livia helps compromise Bianca’s standing in a new family, but her deception of Hippolyto and Isabella seems worse, as it involves incest and advice couched in medical and religious terms. The courtesan apologizes to her brother for her “too bitter” words, “which were ministered / By truth and zeal,” but she promises him that by “a hazarding / Of grace and virtue,” she “can bring forth / As pleasant fruits as sensuality wishes” (2.1.28-31). Since “ministered,” according to the editors, refers to either medicine or religion, satisfying hot passion translates into physical and spiritual

imbalance destroying grace while bringing to life the fruits of sensuality—destruction. Her reduction of Hippolyto to passion reveals the power of the humors, especially when mediated by spiritual “cordials” (line 48). Livia will make Isabella more cordial to his advances, thus hotter by the stimulant ³⁶⁰ that will also intoxicate guilt. The cordial takes the form of a lie that Livia tells Isabella “will start your blood” (2.1.134), because it claims that the lovers have no blood relationship. The young woman, who has rejected her uncle as a spiritual danger, now heats up and compares her love to a feast and gives Hippolyto a kiss “full o’th’grape” (2.1.202), a bacchanal reference. Livia licenses the discreet consummation of incest by constructing piety through appearance because she no longer takes an active part in the sexual market.

Since aging makes Livia and Mother less attractive to men, they have to use others’ humors to warm themselves. The courtesan sits “here, / Sometimes whole days together without company (2.2.145) when Guardiano goes away, and the absence of male attention, not just aging, leads her to become grotesque. Livia tells Mother that “we account ourselves / Then old when young men’s eyes leave looking at’s” (2.2.157-58); but, as John Taylor explains, “And lastly, when as Art can no longer hide the furrowed or wrinkled deformities of her over-worne Age,” the whore, in this case the courtesan, turns bawd. Thus, Livia snares Bianca and seduces, or heats up, Leantio with wealth. In spite of his cooled listlessness, the courtesan reheats in his presence, saying, “This makes me madder to enjoy him now” (3.2.259), because of the perversion of the task. In this fit of passion, she woos again, after the age of fifty, a time of life not generally acceptable for lovemaking. Burton calls love in old age “Worse [. . .] in women than in men,” because the “young man [. . .] hates to look on [her] but for her goods, [. . .] to the prejudice of her

good name, her own undoing.”³⁶¹ Livia’s passion and the desire to undercut her brother for loving Isabella drive her to claim the younger man in a financial transaction that lacks real heat but portends real harm to his virtue and his life.

As a result of age’s deformation and economic need, Mother uses the grotesque female body to further her family into carnival. Her belief that women should “live chaste at fifty” (2.2.167) implies that they live unchastely before then and supports the idea that the old pragmatist realizes what happens to Bianca upstairs at Livia’s.³⁶² As Leantio’s status of “fallen gentry”³⁶³ cannot contain a wife’s humoral needs by providing “maintenance fitting her birth and virtues” which every “woman of necessity looks for” (1.1.66,67), Mother seeks benefits by turning a blind eye to the Duke’s rape. Perceiving that being in a lower class will result in the daughter-in-law’s “flowing to affections, wills, and humours” (line 70), Mother allows the young female’s blood to flow to its most natural level while she calmly plays chess.³⁶⁴ Possibly, she lives “her own life again through Bianca,”³⁶⁵ but she also gains attention from the higher class and gets a free meal that will heat her humorally. Both bawds, Livia and Mother, try to define a space for themselves³⁶⁶ by using the girl, but Mother’s early disappearance at the feast and Livia’s continued presence show the difference in their social power. Once the young woman heats up from sex and food, she no longer needs the old woman and becomes a whoring courtesan whose liaison eventually results in the death of the husband. The social status of Mother and Livia explains that females use sexual experience to survive as courtesans, bawds, or prostitutes within the “conventional moral view of sexual power relations,”³⁶⁷ but it also shows that sexually active women, especially old ones, can corrupt the family.

The sexual female grotesque in these plays does the most damage to patriarchy, and the men quickly note the possibility of harm in their urgent pursuit of unlawful objects of desire because of disease, intemperance, and humoral imbalance. Since the men claim masculinity through temptation and their use of the whore because of society's degeneration, the plays use the female to reveal man's carnal core. In The Honest Whore two men come to terms with their relationship to a former prostitute: a man of upright character, Hippolyto, experiences conflict of body and spirit; the degraded man, Matheo, sinks further into an abyss of his own making. Because the play weaves the harmful effect of the female grotesque's sexuality into the marital union, I will discuss the Hippolyto/Infelice and Matheo/Bellafront relationships as humoral and spiritual units after beginning with Bellafront's association with her savior to show that man creates and uses the means of his own harm; then, I will examine the havoc that women wreak on men and marriage in Women Beware Women, as they release the inner grotesque.

In The Honest Whore, the female grotesque serves as a means to demonstrate fallen man and his road to salvation. Hippolyto deals with Bellafront at two junctures of her spiritual life, while she still practices her trade and after he has reformed her; in both meetings carnality forms the discourse. In their initial conversation, the grieving man informs the prostitute of the harmful reality of men buying sex: "There has been known / As many by one harlot maim'd and dismember'd / As would ha' stuff'd an hospital" (Scene 6, p. 44). He speaks of the pox as a deforming result of whoredom, but he then alludes to the paradox for a woman offering illicit sex: "Why, those that love you, hate you, and will term you / Lickerish damnation" and wish themselves "half-sunk" (p. 45). Despite Hippolyto's two references to masculine bodily and spiritual harm, he avoids

male culpability in the illegal and immoral business transaction. He expresses his feelings about all women when he says that “One woman serves for man’s damnation” (Scene 10, p. 70), and, coming on the heels of his contemplation of Infelice’s picture and the skull, the comment implies that he somehow holds his betrothed responsible for her own death and his spiritual state. Conflating his perception of the ideal woman and the prostitute as daughters of Eve, the young man begins his journey toward an adulthood of reading below the surface through the lenses of early modern discourse to find that nothing but mortality exists beneath the surface of love. This gap between boyhood expectations and adult reality yields the imbalance creating his love for the grotesque, in this case, Bellafront (p. 71), among the icons that have become Infelice and all women: the skull and picture; one a deadly reality, the other a tempting appearance.

Nonetheless, the female grotesque in this play humbles masculine self-righteousness so that he can see his kinship to fallen first man. Now dead to virtue, Hippolyto admits to Bellafront in Part 2 that he “made you smooth to run an even bias. / You know I loved you when your very soul / Was full of discord” (Scene 1, p. 118). Having cooled the whore to a spiritual balance, this husband heats into a “mutton-monger” (Scene 4, p. 14), exchanging a chaste wife for a whore in a transaction that possibly endangers his spouse. Hippolyto gives Bellafront the very tokens that the wife associates with the chaste union: a purse Infelice wove with her own hands, a diamond she gave him when he took her virginity, and his handwriting in a letter. The first item suggests a financial exchange, the second one implies valuation of female genitalia, but the last one means the very giving of the person. Symbolically, Hippolyto shares his wife’s love; but in experiencing both women’s bodies, he would also expose Infelice to

the whore's health. Infelice speaks of the ramifications, saying, "With no whore's leavings I'll be poisoned" (p.155). While she means disease, the poison also has spiritual importance, since Hippolyto's passion renders him bestial or irrational, like the first man responding to his Eve.³⁶⁸ Aroused into sin, the wanton husband turns into the grotesque and shows "What monsters are men made by whores!" (Scene 12, p.195). Hippolyto loses himself, or as the Duke puts it, the harlot has "robb'd him of his shape, turn'd him into a beast" (Scene 10, p. 184). According to this authority, blame rests with the prostitute who causes psychological or spiritual transformation, as the husband will continue to pursue lust even if "stood armed devils staring in my face" (Scene 6, 156). Yet since Hippolyto makes a conscious decision to sin, the grotesque uncovers men's inherited evil which compromises their right to make the rules, as their "credit's crack'd" (Scene 13, p. 203) from associating with prostitutes.

Some of the damage from the grotesque comes from men's perceptions of her potential, because their expectation that a whore cannot change³⁶⁹ causes them to pursue degraded behavior to their own harm. In Part 2, the Duke says that "for to turn a harlot honest, it must be by strong antidotes" (Scene 10 p. 183), and neither Hippolyto, her reformer, nor Matheo, her husband, treats her as if a substantial change has occurred. Hippolyto tries to get her to break her marriage vows, while Matheo actually wants her to practice prostitution again in order to support his profligacy. Their disbelief finds its roots in Lanthorne and Candle-light in which Dekker writes that the whore goes out of the suburbs to purge herself "(as though her corruption were there left behind her (and) as a cleere streame)" with a new reputation "as a cloake to cover her deformities," so that her customers may come to her without "any eyes to watch." If prostitutes commonly

practice “reformation” to solicit a new breed of customers, and if their “words and meaning doe very seldome goe together,”³⁷⁰ then the men have grounds for disbelieving her newly-found chastity. While Hippolyto suffers public shaming (Scene 13), Matheo’s marriage to a reformed grotesque commits him to silent marginality and cooled humors. In Part 1 when Matheo rejects Bellafront’s conversion, his humoral balance changes as his “blood is vexed” (Scene 9, p. 63); but when she later wants to marry him, that vexation increases to a heated refusal in which he declares he had rather “be burnt thorough the nose first” and damns her “for alt’ring thy religion” (p. 65). The enforced marriage increases this heating so that Matheo operates totally by passion in Part 2 when he hotly denounces a man “always sober” (Scene 9, p, 168), commands his wife to “Kneel, and get money” of her father (p. 172), and orders Orlando to “Rob thy master.” (p. 176). By the last scene, Matheo, cooled by the truth, never apologizes or even speaks; but he and Bellafront stand united in silence, at best a dysfunctional family, despite the wife’s dedication to the marriage.

The self-interested female grotesque in Women Beware Women manipulates the deformed natures of men to destroy the family completely. For instance, by sanctioning her brother’s perversion, bawdy Livia creates the condition for Hippolyto to disregard the consequences of incest. An important point in the play, he knows that he makes love to his niece and needs only his sister’s permission to sin against nature. Hippolyto, “a blood soon stirred” (4.1.131) who allows his passion to stay close at home, holds the “reputation of his sister’s honour’s / As dear to him as life-blood to his heart” (4.1.134-35). Perhaps having improper feelings for him, as she seems to have a defense for incest prepared, Livia assures him, “You are not the first” (2.1.46). She recognizes that

incestuous feelings sometimes exist as part of the human makeup, and she ameliorates the seriousness of the situation by referring to “Things more forbidden than this seems to be” (line 47). Incest, then, becomes a “relative” term, the sin perhaps a cultural construct; however, her speaking of “a strange cure” for a “disease so mortal, / And near akin to shame” (2.1.50-51) suggests possible spiritual and physical deformity. Their incest hurts patriarchy by the sacrifice of morality in favor of personal desire. Livia’s actions appear selfless; but after her brother kills Leantio, she demonstrates self-interest when calling on God’s punishment for Hippolyto and Isabella whose “deed cries shortly in the midwife’s arms, / Unless the parents’ sins strike it still-born” (4.2.69-70). In keeping with carnival, childbirth becomes “a central activity of the grotesque body,” one signifying “the maternal body as polluted and polluting,”³⁷¹ but also affecting patriarchal name. Bastardy, incest, and marriage to a lower class result in “reputation bleeding” (4.2.28) to cool the family name, a process ending in death because of natural heat. Unrestrained self-interest, then, leads to self-infliction and reduction in the play through the grotesque.

The grotesque wife reduces the husband in Women Beware Women through humoral changes that affect masculine pride. For Leantio, sexuality tempts him to ignore his role as provider; and before going on a business trip, he admits, “I have no power to go now, an I should be hanged” (1.3.15). The young man realizes the cost of his “unvalued’st purchase” (1.1.12) when the “beauty” that “keeps me in compass” (line 26) drives him into a position of submission by her sexual misconduct. Since humors have reflexive qualities, the loss of Leantio’s love changes the heat of sexual passion into the “flames” (3.1.239) of anger even before he fully understands the situation; the “cool meditation” (line 110) that he uses to squelch sexual heat will not suffice. The happiest

time of his life, wedlock, now proposes “the ripe time of man’s misery” (line 271), because of the grotesque wife. To him, no absolute ideal exists, only relative value according to what characters desire; now, peace would come better for any man who spends his heat “in a strumpet’s arms” (lines 286-88) rather than marrying. Upon seeing Bianca with her lover and receiving the Duke’s offering of a captainship, Leantio melts into severe humoral imbalance because of the immorality of the situation. He says that the title “is a fine bit to stay a cuckold’s stomach” (3.2.46) and represents “preferment / That springs from sin and lust” (lines 47-48), shooting up quickly from “the rotten’s t grounds” (line 49), “raised from base prostitution” (line 50). Yet his angry heating opens him to sin and the advancements of the grotesque Livia whose machinations produce a blood-stirring appetitive feast that turns into a cold banquet of carrion.

Adultery as the inversion of marriage in the play produces a paradox: it subverts the purity of chaste wedlock, changes humors, and introduces disease by metaphorically deforming the husband with the horns of a cuckold, “a plague sore that would fright a country” (3.2.55), while he has a good appetite for “his meat” (line 54), or his wife’s piece of flesh. It also makes the male similar to the female grotesque. Leantio cannot remain static, as his stomach will change—or in Galenic terms, his humors, or passions, make him “Half merry and half mad” (line 53). Having initially experienced love melancholy, a condition in which the spleen diverts the feast, feeds upon black choler, and conveys it to the stomach “to stir up appetite,”³⁷² he now steams with anger, his body overheated because of his grotesque wife. He uses that heat to “hate her, most extremely hate her” (3.2.333, 335) for his well-being by balancing her coldness to him with his heat. The husband accomplishes this process with anger and turns into a male

prostitute who will “love enough, and take enough” (3.3.371). Since the person with the money provides the advantage and, thus, the reason for the heat, Leantio becomes like the female grotesque who relies financially on a more powerful figure. As Taylor suggests, “For hee’s a Bawd who doth his living winne, by hiding, or by flattring peoples sinnne.” Ignoring his degraded position, the husband calls his wife’s sin “A monster with all forehead, and no eyes” (4.1.93). He sees Bianca’s situation as spiritual deformation lending itself to physical expression and harm, but his liaison with Livia makes the sin worse because he uses a woman from whom he “h’as got / Fair clothes by foul means” and “comes to rail, and show’em” (4.1.110-111). In contrast to his heated words about death as the consequence of adultery (1.1.22), the husband boasts of his sin because of the humoral shift upon losing the concept of the ideal female to the preying female grotesque.

Women, too, fall victim to these predatory females, but their degradation actually uncovers the inner self. Since the effect of Bellafront on females in The Honest Whore represents her own spiritual journey, I will move to the female grotesque of Women Beware Women, to argue that they breed other spiritually deformed females to intensify carnival and destruction. Middleton portrays the male members of the court as dissemblers, but he “seems more often to apply the idea of treachery and lack of loyalty to the female sex,”³⁷³ so that Livia manipulates the grotesque nature already present in the other females by maliciously removing their ideal masks. Although Richard Levin claims that “Livia, Isabella, and Bianca share feminist thoughts and perhaps traits the play associates with their sex,”³⁷⁴ Middleton negates feminist ideas by using them to further deform the female and to exploit that deformation. While I will argue that Livia

and the Duke do change Bianca, her subversive appearance begins a series of self-presented spectacle encompassing her sexual innuendos with the Duke in front of his guests, including her husband, and her wedding revels that end carnival. Through her own devices, not the Duke's rape, she achieves grotesquery to suggest that the ideal merely pretends chastity.

In Women Beware Women, Florence's nourishing environment for the female grotesque's transformation from wife to whore suggests patriarchy as the cause of her growth, but the play indicates that the seeds of monstrosity already exist in her. Although Bianca's appearance at the window seems innocent enough to cast blame on the Duke for his reaction, Middleton uses a dramatic convention in which "women who look from a window onto a public place are to be suspected of harboring licentious wishes,"³⁷⁵ since prostitutes often solicited customers from an upper-story window.³⁷⁶ Bianca wants to display herself, even refuses a stool which would lower her, and asks, "Did not the Duke look up? Me thought he saw us" (1.3.105). After the Duke "victimizes" her, she chooses the direction of her growth by dropping her mask and changing her reaction from disgust to acceptance³⁷⁷ of the Duke's "infectious mists and mildews" (2.2. 422). Additionally, the former Venetian's³⁷⁸ use of "smutty sophisticated wit in the banquet scene" indicates "that she has not been thrust into an alien experience, but returned to a familiar reality."³⁷⁹ This language and her active role in rebelling against her parents, perhaps by stealing away through an open window, suggest that she will not remain in expected roles. Mother says that "the devil's in her" (3.1.70), but Leantio implies that the moral climate of Florence possesses her since the Duke, her "devil he's a suckling (4.1.79). This observation interprets Bianca as a witch nursing a familiar who infuses her

with evil as she nourishes his perversion. In this symbiotic relationship, the trope indicates the “temporary empowerment of women in childbirth rituals”³⁸⁰ by affecting the nursing Duke’s character with her milk and implies the autoerotic nature of the sexually released power for Bianca. The already-present grotesque gains the strength from this transfusion of sinful blood to speak out against her husband and his status, to flaunt her sexual excitement in public, to use her position as the Duke’s whore to get rid of a judgmental husband, and to attempt murder.

Both of the women made into the grotesque by Livia feel as if their new status represents the real woman inside. The play suggests, then, that women feel “natural” when committing sin or allowing their humors to run rampant. Upon her absorption into the court, Bianca states, “This was the farthest way to come to me” (4.1.24); but after her familiar dies, she speaks of the surviving court and the Cardinal as “strangers to me” (5.2.208). They represent people who did not participate in the court’s sin, and they now blame her rather than the men who reduced her, one lord saying, “What shift sh’ as made to be her own destruction” (line 219). Bianca drinks the poison to be with the Duke in death, but to escape the more moral court left behind. Within the theme of self-interest in the play, her suicide seems a natural escape from the consequences of sin.

Moreover, Isabella suggests that deformation actually entails allowing the covert “real” person to dictate actions. In response to Livia’s story about her bastardy, Isabella asks, “Have I passed so much time in ignorance, / And never had the means to know myself / Till this blest hour?” (2.1.181-83). This story begins a journey of self-knowledge that leads Isabella to recognize female evil and to subvert virtue by pursuing “some choice cates” (line 223), purposefully choosing to become an adulterer while

making her father think that she performs her duty. As “a true child of her time, brazen enough to have a ‘friend’ but too weak to defy social conventions,”³⁸¹ she uses deception to pretend conformity. Ward’s inspection, a moment of scopophilia, or the erotics of looking,³⁸² lists the expected degraded natural qualities of all women that supposedly explain their inferiority to men. Thus, Isabella’s “bump in [. . .] belly” (2.2.114) becomes a natural deformity indicating individual and family sin. Since her relationship to Eve suggests that she will bring physical death to herself and to the mankind of her world, Isabella is capable of killing the woman who betrayed her and joins Bianca and Livia in “the deadly snares / That women set for women, without pity / Either to soul or honour” (5.2213-215) because social deformation exacerbates an inherited sinful nature.

The Honest Whore and Women Beware Women suggest that no real difference exists between “wife,” “courtesan,” and “whore,” because all women not only have the potential for sin, but in some cases, actually feel more comfortable sinning, since without strict regulation, they “swell[s] with a wanton rein (Part 2, Scene 13, p. 207). Their sexuality presents a paradox in that society expects them to heat in marriage, but to resist male manipulation of their humoral bodies outside of wedlock. Within the symbiotic relationship between men and women, unrestrained sexual appetite leads to society’s commodification of the woman within financial transactions, as economic or age issues force the females to use their humoral bodies to survive the political dynamics of male desire. In the process, the female grotesque harms men and breeds other monstrous females. Yet the two plays treat the spiritual life of these fallen women differently. The Honest Whore implies that whores have redeemable souls deformed by economic circumstances, male appetite, and their own sexuality and that they can move toward

marriage where they will serve as mirrors for men. On the other hand, Women Beware Women demonstrates that marriage cannot contain the fallen woman's humors, as they will flow naturally toward the grotesque because the female is past redemption. Moreover, men use her weakness as an excuse to sin or to exact revenge on the spouse. Since men play an active part in the female's spiritual ebb, both works suggest that patriarchal models should understand their roles in producing or enabling the grotesque.

Chapter 5

Witches: The Indeterminate Body

*You are the Devil's gateway: you are the unsealer of that (forbidden) Tree, you are the first deserter of the divine law: you are she who persuaded him whom the Devil was not valiant enough to attack. You destroyed so easily God's image, man.*³⁸³

Tertullian describes the female in terms of carnival, unbound with liminal gaps. Like the gates at Bartholomew Fair, the female body opens for the purpose of inverting good for evil.³⁸⁴ The association of the female with the destruction of eternal life often leads to claims of her having bewitched first man,³⁸⁵ of continuing alliances with the devil, and of even causing the death of the Son of God.³⁸⁶ Tertullian's essay condemns women's apparel, painting, and fineries as the devil's additions to God's glory, because any attempt to improve the natural human by unnatural means, such as with wigs, large hair, or immodest clothing insults God and glorifies the flesh.³⁸⁷ The treatise also

suggests that “God commands women to be veiled,”³⁸⁸ not to serve as public spectacle. To the second-century author, women wear “fancy dress in public because [. . .] they desire to see and to be seen, either for the purpose of transacting the trade of wantonness or else of inflating their vanity,” thereby becoming the Devil’s handmaids.³⁸⁹ According to these definitions of dress, the spectacles of Joan from Shakespeare’s 1 Henry VI (1590)³⁹⁰ and Moll of Middleton and Dekker’s The Roaring Girl (1611)³⁹¹ may logically suffer charges of witchcraft, as men think the women collude with the Devil³⁹² whose regime represents “the lowest point of excellence.”³⁹³

This chapter examines society’s use of witchcraft accusations to explain the indeterminacy of two cross-dressers: Joan of Arc in 1 Henry VI and Moll Frith in The Roaring Girl. Using early modern logic, if the “grotesque” signifies God’s punishment to a person, then it makes sense that the transgressive female, one who speaks her mind, seeks knowledge, or feels comfortable in the shape of a male or female, would rail against her punisher to form an alliance with the Devil who seems more closely associated to her physicality and more appropriate for her agenda. These two plays highlight discursive tropic use of witchcraft, white magic, and actual perceptions of the black arts relative to definitions of women. After connecting cross-dressers and carnival to witchcraft, discussing interpretations of and responses to witches, and investigating the categorization of women as witches, I will discuss witchcraft’s role relative to masculinity, state, and God in 1 Henry VI and then will move into The Roaring Girl’s use of magic and love. In both cases, the women’s ability for shape-shifting affects social reaction and puts to question “God’s image, man.” The treatment of both women demonstrates contemporary perceptions of witches and their power as coming from the

original fallen good, Satan, but their unstable identities and hybridized bodies stand for relationships present in the social milieu: Joan's stands for masculine England and feminine France and Christian faith versus superstition; Moll's represents male art versus female art in a carnivalized society.

James Paxson uses Wolfgang Kayser's idea that one can never separate the grotesque from the demonic³⁹⁴ to argue that Joan comes from a tradition of carnivalesque fiends prevalent in pageants and festivities, demons who "bore faces or heads on their crotches instead of genitals."³⁹⁵ Providing the details of Joan's Shakespearean anatomy for support, Paxson blends historical reference with feminist criticism to view *La Pucelle* as "a demonic or negative feminine dramatic type central to the gender poetics of *I Henry VI*,"³⁹⁶ an idea pertinent to my claim. Moreover, according to this critic, the demonic body "signifies the concept of the inversional itself,"³⁹⁷ as it switches top for bottom or upper for the lower, dynamics, I suggest, akin to carnival. The inverted body, then, "exists as a sign of the fallen, twisted, upside-down mentality and spirituality of the rebellious Satan" and for the "macrocosmos that Satan attempted to invert and contaminate."³⁹⁸ Thus, one can interpret the cross-dressed, inverted body as a sign of Satan, since cross-dressed women attempt to put another "face" on their nether parts; however, this "disguise" brings instability with it. John Cox claims that in "a demonic parody of Talbot,"³⁹⁹ Joan's hell-derived "meteoric social rise"⁴⁰⁰ produces self-deception that leads to the fiends' desertion and to her abandonment of goodness in the final scenes, but human action is the focal point of the play rather than cosmic interference since the battle for England emerges from the chaos of individual greed versus valiancy.⁴⁰¹

I have found no one who mentions Moll Frith and witchcraft. Jean Howard suggests that Moll's dress "invites being read as a whore,"⁴⁰² while David Cressy notes that women, particularly prostitutes, cross-dressed to allure.⁴⁰³ Anthony Dawson mentions Moll's reference to "golden witchcrafts" but never identifies the play's association of the roaring girl with witchcraft. All ignore the connection between whores or female sexuality and witchcraft.

But cross-dressing and witchcraft relate to each other and to carnival quite easily. Stuart Clark suggests that the source of "witch," *hexen*, actually comes from the Amazons;⁴⁰⁴ this connection links cross-dressed, Amazonian Joan and Moll to witchcraft. The fact that some of the years of witch hunts overlap with the cross-dressing debates and occur when Carnival "was in its most extravagant phase"⁴⁰⁵ may indicate anxiety about biological hierarchy and about the subversion of two important cultural powers: patriarchy and the church. Although witchcraft carried complicating accusations of treason and heresy, it represents the suspension of normal hierarchies, a condition similar to carnival, "an act of pure inversion."⁴⁰⁶ Stuart Clark speaks of festive and erotic associations of witchcraft in early modern visual arts that portray people breaking rules and ritual form while lapsing into dissolution⁴⁰⁷ and cites Traicte contres les bacchanals ou mardigras (1582) which complains that the masks involved in mumming "switched the polarities of male and female,"⁴⁰⁸ a clear reference to cross-dressing but one that, as I will discuss later, relates to witchcraft as well. Similar to the inversion of Saturnalia and the Bacchanal,⁴⁰⁹ witchcraft represented unlicensed misrule in which participants performed everything backwards, thereby suggesting comparison to church festivals as well, particularly the bishop of fools.⁴¹⁰ The actual connection to

carnival occurred in the tenth-century English Satanic rites and witchcraft performed with covert pagan practices often accompanying Christian observances of Christmas and New Year's Day.⁴¹¹ Moreover, by juxtaposing religious practices with the fact that the best-known witch trial in Scotland⁴¹² seven hundred years later concerned political events from Halloween,⁴¹³ one sees dual implications of the black arts in religion and politics.

Cultural discourse associated the cross-dressed female with the perverted spirit world. Dating from the same year as James's decree against cross-dressing (1619), Hic Mulier claims that masculine-women have subverted "Admiration" and "fool'd him with a deformitie never before dreamed of" and that even "Goblins themselves start at" the sight. Since these women have forsaken the modest dress of the virgin and chaste wife, they cannot, by definition of the times, have goodness. In fact, they have made their bodies "not halfe man, halfe woman; halfe fish, halfe flesh, halfe beast, halfe Monster: but all Odyous, all Divell" by putting "on the garments of Shame."⁴¹⁴ The writer then describes the French doublets, short hair, swords, jigs, and uncivil behavior of these women as offenses to God, deviations from Nature, and glorifications of the Devil.

Cross-dressing as an expression of evil destabilizes social distinctions, thereby making correction necessary. According to Hic Mulier, the plague of cross-dressing ultimately resulted in the loss of honor and reputation for the female and, by implication, for the husband. The disease pervades all social classes in a carnivalized society, as the devil lays bait to catch the souls of all wanton women. In fact, the author claims that more citizens' and shopkeepers' wives have donned French doublets than "hath beene worne in Court, Suburbs, or Countrey, since the unfortunate beginning of the first devilish invention."⁴¹⁵ In clothes designed by the Devil, the cross-dressed female

undermines established order and prompts the writer to call on fathers, husbands, or sustainers of “these new Hermaphrodites” to effect a cure for this shame.⁴¹⁶ After all, having a powerful and potentially dangerous woman doing the devil’s work weakens a Christian family and the country. The pamphlet makes note of a problem in 1 Henry VI and The Roaring Girl: one can never know these women or their intentions because they wear a disguise. For example, Joan claims God’s power but then lies at her “trial,” and Moll changes her self-presentation throughout the play. As indicated by these characters, boundaries necessary for stability blur under the effect of indeterminacy.

As spiritual deformation and disease affected social order, transvestism subverted religious authority as well. John Williams’s A Sermon of Apparell (1619) addressed the issue of the “half male, and halfe female” who affronting God’s order and natural design by coming to worship. Williams argued that God made male and female, two separate sexes, but “the deuil hath ioyn’d them, that *mulier Formosa*, is now become *mulier supernè*, halfe man halfe woman.”⁴¹⁷ As the active hand of Satan making a spectacle in church, cross-dressed females distracted the congregation from God’s word to matters of the flesh.⁴¹⁸ In essence, the church and state equated female freedom of choice with the Devil in order to control what they perceived as the unruly part of creation.

Interpreting witches, female or male, as real dangers, Queen Elizabeth and James I sanctioned Othering and punishing people accused of diabolic dabbling. Elizabeth I, like her father, passed bills specifically connecting witchcraft to treason. The 1581 act, despite “no evidence at all that there were attempts upon the life of Elizabeth,”⁴¹⁹ declares as felons anyone, inside or outside of English dominion, who have cast nativities, made calculations or prophecy, or used “witchcraft, conjurations, or other like

unlawful means whatsoever, seek to know [. . .] how long her Majesty shall live, or who shall reign a king or queen of this realm or England after her Highness' decease," subject to death without the benefit of clergy.⁴²⁰ This act suggests a couple of things about the political climate: 1. Queen Elizabeth believed in the power of witches, a belief perhaps reinforced by her father who had defended Anne Boleyn's removal by claiming she used witchcraft to seduce him into marriage.⁴²¹ 2. As the Supreme Head of the Anglican Church, Elizabeth suspected Catholics of using witchcraft against her; thus, the Roman Church acquired political significance aligned with the socio-political importance of witchcraft's perverted theology. By addressing witchcraft, the Queen demonized her detractors and solidified her right to the throne as a god-fearing woman. Perhaps, 1 Henry VI supports Elizabeth by using Joan's fate to warn those who attempt magic for political gain.

Although in the Middle Ages, from 1300-1330, witch trials in France, England, and Germany involved "prominent figures either as victim or suspect,"⁴²² witchcraft accusations became a real means for state-building in the early modern period, at least in Scotland, as the witch-hunt period in that country "began with the rise of the doctrine of the divine right of kings and ended with the decline of the godly state."⁴²³ In this country, political factions accused their enemies, and some people actually practiced witchcraft to attain power. For example, the 1590 Scotch witch trial proved that the previous All Hallo E'en an assembly of more than two hundred people gathered for a sabbat at a haunted church in North Berwick where they asked the Devil, their master, how to kill King James VI.⁴²⁴ Clearly, James VI's Demonology (1597) does not seem like superstitious paranoia when considering these events, which also indicate the cultural

belief that witches used powers of darkness to influence politics. Moreover, the rebels' inverted use of a church reminds the reader of Joan's involvement with witchcraft under the guise of religion and her effect on the political future of both sides of the conflict in 1 Henry VI.

Medieval and Renaissance explanations of witchcraft also demonstrate the interdependence of state and church. Works such as Kramer and Sprenger's The Malleus Maleficum (circa 1485), Bodin's On the Demon-Mania of Witches (1580), and Martin Del Rio's Investigations into Magic (1595), which define social perceptions of witchcraft and the women practicing the arts, formed the basis for English and Scottish writings on the subject. For example, James VI's Demonology (1597) and William Perkins' A Discourse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft (1608) examine the same issues as their predecessors and, in Perkins' case, actually refer to the previous works. Explaining the witch as an agent of Satan, the treatises suggest that a well-ordered state cannot accept transgressive behavior toward secular or spiritual law. According to Bodin, ". . . the common good depended on order, and order in society could only exist through a well-established and properly functioning monarchy,"⁴²⁵ the absolute ruler acting as God's hand. The author interprets witchcraft as having the potential to create civil war; moreover, all philosophical works speak of the danger of soul and church because of the Devil's activity and the "marriage" of the female witch to Satan.

The Roman Church from the thirteenth century competed for the "right" to allegations by describing witchcraft as heresy⁴²⁶ rather than as treason, and witchcraft charges became a means of Othering competing religions and belief systems. Therefore, conforming to the general use of the grotesque, spokesmen for various sects, even

Protestant and Catholics, vilified other religions with aspersions of witchcraft, a division with political implications.⁴²⁷ Since only subtext in 1 Henry VI concerns the argument between Catholics and Protestants, war among members of the same belief becomes central, and the holiness of the occasion comes under scrutiny. Henry VI qualifies this argument by claiming it “impious and unnatural / that such immanity⁴²⁸ and bloody strife / Should reign among professors of the same faith” (5.1.12-14). In this light, Joan’s unnatural body and predisposition for the preternatural embodies the profane use of faith by putting worldly religio-political ambition ahead of spiritual health.

The play also reflects historically accurate legal action against witches to question Joan’s purpose in France: was she there for her own political gain or for religious glory? The possibility of Joan having a political agenda exists since she controls Charles throughout much of the play; however, the conflict between the maid and the English provides the focus. Since witch-hunting “was directed for ideological reasons against the enemies of God,” a trend that lasted “for as long as Christianity had political importance,”⁴²⁹ Shakespeare establishes Joan la Pucelle as an enemy of God, a female using unprovable claims of divine sanction against the people the English view as God’s chosen; therefore, she has to die. On the other hand, her trial by military judges rather than by the historical council of bishops also indicates the sixteenth-century switch from trial by ecclesiastical courts to secular bodies⁴³⁰ and demonstrates the political importance of the moment for the audience. If Joan had lived, she possibly could have controlled France and England and have perverted faith even more.

In Shakespeare’s day, however, most people did not concern themselves with categories of witches as traitors to the crown or threats to the pope, but instead feared

those, mainly women, who could affect their daily activities, including farming, household chores, and sex. The use of witchcraft accusations against Middleton and Dekker's Moll Frith falls into these personal categories, especially with love. Formal accusations usually went against neighbors, the old and widowed, who Scot says "are melancholick, whose nature is extream cold, and their evaporation small" and who "are the least sufficient of all other person, to speak for themselves; as having the most base and simple education of all others, the extremity of their age giving them leave to dote, their poverty to beg, their wrongs to chide and threaten (as being void of any other way of revenge)." ⁴³¹ Age, failing bodies, and economics victimized these women; however, most charges went against transgressive females who did not remain complacent in their prescribed roles. In this "world turned upside down," wives who exchanged roles with their husbands to attend war, women who demanded the fulfillment of their wills, females who usurped male control of language, and women who sought sexual superiority ⁴³² became charged with witchcraft. Scot describes them as "doting, scolds, mad, devilish, and not much differing from them that are thought to be possessed, so steadfast in their opinions," ⁴³³ women who offend their neighbors. In these cases, female language became an expression of evil, with the Devil sometimes speaking through women's "shameful parts." ⁴³⁴ According to contemporary theory, female inferiority made her more susceptible to the Devil's subversion and to sexual impulses; as a result, "around eighty percent of all those accused of this crime were women." ⁴³⁵ Economically, physically, and humorally deprived females who attempted to obtain a modicum of power suffered charges of witchery, and accusations came "one degree away from an attack on women." ⁴³⁶ For Joan of Arc and Moll Frith, class, dress, and hot

behavior bring them into consideration for witchery as a means of disempowering them. In 1 Henry VI the males accuse lower-class Joan of sorcery to nullify her spiritual charisma by placing her in league with the Devil against God, but in The Roaring Girl, Wengrave's charges against Moll targets the woman as a proponent of free choice and independence which undermine patriarchal authority.

Like Wengrave's complaint of Sebastian's bewitchment by Moll, most cases of witchcraft involved conflicted interpersonal relationships, such as when one party insulted another, a love affair ended, people quarreled over money, neighbors vandalized property, or town members committed slander to affect community order.⁴³⁷ Authorities connected the witch with unbridled female passion and independent action by basing their ideas on the Aristotelian assumption of women as imperfectly human—a grotesque failure in the conception process—and the Judaeo-Christian belief in woman's natural gift for evil due to introducing sin into the world. Overall, in the plays and in real life, "behaviors transgressing traditional gender codes were conflated" so that "witches were regularly accused of sexual misconduct."⁴³⁸ The Malleus confirms this idea:

Again, since of these three vices the last chiefly predominates, women being insatiable, etc., it follows that those among ambitious women are more deeply infected who are more hot to satisfy their filthy lusts; and such are adulteresses, fornicatresses, and the concubines of the Great.⁴³⁹

Most important, historically and dramatically, men perceived the danger of the witch as coming from sex or witchcraft to get what they wanted at the expense of the male body.

As masculine anxiety surfaces in charges against possessed women who could affect the family unit and sexual performance in non-metaphorical emasculation, males in the plays express concern that Joan and Moll cause mental and physical degeneration. By implication, loose women, hungry for partners, target weak-minded men, such as Sebastian, according to his father, or make men feminine through the witch's sexual powers which can turn a man's mind to "inordinate passion," prevent his ability to procreate, remove the penis,⁴⁴⁰ and change him into a beast. To the beast reference, Del Rio, Kramer, and Sprengel mention Circe, a label applied to Joan at her "trial" by the English and discussed later. At the basis of these accusations lay male fear of emasculation, of witches literally making "a man into a woman"⁴⁴¹ by stealing the penis. Taking up the sword and masculine attire, Moll and Joan perform this deed metaphorically. Also associated with The Roaring Girl, men feared the use of philters making them fall in love with witches who were "as repulsive physically as morally and desperately need the help of the devil to obtain the lovers whom they crave."⁴⁴² Although the play only describes Moll as big, the title page of the first edition, 1611, presents her as a pipe-smoking, sword-carrying, doublet-attired, pantalooned "he/she" that would clearly need a love philter to capture a young nobleman like Sebastian Wengrave⁴⁴³ and whose unstable gender presentation causes part of male reaction to her.

The belief that witches could change into the opposite sex through self-transformation or the Devil's illusion suggests a most interesting possibility with cross-dressed viragos, who, Philip Stubbes says, "think they would as verily become men indeed, as now they degenerate from godly sober women,"⁴⁴⁴ the antithesis of cultural norms. Stuart Clark states that morally witches "are classified by strict polar opposition

from what is right; physically, by the spatial metaphor of inversion”;⁴⁴⁵ therefore, the physical inversion of transgendered clothing suggests immorality through self-determination. Broedel offers the following interpretation of the works of Kramer and Sprenger: “In this new conceptual field, disordered sexuality is identified with the devil, inverted gender roles and sexual dysfunction with witchcraft, and defective social and political hierarchies with women and women’s sins.”⁴⁴⁶ The possibility of gender metamorphosis puts into doubt much of what masculine entitlement draws on: a secure, clear delineation between male and female; the certainty of paternity; and a rigid hierarchy. This type of inversion, though parodied in the cross-dressing of carnival, represents the most dangerous threat to patriarchy and signifies heresy; therefore, patriarchal authority labeled cross-dressing females, who may represent devilish activity in the world and who may operate outside of the natural become, as witches. Joan la Pucelle and Moll Frith represent those women.

Not the wart-faced, bent women associated with witchcraft in the modern world, but kin to choleric Amazons, Joan la Pucelle and Moll defy or confirm accusations of witchcraft earned by their monstrosly assuming male prerogative; however, the genres they occupy in literary works determine the type of witchcraft others perceive them to practice. In darker issues of history, characters interpret Joan as a demonic heretic and sacrifice her sainthood to elevate sacrosanct masculine virtue in the search for elusive English unity. In the city comedy, the father, concerned about familial treason, reverts to stereotypical explanations of female power: the use of charms that enervate men. Shakespeare expresses the idea on a national scale, whereas Dekker and Middleton examine the grotesque female’s effect on masculine responsibility. After defining Joan

and Moll as witches and explaining what the plays say to patriarchy, I will show that in Henry VI association with feminine witchcraft means denying Christian faith and the loss of God's protection; in The Roaring Girl the witch label serves as a scapegoat for men's pursuit of wealth; but both plays reveal that patriarchy falls short of godly excellence.

Rather than a melancholic female or a lewd, old woman, Joan of Arc enters as a forceful young virgin dressed in military garb, whom the enemy calls "witch" to circumscribe her power. According to witch lore, Joan should develop a humoral imbalance from her masculine activity, but Shakespeare never alludes to it, though the French woman often expresses anger. Since authorities never accused chaste virgins of witchcraft,⁴⁴⁷ the play uses witchcraft as a subset of Joan's indistinct gender presentation to examine the grotesque androgyny of her sexuality which translates into religious ambiguity. As Marie Delcourt states, "Androgyny is at the two poles of sacred things. Pure concept, pure vision of the spirit, it appears adorned with the highest qualities. But once made real in a being of flesh and blood, it is a monstrosity."⁴⁴⁸ Ideally then, Joan could represent a pure, virginal spokesperson for God, who transcends sexual desire,⁴⁴⁹ but the emphasis on her physical presence compromises the divine within her and alters perceptions of her body, so that she becomes a threatening, monstrous piece of flesh.

Furthermore, her self-agency in the play challenges masculine presumptive powers through the perversion of male religion and female mythology. Hence, the Bastard carefully leaves the anomalous young virgin offstage until he gives her positive credentials as a "holy maid" who "by a vision sent to her from heaven, / Ordained is to raise this tedious siege / and drive the English forth the bounds of France" (1.2.30, 31-33). By also giving her greater prophetic power than the pagan sibyls of Rome, he

distances Joan from ancient witchcraft by the omnipotence of God. Although Charles then validates her as a “pure vision of the spirit” when he tests her skills first by having her identify him and then buckling with him, his sexual reaction destroys his comment as an epiphany of God. Similar to The Malleus Maleficarum, the play makes a “nod to the glories of the Virgin, admitting that, just as an evil woman exceeds all others in iniquity, so a good woman is a model of righteousness,”⁴⁵⁰ but it creates this witch figure as a fertility goddess, not the Virgin Mary’s spokesperson, rather a Cyprian compromising French claims to God’s authority. Joan represents the dual power of woman as virgin and whore, both aspects able to control man’s mind (spirit) and body. The gap between blessed and profane provides the opportunity for male interpretation, so that Charles offers to worship her as the complementary aspects of traditional female goddesses. Thus, to the men, “holy Joan was his [Charles’] defensive guard” (1.7.50) in the English recapture of Orléans, but the strumpet Joan in a state of bedtime disarray enters with Charles in the surprise attack. As a perversion of the sainted mother, she can lead French forces that pursue passion over divinity.

Pucelle’s divided definition allows a skewed reading of biblical heroines and further distances the French from God and masculinity. Her representation as a hybrid of an Amazon and the biblical prophetess and judge Deborah makes her at once pagan and Old Testament Hebrew, or medieval Christian ancestors having connections to preternatural skills. After his shameful defeat by Joan, Charles begs her to “stay thy hands! Thou art an Amazon / And fightest with the sword of Deborah” (1.3.83-84). Since Deborah and another woman overthrew Sisera for the Hebrews,⁴⁵¹ the allusion sets up Joan’s effect on masculinity, anticipates the arrival of another active female, and

reveals Charles's belief that this Deborah will deliver the French from the English, who in this case represent Sisera. The story in Judges also includes the activity of the "other woman," named Jael, who "took a tent peg, and took a hammer in her hand, and went softly to him [Sisera] and drove the peg into his temple" (Judges 4.21) as he slept.

Shakespeare completes this part of the Deborah reference with another French woman, Margaret, who delivers France from the English king as a result of her soft words to Suffolk and to Henry in Part 2.

Moreover, Charles' sexualization of Joan undermines the sanctity of her service by giving her the power of Delilah, who reduced a male through her sexuality. The difference between Joan and either of these historical women resides in the inversion of her overall effect: she enervates her own people rather than the enemy. Although Talbot, his son, and York ignore the dark powers that Joan attempts to wield, the French fall, seduced by the "maid." The historically lascivious Charles burns impatiently with desire and offers himself as a servant to the "maiden." While one might interpret his offer as remnant courtly love, the play supports the idea that he gives her control, bewitched by her body. After all, she, not Charles, contrives the scheme to enter Rouen dressed as market men and pressures the already morally subversive French into inverting patriarchal power by accepting a woman leader. One concern about Joan, however, drives all male responses to her: she proves a masculine threat. Burgundy pleads, "Pray God she prove not masculine ere long" (2.1.22); Charles asks her to "Speak, Pucelle, and enchant him with thy words" (3.7.40); and Burgundy declares that "she hath bewitched me with her words" (line 58). York, though, speaks more directly about her effect as a pagan danger and a "ugly witch," who bends her brows, "As if with Circe she would

change my shape” (5.4.5,6), just as she has made the French beastly by taking their manhood. Joan’s association with this type of witchcraft provides a pretext for the French grotesque behavior, vacillation, and effeminization through their own sexuality.

The French focus on female allurements, rather than the power of God, plays into the contention of male and female holiness. In a war deemed Christian, the relegation of the Catholic male God to second, perhaps third, place, cannot bode well for the French, but the English waiver in their devotion as well. The association of Joan with sexuality and incomprehensible masculine skills elicits Talbot’s reference to her as “a witch” (1.7.6) when she shames him in single combat and as the “virtuous Joan of Arc” (2.2.20) immediately after he retakes Orléans. Even though the English frequently label her “strumpet,” their feelings about her holiness relate directly to whether or not they lose to her in combat, since she is the antithesis to the side best emulating the qualities of a masculine god and exhibiting masculine ideals. Furthermore, the English also interpret Joan as an agent of the Devil, but this accusation connects her to the religious inversion endemic in England’s ecclesiastical hierarchy. When the Mayor calls Bishop Winchester “more haughty than the devil” (1.4.83), he makes an observation that resonates throughout the English response to Joan la Pucelle as the creator of division. “Holy” Winchester, who “giv’st whores indulgences to sin” (line 35),⁴⁵² exemplifies not only church corruption by not serving as God’s instrument, but the division of the family, as he moves against Gloucester and the weak Henry VI and, like Joan, prostitutes himself for personal gain.

Saint or whore, male or female, Joan becomes the emblem of Charles’ already questionable virtue and his preoccupation with the supernatural. The play often portrays

him as a simpering, sex-starved fool, and historically, his exterior appearance matched his mental degeneration. Perroy describes him as “stunted and puny, with a blank face in which scared, shifty, sleepy eyes, peering out on either side of a big, long nose, failed to animate his harsh, unpleasant features.”⁴⁵³ This grotesque portrait and Charles’ superstitious nature make it no surprise that he had favorites, greedy men who herded around the King to acquire money, but more important, that French courtiers included men who pledged their hands to the Devil and “Marshal Gilles de Rais, the Satanist, and child-murderer.”⁴⁵⁴ Charles’ court existed in a state of carnivalesque subversion, and the possibility of being a bastard made him consider abdication. In the play, his sexualization of Joan in turn bastardizes her claim of serving the Virgin Mary and toys with the idea that Satan “would only deliver his oracles and responses through those women who were virgins”⁴⁵⁵ in pagan times. Also, the Frenchmen’s persistent references to her beauty and the English label of whore make Joan seem like the Whore of Babylon, the perfect female for Charles’ court, for the enemy of the English and of God.⁴⁵⁶ To further degrade the French, Charles replaces the holy masculine with a feminine idol, emasculates his country, and breaks ideological cohesion by stating that “No longer on Saint Denis will we cry” (1.8.28). His heresy ensures that the Catholic God will turn from the maid and the French to build a kingdom.

Although the play demonstrates that the struggle between Good and Vice divides along masculine English and feminine French lines, the French interpretation of Joan as an agent of God does not necessarily oppose English claims about her association with the Devil. In keeping with Bodin’s comment about witches wearing the veil of piety,⁴⁵⁷ La Pucelle claims to have received her powers from God through the Virgin Mary; but in

Act 5, scene 3, a precursor to the French defeat, she calls on evil spirits in the perverted motherhood described in witchcraft treatises. This prophetic Deborah, demanding the spirits “give me signs of future accidents” (line 4), indicates the marks on her body where she “was want to feed” (line 14) them and promises to “lop off a member” (line 15) to satisfy their thirst. Offering her body to “Pay recompense” (line 19) and her blood to nourish, Joan performs the inverted eucharist of the sabbat, and the scene illustrates the similar conceptual spaces that witches and heretic occupied.⁴⁵⁸ The play up to this moment portrays Joan as a sexualized heretic, but now makes clear the basis of witchcraft accusations, as she actively engages with evil spirits and satisfies her contract with the Devil by feeding her familiars.⁴⁵⁹ Joan’s plea to the “substitutes / Under the lordly monarch of the north” (lines 5-6) verbalizes the contradiction inherent in her claim of alliance with godly women: she substitutes sex, ambition, and glory for the substance of virtue founded in God, thereby making the English, as masculine Christians, her binary opposite. Thus, the familiars refuse to speak to her out of fear of God, and her powers begin to diminish.

Although ignorant of Joan’s actual witch behavior, the French attempt to separate from her; but even if they knew of the incantations, they could argue that “God would never permit any evil to be done unless it was to result in a greater good,”⁴⁶⁰ a sixteenth-century belief reflecting Augustinian thought from City of God (11.17). Despite the argument that Charles historically may have thought that Joan did use the powers of darkness,⁴⁶¹ the French in the play ignore the element of witchcraft in favor of the maid’s godly association in order to restore a true French dynasty. Historically, one of Charles’ officers, Monstrelet, a Burgundian, stated that “the French believed that God

was against the English.”⁴⁶² Thus, in order to keep His favor, only after a council determined that neither heresy nor insanity drove her to their ranks, did the French give her command, a matter completely ignored in the play, because in literary terms, God supports those who write the myth. In terms of the grotesque, since God punishes sinners by breeding the grotesque, He punishes the French who believe that a strumpet rather than a virgin can answer their prayers and rewards the English who do not fall to temptation, thereby using an evil woman for the greater good.

Since allegiance to God over passion determines this outcome in the play, the English say that Joan has denounced God, but the claim has immediate meaning for Shakespeare’s audience. To the soldiers, this “high-minded strumpet” (1.7.12) or Charles’ “trull” (2.2.28) inverts religious dogma. Historically, Bedford blamed her, the “‘fell, banning hag, enchantress’ who used ‘false enchauntments and sorcerie’”⁴⁶³ for lagging English moral conviction about the justice of their fight for Lancastrian kingship in France. Dramatically, Talbot calls her a strumpet and a witch whose blood he will draw and whose soul he will give “to him thou [Joan] serv’st” (1.7. 7) in a religion rival to Christianity.⁴⁶⁴ Thus, English masculinity becomes defined by its rejection of sexuality in favor of spirituality. As she stands before the English, Joan even degrades the Holy Mother⁴⁶⁵ by sexualizing virginity with a feigned pregnancy. The trial has to exorcise the female from masculine religion and reduces the importance of the virgin’s divinity for the enemy, since Joan’s baby would occupy the same position as Christ had she conceived through God. Shakespeare, therefore, has her embrace sexuality when she sees that claims of holiness do not protect her; her child represents a devilish trick. Even though the pregnancy has “historical” foundation,⁴⁶⁶ the scene undermines Catholic

influence by this degradation of the virgin and saint and makes a jab at Puritans when Warwick comments, “The greatest miracle that e’er ye wrought. / Is all your strict preciseness come to this?” (5.6.66-67). This passing reference to “preciseness,” elevates the virgin Queen Elizabeth I and the Anglican religion above contending sects. Joan’s transgressions as a cross-dressed witch cannot defeat a united England, just as neither the diminishing English Catholic Church nor the Dissenters can overcome Elizabeth.

As the English seem to occupy the moral high ground at the trial, they will have the power to kill witch Joan; but this moment also reveals the instability of their convictions. Recognizing her behavior as a “sign she hath been liberal and free” (5.6.82), they acquire immunity from her bewitching tongue and darkness, because some “persons are under God’s special protection; guardian angels defend saints and holy men; others may be ‘naturally’ resistant to witchcraft due to the influence of celestial bodies and the angelic intelligences that move them.”⁴⁶⁷ The fact that Joan with or without witchcraft cannot tempt the English suggests that God does protect them. Talbot, his son, and the ascendant heroes that seem to float over the battleground defend the right cause. In a sense, their faith becomes the comet that Bedford calls on in the first scene; however, since evil spirits can “serve the glory of God,”⁴⁶⁸ Joan’s voice as a masculine woman and unholy saint provides the vehicle for God’s final judgment on the English. As a well-placed evil, Joan steels English fervor, if only momentarily, and as a prophetess, like Deborah, “makes predictions, and casts fortunes”⁴⁶⁹ to taint the rest of the tetralogy. Unable to punish the English herself, the French “maid” does foresee their fall, ensured by festering divisions, God-forsaking factions, and an “effeminate peace” (5.6.107) that

will seal the “utter loss of all the realm of France” (line 111) for the English because of passion, lust, and ambition played out in battles among relatives, friends, and lovers.⁴⁷⁰

With less theological implication, The Roaring Girl exploits witches’ shape-shifting, their perceived ability to emasculate men, and their use of love potions to create irrational masculine fear of Moll Frith and to reveal the instability of men. Although not magical, Moll does change “shape” throughout the play, as she “slips from one company to another like a fat eel between a Dutchman’s fingers” (2.1.188) to cross class and gender barriers by altering her attire and behavior. In her first appearance at the shop, Moll wears gender-blended clothing, a masculine frieze jerkin and a black safeguard covering her skirt. When she meets Laxton in Gray’s Inn Field, she dresses completely like a man, breeches and sword, and her outfit prompts the gallant to claim, “I’ll swear I knew thee not” (3.1.52), since he looked for one thing and found another. In 3.3 she assumes mixed clothing again, but in 4.1 and 5.1, she reappears as a man.⁴⁷¹ The final scene has Moll dressed as a man and then as a masked bride. Since no one knows what to expect of the roaring girl, they marginalize her as a demonic, threatening Other. Laxton’s “Heart, I think I fight with a familiar, or the ghost of a fencer” (3.1.123-24) labels her part of an unfriendly, shifting spirit world; but Moll, as discussed later, interprets men as bewitchers as they revere gold and sex and use art to get them.

People respond to Moll’s changing corporeal reality, but she also makes them fear the constancy of her imagination and spirit. This “fantastical’st girl” (2.1.186) has otherworldly qualities that must explain her ability to slip from one classification to another. Goshawk alludes to her complexity by combining “fantastical’st” with “maddest” to imply fantasy or illusion, definitions occurring by the fourteenth century

according to the OED. Both terms allude to the effect of a male/woman on the viewer and “to the passion of love,”⁴⁷² a definition in use in the late sixteenth century consistent to Moll’s role as matchmaker. A third definition in use from the fifteenth through at least the seventeenth century avails itself: “Pertaining to, or of the nature of, a phantom,”⁴⁷³ a meaning cross-referenced under “fantastical” as “Chiefly in fantastical body in reference to the heresy of the Docetae.”⁴⁷⁴ In spite of her physical presence, Goshawk connects Moll to phantoms and heresy partly because she changes personal definition as easily as she switches clothing; but her heresy resides in rejecting masculine values in sex and wealth and earns the label of witchcraft when it undermines masculinity.

Patriarchy claims that Moll possesses magical powers to explain the loss of rational manhood and to deny women’s right to free choice. The grotesque woman’s supposed power over Sebastian’s heart prompts the son and father to associate Moll with witchcraft. Sebastian twice uses “bewitched” to describe his condition. In noting his mini-hell, “those fires / That burn within me” (1.2.176-77), he denies responsibility for his actions by placing blame on the use of magic to mimic the effects of love. If Moll has bewitched Sebastian, she would have used a philter, because to men, women’s power can come only from a magical potion made of a perverted Host.⁴⁷⁵ Philters considered harmful,⁴⁷⁶ Sir Alexander Wengrave reveals the reasons for marginalizing the charmed grotesque. He asks, “What devil or drug / Hath wrought upon the weakness of thy blood / And betrayed all her hopes to ruinous folly?”; the father then claims that Sebastian sleeps in “enchanted shame” where his soul “sits with a golden dream / Flattered and poisoned!” (2.2.115-17, 118, 119-20). Wengrave’s mention of shame indicates more than embarrassment. Since scholars gendered philter victims as “silly” females,⁴⁷⁷ the father

emasculates his son by making him a weak-willed target instead of a virile male.

Visualizing every woman, particularly a whoring virago, as an opportunist ready to snare a fortune from an unstable son, Wengrave never dreams that Moll “would ne’er agree” (5.2.214), in favor of a woman’s free choice, which men thought came from the Devil. Masculine vulnerability to a charming female, who will make decisions that might override a man’s will, underlies these claims and prompts the patriarch to reduce her through labeling.

The play demonstrates that whether from magic-induced or natural love, the loss of rationality harms patriarchy by decreasing the father’s control over his son. Pursuit of Moll could result in the father’s “untimely coldness” (2.2.140), a reference to death, but Sebastian argues that “Nothing but death’s black tempest shall divide” (line 155) him from Moll. Both men associate her with their deaths, but Sebastian implies that hell, as associated with “black,” is the only force able to take her away, perhaps because, like a spirit, she claims his soul or rationality. To patriarchy, Sebastian has already experienced loss of reason in his relationship with Mary Fitzallard since he chooses a paternally unsanctioned wife to exercise freedom of choice, but his association with Moll reduces him totally. Young Wengrave’s account of the effects of natural love on “the best part of man— / Reason and judgment—and in love, they tell me, / They leave me uncontrolled” (lines 97-99) echoes Del Rio’s explanation of a philter in which “the evil spirit strives to gain the upper hand by means of various alluring temptation” that set the imagination and body on fire, so that the “body is forcefully dragged towards the desire for sexual intercourse with someone or other.”⁴⁷⁸ Therefore, the heated humoral effect of love, symptoms also created by witchcraft’s philters, make the man effeminate by robbing him

of reason and giving him female passion; thus, patriarchy must protect one of its own by demonizing the grotesque.

Wengrave uses the term “bewitchment” as a trope rather than an actual accusation, but his concern indicates the true god of this play, money, has bewitched the carnivalized town. As a non-worshipper of wealth, the marginalized female represents a devilish temptation from patriarchy’s one ideology. In this ambiguous society the Devil’s party and Christ’s followers become indistinguishable; as Sebastian tells his father, “Why, there are of the devil’s, honest men gentlemen, / And well-descended, keep an open house; / And some o’ th’ good man’s [Christ’s] that are arrant knaves” (2.2.162-64). Within these inverted conditions, love mutates into passion for money, and Sebastian recognizes that his father’s reactions to his “love” for Moll represents the accepted position. He says that his father “grieves / As it becomes a father for a son / That could be so bewitched” (1.1.101-02). Then, by playing on that theme in claiming, “I’m so bewitched, so bound to my desires, / Tears, prayers, threats, nothing can quench out those fires / That burn within me” (1.2.175-77), he makes grotesque Moll “a strange idol” (1.1.113), a substitute for the wealth that his father thinks the son rejects. Sebastian’s choice of god, however, remains subject to economics, as he pursues a path to win the inheritance, not just the woman he really loves. While Old Wengrave focuses on the financial issues involved, wanting to prepare his estate and to wake up his son so that the family name and fortune will not suffer “infamy and ruin” (2.2.177), his concern for family name and money, not Sebastian’s spiritual condition, demonstrates the deformed morality pervasive in London society. In a town where people “cannot see but

he who makes a show of honesty and religion” (2.3.136), men think that the Devil’s handmaid works against the proper transference of wealth.

To escape blame for this inversion, men in The Roaring Girl use the idea that women associate easily with the devil through illicit sexuality, but life in London comes down to female art versus male art, as the play aligns males with the art of lying and sexual illusion. Even the Coachman suggests that women work with familiars to seduce men when he says that if his horses “catch but the scent of a wench once, they run like devils” (3.1.22-23), and Laxton mistakenly thinks that he supports this association in the following:

That wile

By which the serpent did the first woman beguile

Did ever since all women’s bosoms fill:

You’re apple eaters all, deceivers still! (3.2.260-63)

Yet he deconstructs the argument with a statement contrasting Tertullian’s description of the female as an active agent of evil. Accusing the devil of “charming” Eve, Laxton defines him as an aspect of wit, not spirit, an originally male quality capable of seducing the female and teaching her deception. In this explanation, Eve and her daughters learned passively to bewitch from a male figure who serves as the model for this gallant.⁴⁷⁹

Moreover, Moll proclaims the real artful practitioners when she blames male art for bewitching women. She describes men’s “best flatteries, all their golden witchcrafts / With which they entangle the poor spirits of fools” (3.1.90-91) as leading to the economic fall of women who do not have the options or free choice that men do, a social insight “potentially subversive of dominant values and practices” (393) that define women as

daughters of Eve who seduce men. In an interesting use of “flatteries,” Moll turns Wengrave’s use of “Flattered” in 2.2.120 back on the male to note danger and to imply that the lack of free choice comes from evil. Also associating men with perverted metaphysics, Goshawk describes Laxton’s use of male arts to get money from Mrs. Gallipot, saying, “Go, thou’rt a mystical lecher” (2.1.18) who works discreetly on the female spirit, while Goshawk himself woos “so openly with the tricks of art that I’m as apparently seen as a naked boy in a vial” (2.1.24-25).⁴⁸⁰ According to these statements, the male practices art to achieve sex and gold; however, society easily sees the deformity of his behavior and accepts it, since morality has almost hit “the lowest point of excellence.”⁴⁸¹ Moll goes even further in vilifying men by linking them with the Devil, the male fallen angel to which witches swear allegiance. To her, men’s “golden witchcrafts” turn gold into a means of spiritual valuation, so that angels do not protect England for God but stand for commerce, trickery, and masculinity. In 2.1 Laxton actually equates angels, money, and the devil when he counts, “Eight, nine, ten angels. Good wench, I’ faith, and one that loves darkness well” (2.1.118-119). The darkness of devilment reduces Mrs. Gallipot to money lender instead of wife in a marketplace where women give their chastity to practitioners of male art, to the “crafty knave” (3.2.194) who claims evil as feminine and who tries to further seduce women from virtue.

Moll rejects these values and witchcraft to become a spokesperson for individual moral responsibility. For example, she does not play “The Witch” for Wengrave, with either instrument, her viol or her body; and when he makes “her policy the art to trap her” (4.2.210), Moll avoids the deformed angels used to tempt her. This mixture of Adam and Eve recognizes male craft and will not give over to man or devil, declaring, “My spirit

shall be mistress of this house / As long as I have time in't" (lines 138-39). For her, any scenario in which the female does not control her "wit and spirit" (line 132) signifies shame. Since "spirit" represents the inner self or religious aspect or indicates courage, Moll exemplifies the latter but expresses the former definition by telling Laxton, "Would the spirits of my slanderers were clasped in thine, / That I might vex an army at one time!" (lines 110-11). Spirituality, to her, exists as a means to defeat masculine evil. Distancing herself from witchcraft because she thinks it low-class, illegal tactics for survival in a commercial world, she refers to "cheaters, lifters, nips, foists, puggards, curbers, / Withal the devil's blackguard" who perform their own ritual in perverted synagogues (5.1.286), who "have their orders, offices, / Circuits, and circles, unto which they are bound, / To raise their own damnation in" (5.2.305-06, 308-310), where canting becomes incantation for a seductively thieving, gold-centered society. Even though her indeterminate body suggests inversion, she does not use witchcraft because she depends on herself and her values, a stance implying that patriarchy should recognize its faults and abandon "golden witchcrafts" in order to correct carnival inversion.

Society accuses Joan and Moll of witchcraft because they have indeterminate physical presentation and confusing behavior. Neither play supports the power of witchcraft, but they do suggest that the loss of patriarchal faith and virtue allows for allegations. Rather than addressing their own flawed relationship with God and morality, men marginalize women as agents of evil causing disorder and loss of rationality. Joan de la Pucelle of 1 Henry VI and Moll Frith of The Roaring Girl reveal that masculine anxiety may result from men being the root cause of women's fall. Since strength comes from godly virtue, men who worship women displace faith and become

weaker, as patriarchy transfers love of women into greed for land or a bag of angels. Ironically, the females treated or mistreated as mysterious objects see masculine vice most clearly.

Chapter 6

Shrews

*A Housholde is as it were a little commonwealth, by the good government
Wherof, Gods glorie may bee advanced, the common-wealth whiche
standeth of several families, benefited, and all that live in that familie
May receive much comfort and commoditie.*⁴⁸²

Amid social anxiety about the breakdown of the familial structure during the early modern period emerged the most grotesque female figure of all, the scold or shrew, whose power came from her control of language and presumptive authority in the household and community and whose transgressions challenged national hierarchal values. At the pinnacle of the Renaissance hierarchy of needs rested the monarch, the figure mirrored by the patriarch in the family. This analogy meant that if women on the local level could make public their authority and their husband's lack of control, then questions about the ability of the king to rule his kingdom naturally came into focus.⁴⁸³ I have chosen The Honest Whore⁴⁸⁴ plays (Part 1, 1604; Part 2 1605) and the conflated text of King Lear⁴⁸⁵ (1605) to investigate the problem of the outspoken and potentially violent female. Dekker's and Middleton's *Viola* situates the shrew in the marketplace to

examine the changing roles of women in a transitional economy and gender implications for a patriarchal society. Shakespeare's presentation of Goneril and Regan suggests the tragic possibility of the unruly female. The three plays acknowledge shrewish women as indicators of changing times and deal with gender anxiety by subscribing to contemporary discourse about the proper place of women. As Underdown states, "On the stage, as in carnival, gender inversion temporarily turns the world upside-down—but to reinforce, not subvert, the traditional order."⁴⁸⁶ In other words, these works attempt to put the female in her proper place within a hierarchy of patriarchal control.

Analyzing the economic milieu surrounding and contained within The Honest Whore plays, George Thornton focuses on the prostitute as the female most indicative of society's moral state without giving much attention to Viola's or Wife's marriages as the micro-portraiture of the state which "must be made good, else a vengeful God will destroy it."⁴⁸⁷ In discussing the apprentice system in Candido's shop, he at no point examines Viola's disordered position within that hierarchy, but merely throws in that the "second major plot concerns Candido, a patient linen draper, whose wife, Viola, spends most of her time attempting to provoke him to impatience"⁴⁸⁸ and then lists the gallants who help her. Since Thornton propounds that Dekker believed that society's lowest classes imitated the higher levels (23), he should give Viola and Wife equal significance to Bellafront, because addressing their behavior makes possible the reassembling of the moral hierarchy. On the other hand, Kreps does target the legal aspects of the husband/wife relationship and "the standard misogynies of Viola's cursed wife syndrome"⁴⁸⁹ and, noting the paradoxes inherent in the plays, suggests that Dekker never

resolves the contradictions in his “position on women’s legal rights,”⁴⁹⁰ as Viola has a legal place in the shop, but social conventions bind her to quiet and submissive behavior.

For King Lear, Peter L. Rudnytsky establishes a psychoanalytical argument about the destructive significance of the vagina in the play. While his approach creates an interesting reading, accusations of incest and arrested development for Lear, as indicated by the polarization “of women as either virgins or whores,”⁴⁹¹ and the application of female genitalia to the eye-socket holes on Gloucester’s face go a bit far-a-field for my purpose. But his comment that the idealization of Cordelia does not serve as an antidote to the demonization of Goneril and Regan does offer a reading of Cordelia as the lost potential of the other sisters and indicates “the play’s underlying misogyny,”⁴⁹² attributing negative consequences to all of the daughters. In a different approach, Marjorie Garber compares the dismemberment of Britain by Lear to the union that King James hoped to effect between Scotland and England,⁴⁹³ as the early modern King “regularly referred to the misfortunes that had brought *disunion* on early Britain”;⁴⁹⁴ however, she never refers to the social fracturing occurring in England during Stuart rule. This “romantic” approach to the play lends itself well to a study of the fairy-tale quality of the work, perhaps an anachronistic notion of familial relationships in which “the notion of kingship may function as a metaphor, so that Lear is viewed primarily as a father, the head of a household, the father of daughters.”⁴⁹⁵ Garber also examines Shakespeare’s weaving of comedy and romance into a remorseless tragic movement with insertions designed to break tension and to offer hope for redemption⁴⁹⁶ and a return to order in a world that has questioned the quality of “natural.”⁴⁹⁷ Although no critic interprets Goneril and Regan as scolds or shrews, I believe that they represent the

ultimate masculine fear—the shrew unleashed and destructive, but reflective of an existing disunity.

After establishing the relationships within marriage and between marriage and monarchical hierarchy, I will demonstrate that The Honest Whore plays present shrewishness as a humoral condition exacerbated by weak governance and that King Lear explores this female grotesque as a behavior problem possibly begun in childhood when incorrect parenting techniques interacted with genetics to produce the aggressive, scolding adult. Thus, the breakdown of masculine authority, not just aberrant nature, breeds the female grotesque. Both genres manifest social problems in this type of female, but the comedies present the outspoken female as somewhat correctable, while the tragedy claims that in order to cleanse society of engendered disease, males must retrieve the dominant role from the “cruel nails” (Lear, 3.7.57) of usurping females by obliterating them before creating a new government founded upon loyalty, rationality, and concern for the kingdom at large. Also, both works suggest that scolds reduce manhood at the expense of the benefits that submission would bring to the women; however, the authors argue that a good governor can create an obedient subject. For preventative measures to avoid disorder, The Honest Whore plays and King Lear suggest that rulers and husbands should exhibit patience and cool reasoning balanced with assertive control of their kingdoms so that subjects have no reason to act out.

Since social rule in early modern England had its foundation in familial order organized by marriage vows, the husband held a position in his little commonwealth parallel to a monarch’s in his kingdom, so that wives and children served as subjects, but under an explicit contract. In 1549 when church officials inserted the words “to love,

cherish, and obey” in place of the five-hundred-year old marriage contract that the wife should “be bonair and buxom in bed and at board,”⁴⁹⁸ the change revealed a growing concern about the lack of rigidity developing in the marital hierarchy and the church’s desire to refocus emphasis from sexuality, procreation, and companionship to the legal aspects of marriage as a reflection of the state hierarchy. After all, the new vow expressed control resembling a monarch’s over his/her subjects; but females did not always respond complacently. London even held special sessions of the peace for bawds and scolds,⁴⁹⁹ who disregarded social norms describing the female as married and submissive subjects, because authorities feared that any attempt to “free women from their husbands was to license anarchy”⁵⁰⁰ and social upheaval.

Springing from this idea, the scolds of The Honest Whore plays and King Lear embody the discussion of the appropriateness of resistance to authority that the subject deems corrupt or ineffective, concerns intensifying in pre-Civil War days.⁵⁰¹ Yet “as long as the family was seen as a natural institution, resistance to royal authority was difficult to justify,”⁵⁰² since rebellion had temporal and eternal consequences because of the husband’s and the monarch’s responsibility for their subjects’ spiritual welfare. As “the husband representeth Christ, and a wife the Church,”⁵⁰³ any resistance to his authority, by verbal or physical action, entailed blasphemy, because he “carieth the very Image of Christ,” the “head of the Church,” and the woman’s subjection “doth stretch itselfe very farre, even to all things.”⁵⁰⁴ As for the other subjects, Richard Mocket argued that since children do not choose their fathers nor subjects pick their kings, they have no remedy for harsh, but God-given, natural rulers.⁵⁰⁵ But what if the ruler acts unnaturally? Addressing this question, The Honest Whore plays look at what the wife

deems an unnaturally passive ruler, and King Lear asks about a curative for a ruler/father who makes both offices unnatural when he suffers a fracture of mind, body, and spirit.

Indicating the relationship between the spiritual and physical, early modern writers used a body analogy to describe the union of man and wife, but this depiction also caused part of the social disturbance. Since tradition associated men with rationality and women with emotion and humoral upset, the husband occupied the position of the head while the woman served as the heart of the unit.⁵⁰⁶ Custom, though, also explained original sin as the female's manipulation of the male and the need to control her by determining that God and nature gave man physical and mental superiority over woman. Most early modern writers do claim the equality of souls and "a common equity"⁵⁰⁷ in marriage, with the heart almost equal to the head. A problem emerges at this point.

Many women seized upon this idea of "equity" as "equality" and attempted to control the family by speaking and acting from positions of authority in areas where they had none. Woman's sole authority was in the home as a co-governor over servants and the children; but, the husband had the responsibility of directing the religious education of those in his household since the woman carried the taint of tempter. So, any attempt to wrest authority from the male earned the female a grotesque label. As Gouge writes, "[. . .] "for a wife who knoweth and acknowledgeth the generall, *that an husband is above his wife*, to imagine that she her selfe is not inferior to her husband, ariseth from monstrous selfe-conceit, and intolerable arrogancy, as if she her selfe were above her owne sexe, and more then a woman,"⁵⁰⁸ outside of natural order. Although this designation came particularly hard for many intelligent women, the wife who sought to rule her husband, especially in public, turned the marriage, herself, and her spouse into a

grotesque spectacle of contention, an unnatural object with “many heades or many bodies, [. . .] like a monster.”⁵⁰⁹ However, contemporary views of marriage specifically exclude the carnivalized grotesque from the institution. For instance, according to Vives, the wife “should not suppose, that she commeth to daunce, play, and feast, but must ponder higher thinges in her minde” since “God is the over-seer, the Church is the mediatrix in marriage.”⁵¹⁰ Having the Church as the mediator to marriage places the emotionally-private institution under public correction, a necessary measure because true scolders took their arguments to the streets.

This emasculating inversion often occurred because scolds suffered from a humoral imbalance that destroyed marital balance and caused the wife to challenge the husband’s role,⁵¹¹ but sometimes the husband did not fulfill his own role, thereby permitting the female to act out. Gouge speaks of masculine disempowerment caused by these women: “Many wives by their shrewish speeches, shew no more respect to their husbands, then to their servants,” and their inward anger manifests itself in “chiding and brawling.”⁵¹² Hence, the master became the servant, and inversion created chaos in the household; or, extended to the state, the subject became the ruler, and civil war broke out. In part, the humoral body offers some explanation, as the women “when their stomacks are full, they must needs ease them on their husbands”⁵¹³ amid a flurry of words creating a type of harmony in their own bodies and minds. The remedy entails making the “wives therefore learne first to moderate their passion, and then to keepe in their tongues with bit and bridle”⁵¹⁴ so that their husbands did not taste the bitterness of gall. Overall, temperance in all areas provided for a more naturally peaceful existence, but the husband had responsibility in maintaining his wife’s proper demeanor. Gouge argues that a man’s

“evill example, or negligent government, or hard usage, hast made her so bad as she is”;⁵¹⁵ therefore, the husband should set the standard for the wife to gauge her own behavior. As a union of souls, then, both husband and wife create the marriage balance.

Whether from the husband’s negligence or the wife’s humoral condition, the outspoken female presented a serious problem during Stuart rule. In fact, during the period between 1560 and 1640,⁵¹⁶ the time immediately preceding the disorder of the Civil War and coinciding with the increase of witch trials, court records indicate “an intense preoccupation with women who are a visible threat to the patriarchal system,”⁵¹⁷ with females scolding, brawling, refusing to enter service, and beating their husbands. In this period accusations against women often contained the labels of scold and witch, and Reginald Scot stated that the “chief fault of witches is that they are scolds.”⁵¹⁸ Although shrews existed well before Stuart rule, presentments to ecclesiastical or manor courts climaxed in James I’s reign,⁵¹⁹ with most convictions involving wives, as only a few widows and single women appear on record.⁵²⁰ This widespread phenomenon had several causes. For example, in the city where most prosecuted scolds lived, “wives of tradesmen—butchers, bakers, weavers, and so forth”⁵²¹ formed the core of offenders due mainly to their role in marketing.⁵²² Females also seem to have acted out the surrounding social tension. Natalie Davis’ “woman on top” term reflects the inversion permeating society, as Puritans challenged women’s roles by offering them more equality in church membership; in fact, major Puritan sections of the country with large numbers of separatists who regarded women a bit more equal experienced increases in the number of scolds.⁵²³ If this increase indicates the loss of the husband’s control in his house, then it mirrors the diminishment of monarchical authority on a larger scale and predicted the

Civil War, which entailed “the anxiety of those in authority about the potential for disorder.”⁵²⁴ Gender jockeying in the household became analogous to questioning James’s right to rule, in part, because of his court and wasteful spending.⁵²⁵ This unrest during his reign signaled changing perceptions of marital roles and the need for an exemplary patriarchy, statements reflected by the female grotesque in The Honest Whore and King Lear.

Socially, patriarchy attempted to reassert control over disorderly shrews through official punishment. Prior to Stuart rule, authorities sentenced them with penance or small fines; however, as the number of cases increased, scolds suffered more stringent measures with ducking, cucking, the scold bridle, or skimmingtons—all in public spectacle, so that even the punishment turned into a carnival of ridicule.⁵²⁶ In the legal years of 1603-04, 1605-06, and 1606-07, courts carted offenders as a penalty.⁵²⁷ As the scold signified all female sins, her punishment in many ways incorporated actions taken against witches and prostitutes,⁵²⁸ including labeling. The term “scold” itself served as a means of correction, as it had destructive “impact second only to ‘whore.’” Overall, however, penalties occurred “not merely to punish but also to achieve ‘reformation’”⁵²⁹ of the offender and to serve as an example for others. As with many official punishments, measures did not always produce the results,⁵³⁰ so the inversion continued.

Concern about shrews actually reveals insecurity about masculinity and the man’s ability to perform the functions allocated by society: can the husband or male ruler provide nourishment, protect his goods, and instruct his family/subjects about proper behavior? Carnival in The Honest Whore plays and King Lear results from the slippage of masculine control and the assertion of female dominance, especially in language.

Although a time difference exists between the worlds of the plays—one contemporary to the authors, the other an early fracturing of the kingdom—each work could serve as a reflection of Jacobean England. During this time, as capitalism disrupted “the traditional family economy” and bound “women even more completely into a redefined patriarchal order,”⁵³¹ confusion developed about the nature of men’s authority. Thus, in The Honest Whore, Candido does not appear to have the qualities necessary to survive in a mercantile world, and in King Lear the father/king cannot control the division that he begins. For these cases, the male gives tacit permission for the female’s usurping power—Candido through patience, Lear through madness or senility. Candido’s somewhat laissez-faire approach to his wife and the effect of Lear’s unnatural behavior on his children come under examination. The works reflect cultural concern that “the disruption of society by wives or children might be encouraged by irresponsible household heads,”⁵³² who do not protect the family well or control themselves well enough for their subjects to respect them.

In The Honest Whore, Candido’s unnatural wives force this “grave citizen” (Part 1, Scene 2, p.12) to become part of social carnival by encouraging inversion. Since carnival and the female grotesque become one issue, I will now discuss the portrayal of Candido’s wives against contemporary discourse and then will argue that the husband’s behavior creates the shrewish wife and that she has valid grounds for her actions.

The Honest Whore, Part 1 presents Candido’s wife, Viola, a talkative shrew, while Part 2 introduces Wife, a nameless character whom the authors use to rebalance gender roles. Culturally, women like these represent unnatural deformities, but humors play significantly in Viola’s marital relationship. John Knox’s The First Blast of the

Trumpet Against the Regiment of Women says that “a woman promoted to sit in the seate of God, that is, to teache, to judge, or to reigne above men, is a monstre in nature, contumelie to God” and represents “the subversion of good order, of all equitie and justice.”⁵³³ Knox also implores, “Let all women take heed,” of the “sentence God had pronounced against the hole race and daughters of Heva”⁵³⁴ so they might learn to subject themselves. In short, the daughters of Eve will continue to pay for original sin and subsequent transgressions. On Viola’s part, shrewishness comes from a humoral response to the balanced blood of her husband, a man described by Twynning as “all Lent”⁵³⁵ or as part of the nascent, Puritan-inclined bourgeoisie⁵³⁶ who respond negatively to the carnival gaiety of the city. His immovable blood, in which “he has taken all patience from a man, and all constancy from a woman” (Scene 4, p. 19), fills the wife with “longings not wanton, but wayward” (p. 13), so she will either act the shrew to “thrust him from his humour, vex his breast” (p. 21) or will die from a humoral imbalance. Viola, representing what Castruchio calls “a waspish shrew” (p. 27), or what Snawsel labels as “a terrible mannish woman,”⁵³⁷ commits gender infractions with religious consequences. Even if all of Milan saddles and rides Candido, Viola must subject “her selfe, her appetites and will, to her husband and to his will,”⁵³⁸ according to church doctrine. But, Viola says she “could burn all the wares in my shop for anger” (p. 29) to use her unsettled state as a locus of power. Only when patience becomes expedient does Viola admit her grotesque nature, saying that “like a monster I often beat at the most constant rock of his unshaken patience” (Scene 14, p.88), and the explosive situation cools down.

Counterpointing the comment in Part 1 that princes have “high spleens” (Scene 3, p. 16), the plays use the lower class grotesque female and her humorally phlegmatic husband to suggest that a patriarch’s deficiency creates the shrew. In fact, although the original title, A Booke called The humours of the patient man, The longine wife and the honest whore,”⁵³⁹ emphasizes the humoral dispositions of the three major characters, Candido’s behavior encourages his wife’s humors, so that Viola will become “leaner than the new moon” unless she “make[s] him horn-mad” (Scene 2, p. 13) and, taking the perception that “the man is not so irefull as the woman”⁵⁴⁰ to the extreme, makes patience almost a vice. His inaction at first seems appropriate, because the man of courage who tries to maintain his authority over his outspoken wife will have a household full of the “hurly burly she will make,” but a milksop who “basely yields unto his wife, and suffers her to rule, may have some outward peace.”⁵⁴¹ But Candido is no milksop and often tries to make her quiet, while Viola’s responses often seem valid. The audience wants Candido to take stronger control of the situation but also asks if the church wants the wife to suffer under a husband described as “the monstrous patient man” (Scene 4, p. 19), an unnatural man. He allows men to cheat him, to destroy his goods, and to steal from his wife, actions that, if real, could affect Viola’s economic welfare by squandering their goods. This situation varies from cultural discourse, such as Snawsel’s A Looking Glass for Married Folks (1610), which talks about the shrew “wasting of their [the family’s] goods”⁵⁴² but neglects the husband’s inability to protect those goods. To that point, Vives argues, “Nature sheweth, that the males duty is to succour and defend, and the females to followe and to waite upon the male, and to creepe under his ayde, and obey him.”⁵⁴³ Perhaps Viola speaks out unnaturally because she interprets Candido’s

ingratiating behavior as unthriftiness, which causes loss of authority for a husband.⁵⁴⁴

In this response, the play connects to James's unthrifty behavior in wanting to please courtiers; however, while one might appreciate James and Candido for their intentions, their disregard of the economic consequences of their patient benevolence creates alarm.

Garrulousness⁵⁴⁵ her only shrew quality, Viola often uses her disdainful voice for the good of the family, because like the wife "whom ambition hath tainted and corrupted," she imagines being "made slaves"⁵⁴⁶ by the husband's complacency about their financial welfare. Her snide comment, "A woman's well helped up with such a meacock!" (Scene 5, p. 29), runs contrary to a proper wife's speech and indicates intention to rule despite her dependency. According to Gouge, "the ambition and proud humour in women who must needs rule, or else they think themselves slaves"⁵⁴⁷ creates inversion. In the case of Viola, burgeoning social mobility also gives her ideas; but in a competitive market situation, she needs an aggressive husband to provide the basics and to become wealthy. Moreover, working in the shop may give Viola a "greater sense of independence and self-sufficiency"⁵⁴⁸ to challenge Candido's decisions for the shop's success. During this period, women's conflicting "economic roles and their expected subordination were so severe that they posed a challenge to the most carefully conforming wife."⁵⁴⁹ Never pretending to conformity, Viola sees her husband's behavior first hand, has knowledge of the goods, and realizes the attitude necessary to protect the business. As a woman of commerce, she does not focus her reputation "on obedience to men" but on her ability to help the family economically, as a "meek woman would be unable to bargain effectively at the market."⁵⁵⁰ If Candido cannot perform his function as head of the household, then his doubtful masculinity necessitates that a strong

woman help him in a challenging economy. Perhaps, Wife tests Candido in Part 2 for this same reason: she has to make sure that he has the strength to protect her and the shop. The wives' actions seem like defensive tactics, not offensive shrewishness, and represent real situations, as female scolds "disappeared from the courts when social mobility had virtually halted, population stabilized, and the economy begun to improve,"⁵⁵¹ because they had fewer financial concerns.

The play's social carnival views traditional virtues such as patience as signs of unmanly behavior, so that Candido comes across as the grotesque caricature of a man who actually harms his marriage. Castruchio asks, "Is't possible that *homo* / Should be nor man nor woman?" and then supposes "he's a pigeon, for he has no gall" (Scene 5, p. 25).⁵⁵² The merchant's humoral willingness "to please all customers, / Their humours and their fancies" (p. 26) allows the gallants to undermine his authority in the shop where the wife wants him to behave like a man. The play, though, joins early modern discourse to support Candido's patience with Viola. For example, "An Homilie of the State of Matrimony" derisively comments that "the common sort of men doth judge that such moderation should not become a man. [. . .] it is a token of womanish cowardness [. . .] it is a man's part to fume in anger."⁵⁵³ Exposing the social paradox of gendering males as hot and females as cool when a "cool head" means rational behavior or male attributes, the play argues that the absence of extremes determines a man's masculinity and a wife's proper behavior. Viola, though, "abuse[s] the gentleness and humanity of her husband, and, at her pleasure, turn[s] all things upside down."⁵⁵⁴ In other words, she tries to change marriage into carnival by defining her husband as the grotesque. "An Homilie of the State of Matrimony" claims that a wife's abuse of her husband "is far repugnant

against God's commandment,"⁵⁵⁵ and, moreover, the audience feels sorry for the merchant. Candido, however, merely advises Viola to "be patient for a wife and husband share but one soul between them" (Scene 5, p. 27), and satisfies the church's official position that a husband should "bear patiently her great offenses,"⁵⁵⁶ because husband and wife are one, so that imbalance in one part affects the other and the unit as a whole.

Suggesting more than the wife's potential effect on the husband, the play also demonstrates that the husband's imbalance deforms the wife and that he must exhibit masculine qualities, temperamentally or humorally, as a measuring stick for the woman's behavior.⁵⁵⁷ The traditional qualities that Candido should possess consist of "knowledge, wisdom, piety, temperance, love" to the level that makes the wife "think him worthy of double honor"⁵⁵⁸; however, a market economy requires the drive to protect goods, to effect profit, and to attract customers. In a world that measures virtue incorrectly, this linen-draper "has not all things belonging to a man," as "he who cannot be angry is no man" (Scene 2, p. 12). Candido's perceived lack of masculinity affects Viola by making her feel like a defective female, and she responds hotly to his extreme patience: "I am ready to bite off my tongue because it wants that virtue which all women's tongues have: to anger their husbands" (Scene 2, p. 13). Her remark suggests that contemporary "women be full of whining for the most part, and ill to intreates, and ofte times when they have chidden their husbandes for a light matter."⁵⁵⁹ In order to feel more female in this society, Viola has to bring her husband to a perverse male state by changing his humor. Even though conduct books prescribed mildness as the correct female behavior for wives with husbands of mean dispositions to make the man meek and gentle, Viola has a problem not addressed by these contemporary writers: she has a too-

mild husband. Logically, she performs contrarily with frowning, sullenness, deriding mirth, and disdain, behavior designed to “stir up passion in the man, and bring much mischief upon the wife herself.”⁵⁶⁰ Rather than working “on the heart of a good and kinde husband” to make him respect her more and to serve as a “good pattern to children and servants,”⁵⁶¹ Viola continually attempts to assume the male role because she feels the family lacks a man.

Additionally, the play shows that too much patience in a patriarchal figure results in madness, not peace, because of the loss of masculinity. Candido should correct his wife, but even after the apprentice assumes his social identity and a man strikes him, the wife has not “mov’d his spleen” (Scene 12 p. 76). Instead, the husband recognizes rational law and sends for officers to bring back his goods stolen in jest, but he surrenders to Officer summoned by Viola to commit him to Bedlam. At this point, Candido relinquishes the dominant role in his marriage in order to achieve that moment of quietness that Gouge describes. Although he tries to convince Viola that “You are mad too, or else you do me wrong” (Scene 12, p. 81), he gives positive answer to George’s question about the verity of this madness by saying, “My wife says so, / And what she says, George, is all truth, you know” (p. 81). Candido’s words to the Officer serve as a commentary on the carnivalesque inversion forced on him by a shrewish wife and by his own form of masculinity. He states that “Monarchs turn to beggars, beggars creep into the nests of princes, masters serve their prentices, ladies their serving-men, men turn to women” (p. 79), to which the Officer adds, “And women turn to men” (p. 80). Authority figures, such as an Officer of the Peace, know that a marriage cannot exist without a humoral balance to maintain gender boundaries; but Candido loses so much of his

identity as a proper husband that the law, as represented by the Duke, must restore sanity by re-instating the merchant as the male head of the household.

Viola loses as well from her behavior, as she does not receive the benefits of marriage as a subject. The wife should, as Vives says, attempt to protect her husband, not to hurt him, for “if she will not spend all her substance to save her husband from never so little harmes, she is not worthy to beare the name [. . .], nor once to be called a wife.”

⁵⁶² In other words, she should lose her position. Viola, of course, dies before Part 2; however, Part 1 shows the female grotesque suffering from self-inflicted wounds because the husband cannot respond to her in a way she respects. At Bedlam, the Duke threatens to commit her to the hospital as an example of female madness in deliberately upsetting a gentle husband and behaving as an improper subject, but George probably gives the most practical reason for Viola to accept her husband in his natural humoral state. He tells her that the “fashion of her humour” (Scene 14, p. 88), her storming, “has made you come short of many a good thing that you might have had from my master” (p. 88), unlike the good wife who shows “cheerfulness in duty” ⁵⁶³ to gain what she wants from her husband. George’s echoing of King Solomon who “writeth, that an unwise woman, and full of boldnesses shall lacke bread” ⁵⁶⁴ suggests the irony of the wife pushing her husband in business. Viola does not seem to suffer materially right now, but her behavior destroys peace and may restrict her future state on earth and in the hereafter. As “An Homily of the State of Matrimonie” comments, the wife who “canst suffer an extreme husband, [thou] shalt have a great reward therefore.” ⁵⁶⁵ Since Candido does not exhibit the type of sharp behavior that a wife must “patiently beare” ⁵⁶⁶ and Viola’s reaction to her husband focuses on temporal reward, not eternal favor, the effect of marketplace

seduction becomes clear: the wife who challenges her husband for profit denies her submission to church and king, puts the morals of England at risk, and rejects personal honor, “for the more honour thou gyvest unto him, the more honourable thou shalt bee thy selfe.”⁵⁶⁷ Viola’s behavior affects her reputation in the community at large, and the consequences suggest that subjects who contend with their monarchs lose out.

As the governance within the merchant family parallels the relationship of the Duke with his own household and court, improper rule affects family subjects and the country. Candido’s resorting to official interference with the gallants’ supposed thievery reflects practices of the London livery companies, such as the Merchant Tailors, Haberdashers, Clothworkers, and Skinners who “were expected to see [. . .] ordinances enforced”⁵⁶⁸ as part of their official governmental role. As an alderman, Candido must maintain order in the marketplace and among merchants and companies. At the closing of Part 1, the merchant offers his peace-gendering patience, his “honey ‘gainst a waspish wife” which “makes men look like gods” (Scene 15, p. 109), as an example of moderation for the Duke who has already taken extreme measures against his daughter. Furthermore, he suggests that patience serves as a humoral cure for marriage and the kingdom, as it “is the sap of bliss” (p. 109), a fluid putting the body in harmony. Even though the Duke interprets Candido’s patience as needing modification because it makes the husband slave to the wife, he also insists that the merchant can “teach our court to shine” (p. 109) by exercising rational control through legal means. As father and husband, the man should guide dependents gently, offering correction out of love, not anger, and should deal with those who intend him harm by using the law. Unless the husband involves the judicial system, he “must be content with his wife, though she be a

drunkarde, though she be irefull, though she be shrewde, a waster, a glotton, a vagabonde, a skoulder, a rayler”⁵⁶⁹ Therefore, just as the husband may not treat his wife unjustly, the monarch cannot rule harshly over his subjects, but must rule with authority and by example because bad rulers create even worse subjects.

Extending the subject/ruler relationship, King Lear concentrates on gendered parent/child dynamics and the effect on the nation. After defining carnival in the play and identifying the female grotesque as a product of parental modeling, I will argue that unnatural females destroy out-of-balance patriarchal figures, after reducing their masculinity, and marginalize the ideal. In order for Lear to escape his mental chaos, he must humble himself, excise the grotesque shrews from his mind, and reaccept the ideal, the daughter of quiet honesty.

Throughout this discussion, the term “natural” relates to the body, the world, and morality. Behavior termed “natural” seems in part to represent a civilizing of observed animal behavior: in general, the female does not behave dominantly or devour the male, and offspring do not turn on their parents; but aberrations do occur. For whatever reason, nature occasionally produces a beast or monster that does not respect natural laws of predator and prey and earns the label “unnatural.” Observing the somewhat rigid animal hierarchy, humans adapted the natural order to their own systems and termed the usual relationships as “natural.” Hence, the male assumes dominance over the female, and children submit to their elders. While The Honest Whore plays do acknowledge this civilized system, King Lear poses an interesting question: What happens when human daughters behave like grotesque versions of paradisaal fauna and challenge the elders for dominance at the first clear sign of diminishing power? A breakdown of civil instruction

must have occurred for the female to behave worse than animals who allow stronger males of the group to vie for dominance in order to ensure better genetics. In the case of the unnatural daughters, one wonders whether to blame nature, nurture, or civilization. Since Goneril, Regan, and Cordelia occupy complex positions as children and subjects to a king, the play extends the topic of allegiance to a questionable authority to the right of the child to subvert rule; therefore, the action has broader implications about subjects' right to rebel against the country's patriarch. In King Lear, the shrew or scold stages herself at her most horrific, a transgressing female with realized power that destroys male authority; as a result, the play suggests that no one has the right to usurp divine rights.

The unnatural carnival of madness creates the female grotesque as an expression of the inversion of mind and family. Contrary to a common Renaissance interpretation of madness as a sign of genius,⁵⁷⁰ themes of bastardy in the play show the moral degeneration of family, the real madness, and question valid rule. The play contends that man holds all responsibility for disorder and pits natural against civilized natural to demonstrate that social rules cannot totally overrule man's natural vice. Beginning with a celebratory mood, Lear immediately inverts order by giving his children their inheritance ante-mortem so that he can play the King of Carnival, "To shake all cares and business from our age" and "unburdened crawl toward death" (1.1.39, 41), an image packed with Lenten implications. No longer having the patience to perform state duties and wanting to retain "The name, and all th'addition to a king (line 137), Lear turns the sacred robe of office into a costume which he can remove, metaphorically and literally, for his "darker purpose" (line 36) to take life. This ruler carefully orchestrates the beginning of carnival

by making himself the central spectacle, map in hand amid his three daughters as he demands the reverence due to a carnival king: inflated speech with spurious meaning.

None of the daughters seem to possess qualities of the shrew, but underneath the playacting of Goneril and Regan lurks the scold ready to rid patriarchy and the ideal of their power. As players, Goneril improvises by making her father “Dearer than eyesight, space, and liberty” (1.1.56) and Regan by claiming herself “an enemy to all other joys” (line 73) except those she finds in her father’s love and the spectacle that he now creates. Only Cordelia, firmly bound to virtue, honesty, and sobriety, aligns with the dampening effect of Lent. Sounding like a conduct book about the bonds between parents and children, she robs Lear of his joy; but he expels her from the spectacle, saying, “Hence and avoid my sight” (line 125). When Lear labels Cordelia as the female grotesque that “Nature is ashamed / Almost t’ acknowledge hers” (lines 217-18), he speaks the truth of an inverted world confused about the nature of nature. Not a product of just animal procreation, Cordelia has learned a child’s natural position from social mores; but Lear cannot recognize that she mouths what a larger society accepts. It takes an outsider, France, to tease apart Lear’s mistake, asking what Cordelia has done “so monstrous to dismantle / So many folds of favor” and judging that “her offense / Must be of such unnatural degree / That monsters it” (lines 222-25). Yet Cordelia’s refusal of the “plighted cunning” (line 286) that her sisters perform that earns her labels of the grotesque, even though she follows what social discourse calls “natural behavior.” The once-king now sees with eyes of inversion, perhaps inflicted by the mad frenzy of a self-imposed carnival where he attempts to banish all associations with death and Lent. In this upside down world where the natural becomes monster, the state can only suffer.

As this inversion advances, the theme of feasting amid the intoxication of irresponsibility expresses the relationship of governance and appetite: carnival and the grotesque digest themselves. Lear allows Goneril's and Regan's husbands "With my two daughters' dowers [to] digest the third" (1.1.129), so that the two women metaphorically devour their sister. Feasting also serves as the opportunity for the female grotesque to make her true attributes public while denying the appeal of gorging in favor of controlled appetite. For instance, Goneril claims that Lear keeps "Men so disordered" that they carnivalize her court which now "Shows like a riotous inn. Epicurism and lust / Makes it more like a tavern or a brothel / Than a graced palace" (1.4.236, 238-40), so that Lear degrades his kingdom while feasting like a careless young man who does not understand that all carnival ends in death. Goneril uses decorum to redirect carnival for her advantage, but Lear complains that "The fitchew nor the soiled horse goes to 't / With a more riotous appetite" (4.6.122) than his two shrewish daughters. At the heart of the sisters' individual actions lies the desire to digest not just Cordelia's third but the rest of the kingdom by colluding with Edmund, the "lust-dieted man" (4.1.69), to rid England of natural rule. When these plotting daughters eject him, the carnival king understands that he has overfed his children to the point that they do not respect him or his office and comments, "Filial ingratitude, / Is it not as this mouth should tear this hand / For lifting food to't?" (3.4.16-18). Only after Lear himself fasts in the wilderness can he achieve a balance, confront his part in this feast tearing his country apart, and learn the importance of governing one's appetites, one's tongue, one's family, and one's country. He has witnessed Regan and Goneril becoming hotter, masculine, and rudely vocal after digesting their sister's part; but this feasting does not represent a natural state, but, like

bastardy, occurs from uncontrolled natural impulses during carnival and questions the validity of subjects and loyalty.

By blaming Lear's current state of mind for carnivalesque conditions, the play hints that disorder begins in the home, especially in that of a monarch, an idea supported by cultural discourse. In the prefatory letter to Prince Henry attached to Basilikon Doron, James I lovingly informs his son, "I had rather not bee a Father, and childlesse, then to be a Father of wicked children,"⁵⁷¹ in part because kings "are as it were set (as it was said of old) upon a publike stage,"⁵⁷² so that their families' actions reverberate through the kingdom as a whole. As implied in this personal note to the son and in "Letter to the Reader," a father, especially a king, should teach a child the proper respect for his office for the sake "of his future happy government."⁵⁷³ James also refers to the monarch as the subjects' "naturall father and kindly Master [. . .] subjecting his owne private affections and appetites to the weale and standing of his Subjects."⁵⁷⁴ In light of these ideas, Lear does not seem to have taught Goneril and Regan to respect him or to curtail their tongues.

Published a few years after James' succession, King Lear examines what happens when a father puts his desires first and/or does not teach his children how to suppress their appetites or to subject themselves quietly for the betterment of a larger community. As kings, James and Lear had to instruct their children about statehood and social appropriateness for their offspring to serve as caring, responsible leaders of a secure and orderly kingdom. Moreover, their example serves as models for all classes. Snawsel speaks of the pervasive effect of sound instruction:

an so by this meanes good parents which are scarce, shall bee multiplied to the increase of Gods Church, and the flourishing estate of the common-wealth. And further know this, that good parents are speciall instruments to make godly children, and good servants; and godly children and good servants will make religious men and women; and religious men and women doth make a flourishing church, and famous common-weale, set forth Gods glory, and establish the Princes kingdome. ⁵⁷⁵

Compared to this claim, Lear either neglected proper training and/or modeled egocentric behavior, because from this disorderly household springs the fear of all men, a woman capable of railing publicly against the patriarch, of claiming power, and of murdering those who obstruct her desires. Viola in The Honest Whore may disrupt the local family with national implications, but Goneril and Regan, and to some extent Cordelia, ravage the country. Since Lear's parental weakness unleashes the beastly shrew, the father suffers from the wicked children of his creation and must silence them to have peace.

The presumptive female scold emerges from a lifetime of inverted nourishment; thus, Lear's inability to rule his children within his private domain plays out negatively in the public kingdom. Since "that which in childhood is learned is longest retained," ⁵⁷⁶ one can interpret Goneril's and Regan's behavior and the division of the sisters between the grotesque and the beloved ideal as childhood teachings reflecting Lear's ungoverned mind. Contrary to Gouge who says that parents "ought to be impartial," ⁵⁷⁷ Lear admits his partiality for the silent female, Cordelia. The severity with which Lear responds to her petit rebellion by not mouthing his anticipated wishes may indicate a pattern of ignoring his children's errors and then harshly responding. Also, Regan claims that Lear

“hath but ever slenderly known himself” (1.1.298-99), and Goneril speaks of “the unruly waywardness that infirm and choleric years bring with them” that began from a “long-engrafted condition” (lines 303, 302). His established pattern of irrationality has taught the non-favorites to avoid their father’s temper through placating him. The daughters become two facets of Lear’s mind, the loving part and the outraged aspect, that he needs to merge.⁵⁷⁸ As Cordelia’s name comes from the word for “heart,”⁵⁷⁹ her variance from unity causes a fracture in Lear, and he in essence loses heart or the part that loves social governance. His intemperate quality wants carnival so badly that war arises within him when the ideal cannot answer his unnatural request. Her declaration of loving him according to the parent/child bond “is the quintessence of the ‘natural,’”⁵⁸⁰ a bond that Lear’s hubris threatens.⁵⁸¹ While Cordelia gives the appropriate answer for normal society,⁵⁸² Regan and Goneril answer Lear’s questions as carnival participants, as if they still lived as children in his house, a kingdom to which, in their opinion, as the eldest they have more natural rights than their sister or their own husbands.

After receiving the kingdom, the daughters demonstrate the impact of nature and nurture on their behavior, as they reflect Lear’s inconstant behavior and covetousness for power. Galenic humoral theory can explain their behavior in part since “howsoever it is little regarded that children can be infected with the parents disposition while they are in the wombe: yet dayly experience doth shew, that as they are formed and proportioned in body much like unto their parents, so likewise in their nature and affections.”⁵⁸³

Therefore, parents create children by genetics and by parenting strategies. To love his daughters and to “nourish, nurture with good discipline, and to instruct in waies of God”⁵⁸⁴ were Lear’s duties to his children, but he does not reap the expected rewards because

he has indeed failed. Cleaver and Dod explain as situation similar to Lear's as "unnaturall parents" whose "owne dung, is cast in their faces by their owne children, in mocking and despising them" and "together with all these grievous plagues and judgements of God upon their children, to the consuming of their eyes, but from this their owne negligence, in bringing up their children."⁵⁸⁵ Lear believes that he has performed his duties, even telling Regan, "Thou better know'st / The offices of nature, bond of childhood, / Effects of courtesy, dues of gratitude" (2.4.175-77); but his metaphorical blindness and Gloucester's physical eye-gouging arise because the malicious daughters throw the King's negligence back in his face. As a monarch, his failure has far-reaching implications, so that his private omissions meet on the face of Gloucester, another father whose filial relationships toys with definitions of natural.

In this inverted world where children reign over their parents, Lear forces himself almost into servitude when he becomes the object of his subjects' words. Wanting to make himself the child, the King admits his intention "to set my rest / On her [Cordelia's] kind nursery" (1.1.124-25), but she refuses to usurp his authority. Evidently, Lear wants a mother,⁵⁸⁶ not a daughter; therefore, Cordelia's reluctance to play along forces him to make Goneril and Regan his parents, those figures capable of administering punishment to a foolish child. Fool even explains to Lear that he "mad'st thy daughters thy mother; for when thou gav'st them the rod, and putst down thine own breeches" (1.4.167-69), they wept for joy. The lowering of the breeches represents a dual moment of indignity for a father/king. Not only does he expose his masculinity, he literally puts his daughters in position to take his breeches. Lear began the process when he joined other "parents folly in letting goe all their power over their children,"⁵⁸⁷ an action, according to Gouge,

which creates “flattering eie-service in children” who will do things “lawful or unlawful to please parents” through “slavish fearfulness,”⁵⁸⁸ at least until power dynamics change. In fearful calculation, Goneril and Regan shrewdly flatter their father, but as Gouge says, “reverence without obedience is a mere mockage.”⁵⁸⁹ Thus, when Lear approves of the eldest daughters’ lip service, he leaves them open to scold him, even mock him, as their child because of his unbalanced behavior.

The oldest daughters experience deep variances in emotion as modeled by their father, but their behavior forces Lear to reconsider his government. When Goneril and Regan hope to gain from unity, as they do in 2.4, they offer support to one another; but when one sister wants something that the other sister wants, Edmund for instance, their behavior changes to cut-throat negotiations. Each one hopes to control the passion of the other while giving rein to her private lust. For example, Goneril orders Regan, “Not so hot!” (5.3.67), in response to the younger sister’s plans to have Edmund; however, when their appetites provide the impetus for rage, the daughters mirror the father, even as they deal with him. This behavior makes them contrary to Gouge’s advice that children must “relieve their parents according to their needs”;⁵⁹⁰ and, after chastising the father, they shut him out and neglect his physical welfare, just as he has done to the poor of England. Yet the experience in nature becomes a means for the father to reclaim the ideal, as he faces the consequences of irregular governance with his own children and the state. His encounter with the reality that carnival cannot happen without first taking care of the serious needs of subjects elicits the exclamation, “O, I have ta’en / Too little care of this!” (3.4.34-36). Lear has to experience the product of his behavior before understanding what James I later advises Henry, that the ruler should “embrace the quarrell of the poore

and distressed.”⁵⁹¹ His neglect of his people and their role as the country’s resource parallels Goneril’s and Regan’s wasting the goods of their parents⁵⁹² by dividing the kingdom and mirrors the daughters’ treatment of the father. Lear must take responsibility for this behavior and theirs, because his modeling created their rebellion and hot tongues.

Contrary to parental training that instructs children in civility so that they eschew the beastly parts of humans to become more “natural” subjects, this play clearly implies that Lear neglected part of his daughters’ education, as characters describe them with beast names and terms of monstrosity “absolutely contrary to nature.”⁵⁹³ In this respect the association of “shrew” with “shrewd” becomes most evident, as both word can refer to the animal and can mean wicked or malicious.⁵⁹⁴ The play’s beast terms support the idea that the daughters digest the father and the kingdom and that Goneril and Regan degenerate to subhuman levels with satanic implications. Placing them unnaturally in the natural world qualifies Gouge’s statement that “disobedient and undutiful children transgress against God’s law, against common equity of all nations, and against light of nature” and “are worse then Infidels, yea worse then the brute beasts.”⁵⁹⁵ Indeed, grotesque terms reference the daughters. For instance, Lear tells Regan that Goneril “hath tied / Sharp-toothed unkindness, like a vulture, here” (2.4.132-33), thereby suggesting that the daughter unnaturally feeds on the dying father.⁵⁹⁶ The fallen state of mankind has evidently manifested in these two women, one of which “Looked black upon me [Lear], struck me with her tongue / Most serpentlike upon the very heart” (2.4.158). In this tale of inversion, the woman controls language through Satan’s tongue, while Lear becomes Adam thrust out into the wilderness without a partner. Albany calling Goneril and Regan “Tigers not daughters” (4.2.41) makes them responsible for

and a product of the world's inverted condition in which "Humanity must perforce prey on itself, / Like monsters of the deep" (lines 50-51). According to the Duke, the state of the state, instead, comes not just from the daughters, but from their alliance with the devil. Like Eve with Satan in the Garden, Goneril and Regan have befriended a "gilded serpent" (5.3.85), Edmund, so that man cannot have the paradise that could exist with good governance—personal and communal—because Adam/Lear cannot control the female or her tongue.

As beasts, the scolds become inversions that threaten Lear's perception of his role in fatherhood, so that he sees himself as the unnatural. Describing his daughters in mythological terms, Lear comments about women in general: "Down from the waist they are centaurs, / Though women all above. But to the girdle do the gods inherit, / Beneath is all the fiend's" (4.6.122-24). He points to animal masculinity with the reference to the centaurs and to the devil's residence in genitalia, but his mention of "all above" can mean their breasts or their mouths which rail against him. To him, women mean sexual danger and verbal assault, but their unnaturalness seems to come also from not feeling indebtedness to the male, as the father situates their monstrosity in their lack of graciousness. He says, "Ingratitude! Thou marble-hearted fiend, / More hideous when thou show'st thee in a child / Than in a sea monster" (1.4.254-56) and "How sharper than a serpent's tooth it is / To have a thankless child" (lines 284-85). While tying to the theme of lost paradise, these comments reveal that Lear still does not acknowledge his part in turning these women into unnatural beasts; to him, biology, mythology, and biblical history form the precedence. The characteristics associated with the beasts become "terrible forces bursting into monstrous life"⁵⁹⁷ to destroy the human, but the

female grotesque represents an outward expression of the father's internal disease. As Lear says to Goneril and Regan, "Thou art a boil, / A plague sore, or embossed carbuncle / In my corrupted blood" (2.4.222-24). Furthermore, he admits "'twas this [his] flesh begot / Those pelican daughters" (3.4.75-76); but this statement suggests that he, like Goneril and Regan, feeds on someone else. To confront the inner beast, the King goes unbonneted out into a "night, wherein the cub-drawn bear would couch" (3.1.12), away from shrewish women, to learn the naturalness of unaccommodated man, one without titles living among civilized beasts that do not prey on their parents, or their country.

The scolding daughters in King Lear also reduce the father to feminine nothingness through humoral changes. As Lear becomes diminished, he asks, "Who is it that can tell me who I am?" (1.4.224). In the inverted role of an "obedient father" (line 229), the monarch now takes the submissive subject position, a female role without secure identity. Lear acknowledges his effeminacy in the face of these tyrant daughters, telling Goneril, "I am ashamed / That thou hast power to shake my manhood thus!" (line 292). Since he has to "forget my nature" (1.5.31) as a masculine governor to submit to the two women, the process breaks apart his mind into a madness that he tries to prevent by urging the gods to "keep me in temper," as he "would not be mad" (line 44), a female state in this play. Moreover, Lear's comment, "O, how this mother swells up toward my heart!" (2.4.55), indicates that his mind experiences a physical imbalance, female hysteria, curable only by bloodletting or purging. Having defined his masculinity by the role of parent and commander of men, he thinks of himself as a powerless female because the daughters "hath abated me of half my train" (line 105) and Regan commands him to speak "No more with me" (line 255). Without his masculine companions, the former

king becomes subjected to the grotesque female or the debased aspect of his mind and echoes Cordelia's strategy in the first scene, saying, "I will be a pattern of all patience; I will say nothing" (3.2.39). When the once hot male's "wits begin to turn" (line 68), he admits, "I am cold" (line 70), and moves toward the normal female position of marginality, this time in the wilderness where he learns that his rule has amounted to nothing and that balanced justice should have come in his parenting. Therefore, after arraigning the daughters in a mock court, he expels "The corruption in the place" (3.6.54), the sick part of his mind, as he realizes that the madness comes from his blood and behavior, thus from the carnival of his rule. At this point, he can regain his sight and his mind as he reintegrates his masculinity to fend off the unnatural, scolding daughters.

Successful as shrewish offspring, Goneril and Regan also vie for control in their marriages, exacerbate Cornwall's cruelty, and cause his death. Gloucester describes Cornwall as fiery and "unremovable and fixed he is / In his own course" (2.4.90), but one must question if the courses Lear's son-in-law takes are his own ideas. He seems easily led, completely beguiled by Edmund, even believing him an obedient subject and making his wife's potential lover into the Duke of Gloucester; and he relinquishes power to his wife by allowing her direction of Gloucester's torture. The shrews, not Cornwall, shriek to hang the old man and to pluck out his eyes, the action, of course, eventually taken. He does command Edmund and Goneril to "leave him to my displeasure" (3.7.6), but Regan clearly intensifies the wrath brewing in her husband. She assumes control of the scene by taking the first action, the plucking of Gloucester's beard, an occurrence interrupting Cornwall's commands, and she questions the prisoner. Gloucester, in fact, responds to Regan's participation, not to the Duke's, and calls her "Unmerciful lady" (line 33) and

“Naughty lady” (line 38). Cornwall does speak more than his wife does in the scene, but he behaves more passively than she. Only after Gloucester mentions eye-plucking, the “cruel nails” of Regan, and Goneril’s “boarish fangs” (lines 57, 59), does Cornwall act, perhaps reacting to a reminder of his secondary role in the kingdom or to the women’s nagging. Regan out performs Cornwall in gruesome horror, as she orders him to take out Gloucester’s other eye and breaks the father’s heart by informing him about Edmund’s part in this revenge. Moreover, she usurps Cornwall’s authority in death by killing the loyal subject/servant who stabs him. In this world, where “Women will all turn monsters” (3.7.103) and beasts, the husband unable to control his shrewish wife, his servants, or the kingdom reduces to nothing in death.

Goneril’s rude speech to her husband reveals the impotence of a patient man in the carnival of her world. She calls her rational spouse “a moral fool” (4.2.59), or a man who weighs the rightness of a situation before acting rather than allowing his passions to control him. In inversion, the grotesque female interprets her husband’s rationality as equal to feminine weakness and assumes dominance, saying, “I must change names at home, and give the distaff / Into my husband’s hands” (line 27). She does not grasp that he abides by natural civil rules rather than by socially unnatural appetites. Albany, though, understands that the child/parent relationship reflects the husband/wife dynamic. After warning Goneril of the withering consequence to a woman who “will sliver and disbranch / From her material sap” (lines 35-36), he has the impulse to behave unnaturally against civility, “To let these hands obey my blood,” as “They are apt enough to dislocate and tear / Thy flesh and bones” (4.2.65-67). But, he refrains because “A woman’s shape doth shield thee” (line 68). With disparaging remarks, Goneril attempts

to reduce him to nothing so that she could substitute Edmund for him and claims that “the laws are mine, not thine: / Who can arraign me for’t” (5.3.160-61). Technically, Albany possesses the power as the head of Goneril and as the receiver of the inheritance; however, according to cultural perceptions that “the dominated husband was almost certainly being cuckolded,”⁵⁹⁸ Goneril’s and Regan’s liaisons with Edmund speak more about the husband’s power than the wife’s: women will victimize a nonassertive man.

On the other hand, the grotesque shrew, Goneril, does eventually force good government from the virtuous man, so that he rises from a quiet position to power. Albany proves his respect for self-control when he advises Lear, “Pray, sir, be patient” (1.4.257) in the face of Goneril’s admonishments. Yet, he remains powerless throughout this part of the scene, as the Duke’s quiet authority drowns in Goneril’s railing at her father. Perhaps daunted by Goneril’s princess status, Albany has not learned how to control his wife, but the conduct books say that the man assumes a higher position in the marriage even if the wife comes from a more powerful family. His reluctance to cross her must indicate the extent of her scolding. At her most shrewish, she ridicules his “milky gentleness and course” of compassion that make him “more a-tasked for want of wisdom / Than praised for harmful mildness” (lines 339, 341-42). In fact, Albany must learn to perform the corrective duties of husband and ruler effectively. When France threatens his state, as Goneril later suggests when calling her husband a “Milk-livered man” (4.2.51), Albany merely asks, ““Alack, why does he so?”” (line 60), perhaps because he realizes the daughters’ culpability in the invasion; but he waits until 5.3 to tell Goneril, “Shut your mouth, dame, / Or with this paper shall I stop it” (line 156-57). Becoming more assertive in his role as husband, he wounds the man who would replace him, Edmund,

and then achieves proper masculinity by ridding his little commonwealth of unnaturalness by silencing the shrew. For this act, Albany should become king, but when he willingly resigns to Edgar and Kent, he demonstrates awareness that good national and family government spring from the same qualities. Having suffered the rule of a beastly wife, he may not have the energy to heal an entire kingdom turned into wilderness.

In spite of all of the damage that female grotesque behavior produces on the men of the play, it proves most dangerous for the women, the socially acceptable and the unnatural, because they represent Lear's emotional capacities. The ideal female who does not join the carnival receives banishment, and the offending shrews actually destroy one another and their respective houses. While the audience might feel sorry about Cordelia's treatment by her father, at least her removal to France provides temporary harbor⁵⁹⁹ from the fangs of the sisters who begin to destroy their father as soon as Cordelia steps from the room. Moreover, banishment means that Cordelia cannot dampen the carnival that Lear wants to instigate but that she can return to rescue him when he tires of it. Despite reducing her dowry to nothing, he does not turn Cordelia out unprovided into a tempest, but into a secure and powerful position in France. Perhaps, Lear's "darker purpose" means fragmenting aspects of himself, the ungovernable and the governed, in a way that protects virtue and a secure line of inheritance. Anger may provide the only means for him to let go. Even though Lear "disclaim[s] all my paternal care, / Propinquity, and property of blood" (1.1.114-15) to Cordelia, he never thinks of bastardy or unnaturalness in connection to his youngest. This omission suggests that even when Lear appears most mad, he never really forgets his "heart" or ideal behavior and refines his disavowal of parental responsibility directly to the unnatural grotesque.

The female of virtue represents for him the best part of himself, an aspect that he painfully lets go so that he can devalue himself through grotesquerie, only to defend the ideal in death to conclude carnival for the return of order.

After Lear expends his carnival energy and the daughters consume each other, the now future leaders must acknowledge the interdependence of kingship and fatherhood and practice the sanity of civilized nature. Edgar as Tom has already spoken a point significant to King Lear and The Honest Whore plays: “Take heed o’ th’ foul fiend; obey thy parents; keep thy words’ justice; swear not; commit not with man’s sworn spouse; set not thy sweet heart on proud array” (3.4.81-84), thereby avoiding unruly, shrewd children who translate into scolding wives, adulteresses, and rebellious subjects. The play suggests that the state depends on good citizenship within the most sacred of institutions, the family, a sentiment supported by Cleaver and Dod who suggest, “O you parents, you are eyther the making, or the marring of the world.”⁶⁰⁰ The natural civil state depends on parents teaching children to move beyond their natural appetites to calm, rational minds. If Lear becomes “a microcosm, a ‘little world of man’” in the wilderness and if tragedy’s “cultural value is not only aesthetic but also ameliorative and apotropaic, warding off danger,”⁶⁰¹ then the King becomes an example to the common man. To maintain governance, one has to raise children properly to avoid reducing society to a wilderness of preying beasts. The play does not let the daughters off the hook, however. As Gouge argues that although parents do not exact duty of their children, children were charged to perform duty to them because of God’s charge.⁶⁰² Goneril and Regan, like the children of early modern England, live in a milieu of social discourse instructing them

to behave as quiet and submissive women for the sake of God and country and to have responsibility for their own actions and words, not to destroy patriarchal figures.

Both The Honest Whore plays and King Lear demonstrate the effect of carnival and the shrew on the commonwealth. The emerging, imbalanced female threatens to reduce males to nothing and actually destroys herself or her bargaining position. These plays suggest that only men who demonstrate patience and govern with balanced authority flourish. Since subjects do not have the option of rebellion, rulers and husbands should reflect harmony and unity, because private sins become public problems in a social carnival. In the comedy, the husband merely reasserts his authority through official recognition, whereas tragedy requires unifying the pieces into a whole through a tempestuous process. In both, Lent orders carnival chaos, at least for a moment, by stabilizing the family, shutting up the scold, and reinstating the ideal, male or female.

Chapter 7

Language and the Female Grotesque

*And as the Watermen rowes one way, and looks another, so a
Bawd's words and meaning doe very seldome goe together.*⁶⁰³

In the plays studied, language, often gendered female, becomes a grotesque, duplicitous expression of the degenerate individual and his/her diseased society. Bakhtin suggests that in carnival the human body transforms into a language or text as “the basis

of abuses, oaths, and curses”;⁶⁰⁴ however, his focus on the positive aspects of Carnival necessarily ignores the inherent transgressive elements of cursing in favor of an interpretation of release, liberty, and Carnival truth.⁶⁰⁵ The degraded human physicality, the humorally fluid and sexual body, serves as an expression of transgression through the abuse of civility and within ambivalent meaning. The attention paid to the lower body stratum removes the reader from “courtly” manners to the everyday world of the common people. Bakhtin situates this language in the marketplace, the locus of Carnival, where “a special kind of speech was heard, almost a language of its own, unlike the language of the Church, palace, courts, and institutions.”⁶⁰⁶ Yet in order to portray social inversion, these plays often employ Bakhtin’s “folk idiom”⁶⁰⁷ or speech disconnected from official language when the upper class mixes with the lower class to use canting and humoral references that replace one-to-one correspondence of word to meaning as signs and causes of inversion. The plays suggest that the female must assume silence, that word must match intention, and that patriarchy not only has to control language but has to model correct speech for society so that empty phrases do not replace virtuous, meaningful dialogue.

These plays use courtly speech and marketplace language to reflect cultural use and to give the female grotesque a locus of power. In the authors’ world, social speech often co-opted the discordant notes of canting, “a kinde of musicke,” studied by city “Wild-men” or criminals “even from their Infancy” to create a “confusion [that] never dwelt more amongst any Creatures”; moreover, language deteriorated to bawdiness, such as that of the “maide of Kent” whose “bestly speech, of the new flawed rage” seemed much worse than stage speech.⁶⁰⁸ Additionally, the speech of courtly manners disguised

intention or reality with “honest dissimulation”⁶⁰⁹ which often forced courtiers into erratic behavior as they tried to manage impressions in the court.⁶¹⁰ As Muir writes, it “became discourteous to be truthful,” so that courtiers constructed their reputations and responses to their higher-ups and “avoided meaningful discourse.”⁶¹¹ In response, sixteenth-century Quakers and Puritans spoke against “elaborate modes of address” and gesture as the “feminization of public life.”⁶¹² On stage, writers blended speech patterns found in the court and on the street and focused the dialogue of courtiers on physical pleasure, despite the intention of courtly manners to subordinate the lower body to the upper,⁶¹³ while allowing the female grotesque to challenge speech quality and masculine privilege through linguistic inversion obfuscating meaning. In these plays, comedy allows women speech but silences or ignores them, whereas the tragedies portray their speech as damaging the court. The tragedies exhibit the effect that Girard notes of ritualized cursing associated with sacrifice, “that these curses are in themselves able to destroy the victim,”⁶¹⁴ so that in these dramas, language harms, if only by the manipulation of action. An examination of language in the presence of the female grotesque in both genres demonstrates “grotesque bodily billingsgate themes: diseases, monstrosities, organs of the lower stratum”⁶¹⁵ to reveal decaying power relationships as hierarchy levels.

As part of the carnivalesque discourse echoing through The Roaring Girl⁶¹⁶ and The Honest Whore, Part 1,⁶¹⁷ canting creates a gap between appearance and reality through unstable definitions of people and meaning. This street-wise parallel to proper commercial terminology should have indicated class stratification,⁶¹⁸ but it was a language that anyone could learn. In fact, part of Honest Moll’s ambiguity in The

Roaring Girl comes from adaptation to upper and lower class speech, so that she can converse with people of different social levels. Although Moll can use high and low registers, nobles, who might use the sexual curse “A pox” (2.2.50), do not understand canting, to them a foreign tongue. A signifier of the Other, canting allowed thieves, cozeners, cutpurses, and prostitutes to perform their business covertly, but terms sometimes resembled Latin, a language that formed part of upper class education.

Dekker in Lanthorne and Candlelight explains that cantors retained a “tasting of some wit and some Learning” to call a cloak “a Togeman,” a term akin to the Latin “Toga [which] signifies a gowne or an upper garment.”⁶¹⁹ Rather than separating street language from court speech, this adaptation suggests the potential for classes to blur, as the upper class might find familiar terminology in canting. A noble might, then, degrade himself by studying this language, or as the gentlemen in the play do, by asking for a lesson in “this pedlar’s French” (5.1.167) to fit in on the street as opposed to their normal reality. These speakers, then, can mask their class reality by constructing expedient appearances.

Moreover, Sebastian’s ability to speak many languages, a talent expressed monstrously as “more tongues in his head than some have teeth” (1.2.122.),⁶²⁰ does not seem that different from the street people’s study of canting. In both cases, the ability to adapt speech to fit situations has dual implications. If, as Thomas Harman in his 1566 “A Caveat for Common Cursitors” argues, canting represents a specialized vocabulary ““whereby they [cantors] buy and sell the common people as they pass,””⁶²¹ then Moll could sell the upper class to criminals. But if she adopts noble speech, she could sell out her street friends. Similarly, Sebastian’s knowledge of other languages and social classes could change him, even open him up to foreign or less “noble” ideas, such as the lower-

class notion that he has the right to marry for love. Linguistic ambiguity for Sebastian could create “semantic fuzziness” through vocabulary that becomes a “radical instrument of separation, of rejection,”⁶²² as it does for Moll. Since her lingo signals a metamorphosis, the reality of the person becomes unstable: If Moll can slide from one register to another, then Sebastian or any gentleman speaking foreign languages or learning canting might exhibit protean qualities and become separated from accepted society because of the “foreign ideas” they experience, as in the case of Sebastian and his father and the thieves from “normal” society. Thus, rather than just representing a passive symptom of inversion, language can actually cause disturbances in hierarchy.

Since canting degrades categories of family relationships in The Honest Whore, Part 1, the patriarch must reject street language for speech that preserves the moral hierarchy. For instance, Fustigo refuses to refer to Viola, his sister, as “aunt” because the term meant “arrant whore” (Scene 2, p. 14), but accepts “cousin” as more proper, perhaps because the term creates a greater distance of relationship. In Scene 7, even “cousin” takes on the additional social value of an abused “name of much deceit, folly, and sin” that makes “many an honest-temper’d citizen” into “a monster” and the wife into an adulterer (p. 54). Although the OED in meaning 6 gives 1700 as the first reference to “cousin” as a canting term meaning strumpet, Candido clearly refers to a similar usage in his objection to Viola’s and Fustigo’s employment of the word, though they use it to mean deception. He even says, “I may well call that word ‘A City’s Bawd’” (p. 54). In regards to these two meanings, language can work as a deceiver, since bawds and pimps used the term to disguise their activities by modifying the signification of the term “prostitute.” Also, Dekker’s Bell-man in Lanthorne and Candle-light says that prostitutes

also used canting labels such as “uncle” (which by the sixteenth century meant to cheat), “brother” and “aunt” (which later gained the meaning to cheat), in a scripted code giving the power of the word to the grotesque street society. Culturally and dramatically, the deterioration of family relationships in favor of immorality and social inversion underlay the meanings. In Chapter 1 of Lanthorne, Dekker claims that users of canting “are the Breeders and Norishers of at [sic] base disorder in their living and in their Manners,” so that street language feeds social inversion through undermining its foundations with changing definitions that indicate a bastardized society composed of duped men cheated by female grotesques, like Viola, who help adulterate their power and lineage.

On the other hand, Jonson’s Bartholmew Fair⁶²³ argues that patriarchy teaches the degraded language and creates immoral conditions. For example, Cokes understands Puppet Coles’ lines, “I am no pander” (5.4.138), even though he comprehends little else. Like most male students at the time, he probably learned linguistics, i.e., Latin, from the Vulgaria, a textbook containing common words and phrases that a young gentleman might need on an advancement exam or among cohorts. Sex instruction in the book included terms for body parts, functions, venereal disease, and prostitution in conversational Latin that marginalized the female grotesque. For example, in “de Vittis et Improbe moribus” of William Horman’s book, seven-year-olds might read in Latin with an English translation “mulier portentosaē libidinis” (An excedynge stronge hore)” or “Whoris caste away ther children”; however, boys also received “useful phrases for once the child is in the brothel” and “were expected as a matter of course to consort with prostitutes and to be familiar with brothels.”⁶²⁴ By carnivalizing instruction, educators

primed young men for illicit sexual experiences, and Cokes' knowledge suggests that the outside world embraces debased language and immorality.

Patriarchy, then, had a hand in producing the type of language that eventually transformed into marketplace language and compromised their authority, if only by revealing the hypocrisy of their morals. Since Middleton "has only a fallen language for a fallen world,"⁶²⁵ in Women Beware Women⁶²⁶ the unregulated sex talk that embeds the Duke's "bourgeois act"⁶²⁷ of rape indicates that the pervasive sexual carnival degrades references to the body and the generative family and reduces upper-class language to common speech. For example, characters use "prick" and "breast" as double entendres, so that "breast" teases definitions of "prick." For the female, "breast" serves as a site of sexual appeal used to attract a male, but also as a voice with the same purpose. As an example, Isabella's "sweet breast" (3.2.120), or her voice, "wins both prick and praise" (line 201); after all, she "took her pricksong earlier than any of her kindred" (3.2.122-23), thereby proving herself a prodigy of sexuality. Indeed, Isabella's voice does win her Ward, the spinner of carnal double entendre, who says of eating eggs that turn into cocks, "[. . .] if my hot blood be not took down in time, sure 'twill crow shortly" (1.2.120-21). Absorbed with impatient sexuality, this braggadocio calls himself "not so base to learn to write and read" (lines 124-25) or, evidently, to learn proper speech. Nonetheless, his language provides a moral barometer for base conditions, as speech and sexual morality erode simultaneously. Generalizing this observation to the rest of the plays, one notes that language can make the upper class seem like lower class speakers; therefore, their ability to maintain virtue and to resist temptation becomes compromised.

Middleton and Dekker's The Roaring Girl also suggests that sexualized marketplace language levels social hierarchy by using the female grotesque's association with whoredom and disease. Thus, Sebastian's love affair with a woman who has a common whore's name will become stories which "Serve for discourse in ordinaries and taverns" (2.2.136-37) and which will "confound [thy] name" (line 138) by reducing the noble man to common talk, thereby affecting his credibility among the nobles. His reputation will suffer because all classes associate Moll with sexual disease and curse her for it. Sir Alexander declares, "A pox / On you" (line 50) for loving his son; Mrs. Openwork says to her husband when he wishes to serve Moll in the shop, "Love terms, with a pox between you!" (2.1.205-06). Later, lower-class 2 Cutpurse, one of the men whom Moll identifies as a criminal to her noble friends, exclaims, "We are boiled. Pox on her! See Moll, the roaring drab" (5.1.277). By referring to the pox, a social leveler of possible foreign source,⁶²⁸ he implies the need to contain classes for safety since Moll's association with the nobles means compromising underground business. Since people see her as a foreign element to their classes, the preservation of reputation forces nobles, merchant wives, and criminals to use diseased sexual references because Carnival has made these references common speech, especially as a means of marginalizing the female grotesque and defining her potential danger.

In this play, the language of disease and the female grotesque may also relate to market contamination through a comparison of family security. Mrs. Openwork, who "had my Latin tongue and a spice of the French" (2.1.308-09), uses plain English to accuse her husband of "foreign wenching" with "a whore i' th' suburbs" (2.1.279-81). Her claim, "I send you for hollands, and you're i' the low countries with a mischief"

(2.1.206-07), has farther-reaching implications than competition from suburban prostitutes who take the wife's licit and illicit customers. As she marginalizes foreign countries and their business practices, the issue of international trade becomes obvious. The play's production date of 1611 coincides with the seventeenth-century competition between England and other European countries to dominate the world market. According to Hill, soon after James I made peace with Spain in 1604, "England was being out-traded. The French held the leading position in Mediterranean trade; Dutch merchants gained control of the carrying trade to the Baltic, and even with English colonies in North America and the West Indies."⁶²⁹ Even though Mrs. Openwork speaks somewhat proudly of her earlier learning, the infusion of sexual innuendo and disease in the play lends her double-entendres to the interpretation that international trade can endanger domestic welfare, so that exportation becomes a moral issue potentially endangering the home front by infecting society. Therefore, in The Roaring Girl language should serve as an indicator of class position, allegiance to all things English, and marginalization of the dangerous Other, but carnivalesque conditions conflate authority with whoring and outside danger through speech, so that all boundaries level.

Demonstrating the results of not maintaining class speech, Bartholmew Fair uses uncivil word choice, curses, and slang to express class conflict and to moderate meaning. If "the grotesque concept of the body forms the basis of abuses, oaths, and curses,"⁶³⁰ then language should reflect Ursula's physical qualities. Thus, definitions of "vapors" grow exponentially. The meaning of the word came from bodily functions often associated with a madness-producing female condition caused by "bilious humors in unnatural heat because of physical disorder or immoderate passions."⁶³¹ Knock'em

genders bodily heat by implying that the grotesque female suffers from activity or passion, when he asks Ursula if her “Motion breed vapours?” (2.3.40). Although “vapors” may denote “nothing,” a game, or gas, it connotes the grotesque female body reduced to nothing by unnatural masculine heat. Thus, Ursula’s booth provides the perfect site for visitors and Fair people to play a game of vapors, “which is nonsense: every man to oppose the last man that spoke, whether it concerned him, or no” (stage direction 4.4.p. 121). As a “belching of quarrel” (4.4.66), the event involves linguistic contention figured as bodily shame which has become a game of disunity that levels the contestants. Referring to “vapors” should delineate class boundaries, since the Fairmen “are absorbed in the passions of their lower nature” so that “their vapors rise from simple animal appetites,” whereas the Fairgoers imagine their vapors “to be of some superior quality, direction, or purpose”;⁶³² however, both groups level class values by manipulating meanings of other words, so that definitions of “independence” and “warrant” vaporize: Whit’s promise of independence to Win Littlewit offers the paradox of freedom through subjection to a bawd rather than to a husband, and indiscriminate bandying of the word “warrant” robs the document of authority. As meaning fragments into a multiplicity of interpretation through patriarchy’s breakdown in the presence of an angry, Pig Woman, one sees that the outsiders brought the seeds of Carnival with them.

As language converts to carnivalized expression in this play, fragmentation and leveling occur, as references to the lower body region harmonize the grotesque nature of the outside visitors and the Fair people. Therefore, Wasp’s “turd in the teeth,” which he says even to Mistress Overdo in 1.5.14, melds with Ursula’s blazing realm. While Bakhtin views inversion of propriety as fitting the overall movement of festival from “top

to bottom, casting the high and the old, the finished and completed into the material bodily lower stratum for death and rebirth,”⁶³³ this play gives only the fracturing of meaning and decorum, as heated words become the mode of discourse and as the outsiders’ moral positions degrade. Fracturing occurs because the Pig-Woman’s angry language sets the linguistic bar for the people in her booth. The sweating Ursula complains to Mooncalf, “Must you be drawing the air of pacification here, while I am tormented within, I’ the fire, you weasel?” (2.5.56). External cooking flames and aggressive internal heat stoke her anger which reflects in the roasting litter of pigs that become “passionate, mistress; one on ‘em has wept out an eye” (2.4.54). In this fragmenting environment, heated argument as conversation breaks the cohesive spirit of the groups, so that a game of vapors turns into a fight which gives naturally choleric Wasp the opportunity to display even cruder scatological cursing by telling Mistress Overdo to “shit o’ your hood” (4.4.129). Although his language seemed out of place at Littlewit’s house, it suits the Fair because barriers have broken down. Since Bakhtin’s idea of cohesion can occur only by allowing the outsiders to fit the Fair, not by elevating carnival language, it becomes clear that a society adopting degraded language might be endangered by the compromise, so that they never achieve loftier ideals.

To that point, when Busy’s language fragments into anger, Puritan doctrine transforms to the hypocritical ranting of a diseased patriarchy, and female sexuality becomes the expression of conflict between the two worlds interacting at the Fair. In the process, the distinction between sermon and cursing blurs. Claiming, “The sin of the Fair provokes me, I cannot be silent” (3.6.72), Busy rails against heathenism and uses the fiery language of a Puritan zealot to call Trash’s goods the “merchandise of Babylon” and

the “peeping of popery upon the stalls here in the high places” (3.6.84-85), before overturning the gingerbread tables.⁶³⁴ Attacking whoredom and Catholicism, he demeans Trash as “the purple strumpet [. . .] in her yellow gown and green sleeves” (3.6.86-87) who entices from a “shop of relics” (line 88). As Busy’s religious cursing “out speaks” his “sanctified noise” (3.6.96), Trash murmurs, “God bless it” (line 91), a line that could be a blessing or a curse as it echoes the preacher’s speech. The Fair people protect themselves from the intruders by reducing them to the “playhouse poultry pox, that has the bony rump sticking out” (2.5.93), attacking the Fair. Referring to syphilis-ridden prostitutes who frequented the theaters,⁶³⁵ Ursula implies that the pox does not riddle her undiminished body, and her cleanliness puts her on a higher moral plane. Then, as disease breaks down the social and individual body, Trash responds to Busy, “A pox of his Bedlam purity” (3.6.126), in an attempt to fragment the preacher’s sermon. Pitting Carnival against Puritan, language suggests the madness of religion’s prostitution to intemperance which eats holes into the movement against carnival and its language. This systemic disease explains how puppets, the “debased world of animal vulgarity in loud miniature,”⁶³⁶ silence the ranter since hypocrisy infects the meanings of his words.

The plays also label language as dishonest and dangerous because both genders create a disparity of meaning and speech that leads to an unstable society. As the standard-bearer for plain speech, Moll of The Roaring Girl sees that clear verbal expression with a correlation of word and intention translates into better social behavior. To her, men would avoid suffering if people used straightforward speech and “if every woman would deal with their suitor so honestly, poor younger brothers would not be so often gulled with old cozening widows” who give their money to “some kinsman and

make the poor gentleman work hard for a pension” (2.2.56-60). On the other hand, Moll also challenges male discourse as endangering women. After cutting Laxton, she sermonizes on the rights of females versus the desires of males and labels men as “bragging nothing[s]” (3.1.84) who flatter and cast “an angling rod” (line 100) to snare women’s souls. The action implies that only by opening wounds and then healing them with words can the female “make ‘em know, she that has wit and spirit / May scorn to live beholding to her body for meat” (3.1.132-33). In Moll’s opinion, unambiguous language from both genders means freedom from commodification and indicates social health since honest speech allows internal matter rather than external disguise to become public. Otherwise, no one can be sure of language’s implications.

For example, in 1 Henry VI, ⁶³⁷ Suffolk uses language to turn the King into a love-triangle pawn because Henry accepts language at face value. Since the captured Margaret adopts submissive language by saying, “An if my father please, I am content” (5.5.83), agrees to be his love, and joins in to construct the appearance of love, la Pole directs future events for all of England by maneuvering Henry VI into accepting her instead of Charles’ niece, the daughter of the Earl of Armagnac, for his wife. Consequently, the Frenchwoman will have a political voice that curses its way through Shakespeare’s version of history, ⁶³⁸ because English Henry confuses appearance with substance. First claiming to Suffolk, “Your wondrous rare description, noble earl, of beauteous Margaret hath astonished me” (5.7.1-2), the King gives the semblance of manhood by demanding the right to choose his mate rather than abiding by the effeminate position of a ruler, who like a woman must marry for the advantage of his mother/father land. Finding his voice, Henry should feel masculine when he says to Gloucester, “I

know it will excuse / This sudden execution of my will,” but he feels “sick with working of my thoughts” (lines 98-99,86), because Suffolk has constructed appearance at the expense of Henry’s substance. The Earl will “rule both her, the king and realm” (line 108), so that his language becomes English policy when Margaret manipulates her husband. As the “loving” queen, Margaret will speak for a masculine cause, maybe not a royal one,⁶³⁹ and will later reduce Henry even further. These dynamics suggest that the mature ruler must understand subtext by distinguishing between appearance and reality.

Shakespeare’s 1 Henry VI also demonstrates that the creation of an image can give the female grotesque a temporary locus of power from which to adulterate patriarchal authority. As fiendish sluttiness becomes the rumored substance of the maid Joan, verbal interaction with the grotesque female reveals woman’s capacity to reduce masculine speech through the silent vocabulary of sexuality. Before Joan enters in Act 1, scene 3, France’s Charles expresses courage and manly fortitude while noting the effeminacy of his men. He questions, “What men have I? / Dogs, cowards, dastards! / I would ne’er have fled, / But that they left me behind” (lines 1-3). In contrast, as soon as Joan supports her claim “to be the English scourge” (line 108) in a display of Amazonian force, he begs, “Stay, stay thy hands!” (line 83), and then subjugates his crown and himself as a “prostrate thrall” (lines 96) to her beauty. Yet Joan commands Charles and unites the French army with orders lacking the sexual language of Charles’ statements to her. She does respond ambiguously to his overtures, saying, “I must not yield to any rites of love” (line 92), because of her sacred mission; but she adds, “When I have chased all thy foes from hence, / Then will I think upon a recompense” (lines 94-95). Joan qualifies her virtue with enough sexual charge to keep the dauphin enthralled and never clarifies

“recompense,” which could refer to sex, money, fame, or mythology. Her answer defines her as a manipulative and powerful female able to call in a debt at any time, to take advantage of perceptions about her that she or the French create. Ambiguity defines her substance for the French who accept her holy cause and desire her profane body at the expense of her mythology and their cause when they, womanlike, deny her in the end.

Unsubstantiated claims become the means of people judging the female grotesque in this play and in The Roaring Girl. To Talbot’s label of the “virtuous Joan of Arc” (2.2.20), Burgundy calls her the dauphin’s “trull” (line 28), and his gossip redefines her for the English. Under the filter of rumor, the Frenchman rebels to follow Joan because “nature makes me suddenly relent” (3.7.59), and the English condemn her as a slut. Even though the reader never sees her making love to anyone, this definition becomes her disgrace at the trial and in Shakespeare’s reading of history. Rumor, then, often portrayed as a grotesque female in literature,⁶⁴⁰ can change history into a series of manipulated “facts” which put into doubt the quality of the patriarchy who will sacrifice a female for its honor.⁶⁴¹ The Roaring Girl also defines rumor in terms of a female grotesque capable of hurting society and argues that Moll cannot escape her rumored construction. When Sir Thomas asks, “And why do the foul mouths of the world call thee Moll Cutpurse” (5.1.291-92), he alludes to rumor, a term that Sir Alexander describes as the “common voice, for that’s the whore / That deceives man’s opinion, mocks his trust, / Cozens his love, and makes his heart unjust” (5.2.250-52). Rumor⁶⁴² hurts patriarchy by affecting trust and uses the grotesque as its reference, but it also damages females by containing them within rumored definitions. For example, although she admits to wild “younger days” (line 295), this roaring girl does nothing in the play to

earn her titles, except to behave in a masculine manner. Even Moll's report of her activities exists as just that—report. The play verifies only that she fights, smokes, resists marriage, speaks openly about gender issues, and feels kindly toward lovers. One does not see her involved in prostitution, only in wedded love for other people. Her situation makes us question Joan's fate. Had she performed a miracle, would it have been enough to eradicate men's perceptions of her? Probably it would not, as in both plays most people prefer fiction to reality because it allows patriarchy to justify its intentions.

1 Henry VI, though, restricts female discourse to falsehood predicated on rumor and proves that true power comes from honest masculine language, not from fabrication. In the play, female language cannot affect a masculine male. The Countess of Auvergne tries to reduce Talbot with boasting, but the English hero, who insists on synonymy between word and intention, goes to Auvergne “to prove this lady's courtesy” (2.2.58). The scene between them genders language into a female focus on appearance and a male concern for inner value. Beginning her insults by saying that “report is fabulous and false” (2.3.17), the Countess expects Talbot to reduce himself by abridging social decorum with an attack, but his foiling of her trap induces her to say, “I find thou art no less than fame hath bruited, / And more than may be gathered by thy shape” (lines 68-69). Put simply, she cannot out riddle a soldier who knows that outward appearance seldom matches inward matter and who denies his exteriority as the substance of his strength, saying, “I am but shadow of myself, / [. . .] my substance is not here” (lines 50-51). Having his men ready by anticipating Auvergne's deceit, Talbot proves his masculinity by reading substance over word, contrasts Henry's emasculation from rumored substance, and shows the lack of power in female discourse.

In these plays, even when females speak directly and understand the world's superficiality, their effect tends to become gender specific. For example, Ursula has more linguistic strength with the women visitors; but when she uses combative speech to challenge male visitors, she suffers harm and reduction. In response to Winwife's comment about her greasy language (2.5.121), Ursula inflicts his shame of a "snotty-nose" and his unnaturalness by being "engendered on a she-beggar in a barn when the bald thrasher was scarce warm" (lines 122-24);⁶⁴³ yet Quarlous notes her diminution, saying, "I find by her similes she wanes apace" (lines 126-27). Verbally impotent, Ursula tries to burn him but succeeds only in hurting herself. Although she cannot silence the male intruders, she can affect the female visitors, when they lose power in this inverted world by avoiding scatological references. Outside etiquette forces Win to say "very great what-sha-callum" (3.6.117) to her husband about her need to relieve herself; however, the euphemism indicates that the marriage lacks intimacy and foreshadows the pander's substitution for the husband in the Pig-Woman's domain. Then, Mistress Overdo's whispering to Whit, "I cannot with modesty speak it out, but—" (4.4.173), gives the strange male power over her functions and provides Ursula a gap to regain authority by using language to shame the justice's wife when she advertises the woman's urination, yelling, "Let her sell her hood, and buy a sponge, with a pox to her" (lines 185-87). By loudly denying the justice's wife her facilities, the Fair woman exercises her only real control, the ability to shame another female.

Using another lower body function, language in the plays often centers on female sexual shame which collapses categories of "wife," "widow," and "whore," because the female "is perceived by her subtill and circumventing speeches, doubtfull and ambiguous

Apothegmes, double significations, intricate, witty, and cunning equivocations.”⁶⁴⁴

Livia of Women Beware Women serves as a perfect example during the chess game with Mother.⁶⁴⁵ Nonetheless, language in these works can also refer to the judgment and consequences of debased sexuality. Thus, Leantio of the same play comments that “mocking poverty brings forth more children” while Providence stuffs rich men’s “beds with barren wombs” (1.1.96-97,100), since the grotesque female cannot perform her natural duty. An economic reading offers class irony; a religious one suggests judgment, since according to cultural beliefs God punishes sin with barrenness.⁶⁴⁶ This line, placed beside Bianca’s comments that “restraint breeds wandering thoughts” (4.1.33), suggests cause and effect: overly restricted women will find sex, but their activities will produce no heirs, at least no valid ones. Moreover, when Livia says that she “conceives” of Guardiano’s plan and then speaks of the “fruits” (4.2.164) of his words, she refers to one of the play’s moralities: dissembling chastity breeds revenge, so that the liars harvest the effect in the final scene with death and the lost hope of heirs. As the speakers in this play pursue illicit sex, they generate base language and punishment at the expense of natural children, so that society eventually collapses on itself.

On the other hand, female language can describe the woman’s spiritual journey from the grotesque to a more ideal image. In The Honest Whore, the fishing trope describes the relationship of seducer and seduced and changes as shifting moral stances give power to the speaker. Since the flexibility of metaphor permits its use for transformation,⁶⁴⁷ Bellafront positions herself as the predator in Scene 6, but by Scene 9 after her redemption, she portrays all prostitutes as victims. The unrepentant whore turns sex into piscine feasting, telling Roger to “give the fresh salmon line now. Let him come

ashore. He shall serve for my breakfast, though he go against my stomach” (Scene 6, p. 33). To have food and pleasure, she manipulates men, some of whom expect her deceit and use it for their own purposes. For example, when Matheo in Part 2 asks his wife, “Hast angled? Hast cut up this fresh salmon?” (Scene 7, p.162), he wants to know if she has gotten them money by prostituting herself to Lodovico. The husband’s control of the trope indicates his guilt, and the no-longer-grotesque Bellafront loses control of the metaphor. This change puts into question the Duke’s fishing metaphor describing prostitutes as “The fish being thus i’th’ net (Scene 10, p. 186) for him to “with eye most severe dispose of it” (p. 186), since the speaker’s virtue seems to determine tropic intention. The reader, thus, wonders if the Duke wants to make a difference or just to “dispose” of the problem by parading the prostitutes for the nobles. True, he probably will not get money for providing the spectacle, but his entertainment of the men does not seem that different from Matheo’s use of Bellafront to “entertain” potential marks. Although the males commodify females by using them as lures, Bellafront’s loss of control of the fishing metaphor signals her developing spiritual power that enables her separation from the other netted prostitutes.

On the other hand, good father Orlando of the same play perverts Christ’s promise to his disciples that he “will make you become fishers of men” (Mark 1:17) to effect the actual process of reformation and to prove further that the person controlling the metaphor defines the people involved. As the reformed female’s body mutates from bait to prey, her father becomes a fisher of men to reel his son-in-law from sin by allowing the gallant line and then administering grace before the line becomes the hangman’s rope. Matheo having frequently claimed that he will live and “fly high” (Scene 4, p. 133), the

father-in-law allows him to run with the lure of profligacy, a hook baited with a false robbery that “shall hang him by th’ gills, till I pull him on shore (Scene 10, 182).

Allowed to “catch” himself, Matheo takes on line, even though he realizes that he has played the part of “the poor salmon trout” who “is now in the net” (p. 199). At this point, Dekker has him falsely accuse his wife of setting the crime and spurring him on because each person must flail on the bottom, almost drowning, before he can acknowledge his powerlessness and allow the caring fisher of men, the “true physician” (p. 202), to save him from death.⁶⁴⁸ Finally, the father claims his son-in-law, lists his misdeeds, and then administers grace in the form of financial security. But he also defines the couple by repentance, saying, “Play thou the whore no more, nor thou the thief again” (p.213), and by threatening to change the fishing trope into a metaphor of spectacle and bestial control, both characters “baited at one stake” (p. 213), if they do not reform. Orlando, therefore, gives the fishing trope positive value by using it as a tool for reformation.

If language can serve good, then the plays must question the responsibility for the creation of the female grotesque and the language surrounding her. For example, in The Honest Whore, as Bellafront transforms spiritually in response to Hippolyto’s admonishment in the last part of Scene 6, her songs in Part 1 metamorphose to accuse men for her situation. During the early moments of Scene 6, she sings of punishing Cupid if he fails her; but as she hands Roger the looking-glass, the lyrics arrest her power when she sings, ““Down, down, down, down, / I fall down and arise I never shall”” (p. 32). This line suggests the actual prone position of the prostitute, implies the female’s lack of a penis to rise, and describes the spiritual decline from which the prostitute can never rise. In keeping with the predator trope, she raises the question of the male’s role

in her fall, as he forgets his duty. Significantly, as Bellafront sings about the absence of love, the song becomes an identity marker for the female, a history of her fall, and a record of cause and effect as she confronts her life honestly. The song in Scene 9 of Part 1, though, laments the transformative process that Bellafront undergoes as she takes charge of her spiritual life. In phrasing similar to predatory language, she indicates awareness of herself as an object, but rejects that position for subjectivity. Singing of different types of men, she proclaims that their temptations “Shall not draw me to their chambers” (p. 61) and melodically dedicates herself to cultural normalcy because of patriarchal sermonizing of virtue. The play suggests that for her, or any woman, a man must lead her verbally back to the ideal, even if men have responsibility for her fall.

Like Bellafront in the final scene of Parts 1 and 2, Win, Mistress Overdo, and Grace assume the cultural expectation of marital silence at their play’s end. Even the grotesque Ursula foregoes speech after identifying the visitors as the enormities. On the other hand, The Honest Whore and King Lear⁶⁴⁹ demonstrate the effect on family and society when the female attempts to control language and to displace male dominance. Gouge writes about wives, “As their words must be few, so those few words must be reverend and meeke: both which are also implied under the forenamed word *silence*: which in the originall signifieth also *quietnesse*.”⁶⁵⁰ Moreover, whether or not in the husband’s presence, her “reverend speech to her husband” manifests “the affection of the heart”⁶⁵¹ that allows the wife to quietly guide her husband to her ends. Contrary to the ideal wife who reveres her husband “is the waspish and shrewish disposition of many wives [. . .] who care not how hastily and unadvisedly they speak to them.”⁶⁵² Ingram states that charges against scolds usually resulted from the negative quality of their

language, not “mere assertiveness, loquacity, or even ill language” but from “indiscriminate slander, tale-bearing, the stirring up of strife, the deliberate sowing of discord between neighbours, and sometimes also the pursuit of quarrels through needless lawsuits and legal chicanery.”⁶⁵³ In a word, a scold harasses everyone around her, especially the husband.⁶⁵⁴ Her shrewish speeches place the man in the same position as a servant, while expressing the internal humoral process whereby female anger manifests in “chiding and brawling,” since “when their stomachs are full, they must needs ease them on their husbands.”⁶⁵⁵ Thus, for the humoral scold, Gouge prescribes that “wives therefore learne first to moderate their passion, and then to keepe in their tongues with bit and bridle”⁶⁵⁶ so that their husbands do not taste the bitterness and society stays orderly.

The shrew in The Honest Whore, Part 1 breeds only conflict when marriage becomes a vehicle of disrespect. A proper wife, according to Gouge, should signify her husband’s position with terms such as “lord,” “husband,” or “master” and should avoid ordinary, unfitting words like “rogue”⁶⁵⁷ in addressing him. Contrarily, Viola tells Candido “that patience makes a fool of you” (Scene 5, p. 25) and berates him in the following: “Why fool! Why, husband! Why madman! I hope you will not let ‘em sneak away so with silver and gilt beaker—the best in the house too?” (p. 29). Longing for her husband’s potency, Viola claims, “I am with child to vex him” (Scene 7, p. 57), and her statement suggests unnatural conception bred from a humoral imbalance fathered by the husband’s patience. An impotent man to her, Candido can impregnate only by manipulating her perverse nature through socially unnatural reticence. The scolding female grotesque’s ability to produce only irreverent speech may explain why Dekker does not mention a child from the merchant’s marriage to Viola.

Candido demonstrates that a husband must control the wife's speech because it turns marriage into a bit of mad business. Saying, "Pray, gentlemen, take her to be a woman, / Do not regard her language" (Scene 5, p. 25), he suggests that women cannot have acceptable speech, even though she tries to protect the business from the men attempting to cheat the merchant. Yet Candido knows that marital and business success depends on a submissive wife and proper legal procedure and commands Viola, "Pray let your tongue lie still, all will be well" (p. 25) before sending for officers to deal with the thieves. Since he acts from a position of power achieved through following prescriptive behavior,⁶⁵⁸ the husband/merchant never reduces to silence from his wife's speech or behavior. Only during his offstage, away-from-home experience in Bedlam does the husband become silent to the reader, a circumstance implying that a patriarch without language represents madness, a similarity between this play and King Lear.⁶⁵⁹ Candido up to this point has spoken in organized and controlled verse that has given structure to his household, whereas Viola has railed in overflowing prose that has caused chaos. Consequently, when the husband's speech no longer fills the store, Viola notices the sanity of his speeches and finally alters her own linguistic tactics, saying, "I ha' done storming now" (p. 88). Uncomfortable without a rational male voice nearby, the wife restores Candido to the home, gives him control, and gains the peaceful benefits of prescriptive silence, as the husband becomes a social model of measured speech.

According to King Lear patriarchs who fume help to create the unnatural, irreverent language of the scolding female grotesque through modeling inappropriate language. Gouge places correct speech in adults and children as the responsibility of the parent and lists vices in children contrary to reverence in speech: 1. pride of wealth or

honor 2. “loquacity” —speak impudently 3. “stonenesse”—answer as if parents are their equals 4. indiscretion—do not respect time, business or temper of their parents 5. stubbornness—pout, lour, swell, and not answer parent.⁶⁶⁰ After loving performances in Act 1, scene 1, Goneril and Regan demonstrate all of these vices to reveal the mockery of their initial responses to Lear. Placing the blame for dishonorable speech as faulty education from the parents, Vives writes, “Let the maide learne none uncleanly wordes, or wanton or uncomely gesture and moving of the body” because “when she is growne bigger and of more discretion,” she “will do the same afterwarde at unwares and unadvisedly.”⁶⁶¹ Since language habits begun in childhood continue into adulthood, manipulative language and authoritative rudeness must have normalized in Goneril and Regan. Although one might also argue that these married women respond negatively to their father because their duty lies with the husbands, honoring the father is a life-long responsibility.⁶⁶² Therefore, Lear’s acceptance of their speech in Act 1, scene 1 gives them control, but it does not excuse them from knowing their proper place or from creating madness.

The two tigresses’ linguistic disrespect rips control from the father to weaken the country by further disordering Lear’s mind. Gouge says that children who scorn to wait on their parents and absent themselves when called upon demonstrate irreverence,⁶⁶³ exactly what the two daughters do. Goneril refuses to “speak with him” and tells Oswald to tell her father “I am sick” (1.3.8) in order to avoid her father’s mood and to control conversation, while Regan states that if her father and his retinue “come to sojourn at my house, / I’ll not be there” (2.2.103-04). Their irreverence in refusing audience to Lear indicates the King’s loss of government at its most poignant because his house revolts

against him and he must beg a word with his children. Waiting to see Cornwall and Regan, the father listens to Gloucester say he “informed” rather than “commanded” them to speak with the King. Even the King changes his “command” to “tends” (2.4.100), a word suggesting that he patiently waits for a person of higher position. Moreover, contrary to Gouge who says that children should give parents “reverend and honourable titles” and that no title “can be more honourable than that which is most proper and usuall, Father to the one parent, and Mother to the Other,”⁶⁶⁴ Goneril and Regan reduce titles such as “Royal Lear,” “king,” “father,” “master,” “patron” (1.1.137-40) to “old man” (2.2.459) as power shifts. In this term, they disavow Lear as parent, thereby ironically claiming themselves bastards, and regard him as an aged, common man with diminishing power, not as a royal monarch. Against the precept that children must bear their parents’ infirmities,⁶⁶⁵ even abnormal mental states, the daughters co-opt language as a measure to silence masculine authority. In keeping with the shift of control, Lear madly dashes into the tempest-filled wilderness where his daughters’ words fill the storm of his mind to produce cursing and railing, not courtly speech.

The father’s unmeasured execrations, however, provide the means for self-examination by railing against his mental aspects, as expressed in his daughters and by nature,⁶⁶⁶ before accepting the ideal which insisted on words matching intention by loving “your majesty / According to my bond” (1.1.92-93). Having become a scold upon discovering the vacuity of Goneril’s and Regan’s protestations of love, Lear recognizes the “nothingness” of the female grotesque’s speech which breeds unnatural corruption. To order his world, he commands Nature to correct her aberration, to “Dry up in her [Goneril] the organs of increase” (1.4.275), so that the daughter’s debasement will not

replicate. If procreation does occur, Lear wants his revenge through breeding humoral abnormality in a “child of spleen, that it may live / And be a thwart disnatured torment to her” (1.4.278-79), probably through her empty speech. The mind of Lear becomes its worst as he realizes that natural government means control of language. Since the daughters have the ability to disquantity him with a word, Lear must silence them. Therefore, he orders the storm of his mind to “crack nature’s molds, all germens spill at once, / That makes ingrateful man” (3.2.8-9), so that nature actually purges itself of the grotesque. He also labels his daughters as unnatural nothings, saying, “Nor rain, wind, thunder, fire are my daughters” (3.2.15), as they exist outside of nature as evil “servile ministers” that “join / Your high-engendered battles ‘gainst a head / So old and white at this” (3.2.21-24). Despite the wild curses, his speech rejects the grotesque, re-establishes hierarchy, and prepares him for majestic silence in favor of lunatic storming.

Order can return only when measured speech fills the stage, a process begun with Lear and concluded by the survivors of the final action. Once having silenced the linguistic storm around him, Lear’s railing transforms to well-governed, soft poetic phrases, such as “We two alone will sing like birds i’ th’ cage” (5.3.9), as he joins with the female who demonstrates natural and proper language. Even though he seems distracted in these lines, he has control of his language, since, like Viola in The Honest Whore, he “ha’ done storming now” (p. 88). Having silenced the grotesque, Lear embraces the best part of himself and his language to achieve wholeness; however, his re-absorption of the ideal female leads him to the silence of death to make way for the rational voices of the new patriarch. Edgar, the one who verbally leads Lear’s progression during the storm’s madness, who perceives Lear’s ghost rise from the stage,

who recognizes the death of carnival in the “weight of this sad time” (5.3.330), and who commands the others to “Speak what we feel, not what we ought to say” (line 331), now rules. He will ensure that word matches intention and that speech demonstrates reverence, as the silent idea of Lear’s linguistic journey guides future exchange.

The empty phrases produced by the inversion in these carnivalesque societies break down barriers so that patriarchy models improper language and people utter angry billingsgate based on lower body functions or on unnatural relationships. In this symbiotic relationship of inversion and speech, female processes become curses on women and humanity, and words often mismatch intention as the female finds her voice. Whether by leveling social hierarchies, as in Bartholmew Fair, The Roaring Girl, The Honest Whore, and Women Beware Women, by harming people with rumor as in Sebastian’s and Joan’s experiences, or by reducing males as in Henry VI or Lear’s cases, language promulgates inversion. In these plays, naturally grotesque female language often represents uncertain meaning that appears in the veiled vocabulary of canting and metaphor that she adopts to navigate a patriarchal society and to explain her journey. Her words often fragment hierarchy into a disparity of word and meaning whorishly prostituted to destabilizing hierarchy. Yet even when women have a positive voice, such as Moll’s and Bellafront’s sermonizing, males either embrace the status quo or silence the women in the confines of marriage. On the other hand, in tragedy women like Livia, Joan, Goneril, and Regan may control language for a while, may even fragment male speech, but death silences their voices. Through the female grotesque’s relationship with verbal expression, plays in both genres make it clear that patriarchy must address

language issues and moral degeneracy, as they have a sympathetic relationship that requires their reconstitution into wholeness before order can occur.

Chapter 8

Purgation and Reform

*For when the offender is not throughly [sic] convinced hee shifteth
off the same of the fault, and of the correction, which is a part
of purgation.*⁶⁶⁷

Interpreting Carnival as a release valve for people to get mischief out of their systems implies that reformation occurs after the dust settles. In the everyday social context, however, self-perpetuating carnival can create devastating problems while it breeds the female grotesque. In the plays studied, as justice becomes a joke, family systems invert, and national honor degrades, patriarchy interprets the female as a cause and as a symptom of the pervasive inversion. Since the female grotesque seeks methods to question or to eradicate customary liminal boundaries, authority responds by attempting to reduce her effects, often through purgation, a physical cure expected to produce spiritual reformation. All of these plays indicate that the tenacity of Carnival will not allow reform without spiritual purging to produce a healthy society that controls the female grotesque and strengthens masculine behavior in stable gender categories. Therefore, comedy proposes marriage or prison; tragedy offers wholesale bloodletting to clean the body politic; but both genres suggest the need for reforming patriarchy, the fathers of the female grotesque.

Since medical practitioners considered disease to arise from an “insolubility which threatened the humoral balance of the body as a whole,”⁶⁶⁸ they prescribed purging and bloodletting to take away ill humors caused by overindulgence, but the process had social implications. To the patient whose body seemed in chaos, purgation promised longevity and with other medicine became an expression “of material agency” that mixed pain with pleasure.⁶⁶⁹ Some consumers even underwent yearly treatment to rid the body of excess of blood and humors from winter feasting and inactivity.⁶⁷⁰ Although nearly everyone experienced forms of purging from childhood onwards, physicians gendered cures and prescribed marriage or special medicines to cure hysteria or the mother in women.⁶⁷¹ Alimentary purge through emetics, laxatives, and enemas held a central place in medical practices, and doctors gauged their efficacy “by the violence of its expulsive effect on the body.”⁶⁷² Purging, bathing, and venery reduced heat with effects not always controllable,⁶⁷³ while bloodletting, or phlebotomy, re-established the balance needed for bodily health by drawing off overly hot blood. As these cures altered bodily fluids, the state of mind and soul changed, so that the process also served as a trope for spiritual transformation by reducing anxiety, depression, and melancholy humors.⁶⁷⁴ Purgation “was considered [. . .] essential to well-being,” psychologically, cosmetically, and sexually,⁶⁷⁵ for individuals who collectively created a balanced society.

If, as Paster argues, the humoral theory, the foundation of purging practices, does not allow for sharp distinctions between the ethical and physical domains,⁶⁷⁶ then figurative uses of qualities, humors, and temperaments can serve broader categories of illness, cleansing, and reform. Culturally and dramatically, Carnival, purgation, and

reform became processes contending for individual and social health, because Carnival does not keep what Bakhtin calls the “moral position of apocalyptic inspiration”⁶⁷⁷ but ignores future consequences by focusing on lower things and transforming into everyday carnival that never returns to Lent. At this point, positive and negative social processes create inversion that can license appetitive drives. In Elizabethan England, “considerable economic and social disruption, religious and political controversy, [. . .] extensive upward and downward social mobility,”⁶⁷⁸ economic changes in labor division and international trade, and population increases⁶⁷⁹ provided a chaotic, out-of-balance milieu that blurred boundaries. Moreover, the rise in literacy rates among craftsmen and the general population⁶⁸⁰ created a better educated populace that questioned the “natural” order of things, and wives who shared the culture with their husbands had exposure to carnival liberty, learned its potential, and joined the questioning of hierarchy. To achieve balance, individuals and the social body had to undergo purification to correct the inverted values encouraged by people who serve “the world, the flesh and the Devil”⁶⁸¹ of perpetual carnival through reducing the heat of unrestrained appetite and hierarchal challenges by purging society with social rules.

Incorporating this reduced state in comments on society and its expectations, writers colored festive tendencies with transgressive women who acted out carnival inversion. In city comedies the wife subsidizes the gallant, since education had produced “a superfluity of highly articulate young men who lacked the money and social connections to support themselves”; the influx of these intellectuals and the “arrival of the prodigal offspring of country gentlemen” gave writers a “sense of the city as a new subject,”⁶⁸² but one of posturing, degenerate young men. The transgressive female

grotesque of the marketplace also challenges Puritan merchants who posited their ideologies of production as cures against the devil in the “moral imagination.”⁶⁸³ Drama carnivalized these anxieties, and, as Rhodes says of comic prose in the 1590s, created “a grotesque vision of the physical life of the community”⁶⁸⁴ that emerged from an “unstable coalescence of contrary images of the flesh: indulged, abused, purged, and damned.”⁶⁸⁵ But some drama also shows the grotesque female, the whore particularly, who achieves reform while negotiating social inversion. Mullaney suggests that popular drama in the 1590s did not “prescribe behavior or invite reform”;⁶⁸⁶ however, since drama allows the spectator to interiorize its moral stance, writers attacked their societies in earnest. In Jacobean tragedy, court life “contradicts its self-image as the ‘fountain’ of civility [Duchess of Malfi, I. i. 12]” through its savageness,⁶⁸⁷ “discloses ideology as misrepresentation,” and offers “alternative ways of understanding social and political process.”⁶⁸⁸ Yet dramatists reinstate dominant ideology, while setting up another cycle of chaos in a process creating some kind of release. Dollimore suggests that “Jacobean theatre prompts the release from *within* religious discourses of contradictions already made the more visible by the power struggle *between* them.”⁶⁸⁹ Through this conflict, a change in stasis does result, but reform rarely happens. Instead, as the women in the plays test the boundaries of definition, patriarchy often uses theological and legal fetters to bind the problematic female into prescribed roles.

As the female in comedy openly flaunts social imperfections, carnival breaks down the purgation process to produce shame and to destroy hopes for wellness. Female purgation may actually make matters uncomfortable for the family. In Jonson’s Bartholmew Fair,⁶⁹⁰ urination cleans Win’s and Mrs. Overdo’s bodies of the carnival

feast; but rather than reducing their heat, the experience purges their London dignity by introducing prostitution. Their bathroom break does not negate “women’s body’s power as a grotesque image,”⁶⁹¹ but gives them a potentially heated sexual outlet that re-forms their positions as wives and causes masculine anxiety. For example, Littlewit’s fear that his wife has “stepped aside” (5.6.17-18), reveals unease about her sexuality and his shame. In fact, Win does consider freedom from a careless husband in favor of Whit’s promise to make her “a free-woman, and a lady” (4.5.32-33) with “sometimes” honesty, fancy clothing, and the company of gallants. Rather than rejecting his offer as a proper wife should, she merely exclaims, “Lord, what a fool have I been” (4.5.50), and then sports a prostitute’s mask to join husband-ignored Mistress Overdo who must vomit in public to gain her husband’s recognition. For these women, purgation means only small-scale reform in that the husbands become aware of the subversive potential of the Fair on their wives, and the action suggests that if prostitution can wear a mask, so can marital chastity in social carnival.

To overcome this uncertainty, women must undergo spiritual transformation, not just bodily cleansing, through confessional purging that confronts shame.⁶⁹² For truly fallen women, the process entails stringent interior examination in response to male sermonizing. In The Honest Whore, Part 1,⁶⁹³ Hippolyto states his intentions to “purge this infected chamber of that plague that runs upon me thus” (Scene 10, p. 70), to clear it of Bellafront whom Servant labels a grotesque “mermaid.”⁶⁹⁴ In response to his former words, the woman has already excised the spot on her soul with a “fit instrument / To let forth all the poison of my flesh!” (Scene 6, p. 48) and has brought her body into humoral balance by not eating “one good meal this three and thirty days” (Scene 8, p. 58). As

proof of her spiritual transformation, Bellafront has “no part of harlot in me” (p. 64), including the unregulated appetite. She must now publicly recognize her culpability and that of her social context with hope that one reform might lead to social cleansing. Calling Fingerlock “our sex’s monster, poisonous bawd!” and “The lecher’s French disease (for thou dry-suck’st him); / The harlot’s poison” (Scene 8, p. 59), the converted whore defines the bawd as female-corrupting pollution to which the prostitute must develop immunity, in part through manipulating her humoral body. She can prove her reformed chastity with purgatively cooled blood. The process “saves the self by destroying the ego”⁶⁹⁵ and makes the whore ready for her role as a wife who can blend into the faceless sea of housewives. Even though Bellafront tells Matheo, “I am not as I was” (Scene 9, p. 62), the courtier rejects marriage to the woman he deflowered in a cash transaction. To reform him and masculine society, she explains the physical and spiritual effects of prostitution. Now humorally clean, “pure as fire” (Scene 15, p. 107), she casts shame on all gallants: “You love to undo us. / To put heaven from us, whilst our best hours waste: / You love to make us lewd, but never chaste” (Scene 9, p. 65). By identifying patriarchy as the social disease causing spiritual deformity, she regains a sense of self, while the men who should reconsider their culpability damn her.

Yet marriage remains the key element of the redemptive process for this grotesque female, as it takes her out of the sexual market. Similar to Pope Innocent III’s idea that decent men should redeem harlots by marrying them,⁶⁹⁶ Dekker offers the institution as the option for Bellafront; but “the man society allots her because of her once-soiled state, is a social discard,”⁶⁹⁷ even if she considers herself now “chaste as Cynthia’s breast” (Scene 15, 107). As purgative and preventative, matrimony “is

instituted of God, to the intent that man and woman should live lawfully [. . .] and [to] avoid fornication. By which means a good conscience might be preserved on both parties in bridling the corrupt inclinations of the flesh with the limits of honesty.”⁶⁹⁸ For Bellafront and any aberrant female, such as those in Bartholmew Fair and The Roaring Girl, marriage should purge them of unchaste sexuality; but the methods involved in this purgation may cause hardship for the woman, so that only the spiritually stable survive.

Portraying marriage as a spiritual trial, The Honest Whore, Part 2 demonstrates that grotesque masculine behavior serves as a testing ground for the female. By continuing to waste his wife, their money, and his soul, Matheo puts Bellafront through “sexual and economic testing.”⁶⁹⁹ The “new-born” (Scene 1, p. 118) wife reflects her reformation back on him and, sounding like Snawsel, tells Matheo, to reform by looking in his glass to “view the wrinkles and the scars / By which thou wert disfigur’d: viewing them, mend them” (Scene 4, 134). The husband, who says he will “turn over a new leaf” (p. 134) when exiting prison, falls further from grace: dicing, whoring, borrowing money, drinking, and finally stealing. In response to his deeds, Bellafront proves her Christian conversion by turning the other cheek, and, though Matheo has beaten her and accused her of theft, begs the Duke’s mercy for him.⁷⁰⁰ Her loyalty suggests that part of her acceptance of the marriage may come from her “continuing need for self-mutilating behavior” and Dekker’s Puritan belief that “the sinner must suffer in order to achieve purification and true redemption.”⁷⁰¹ The marriage does allow her to bear the Christian cross and to receive a great reward by suffering an extreme husband,⁷⁰² but it also permits her to solidify a new identity based on spiritual wholeness and sharing God’s grace with others. Additionally, her patience in marriage could affect society: women

could learn the rewards of chastity; the husband and society could renounce the internal disease that causes them to utilize prostitution. But by the end, the play contains only this whore in marriage, and the men appear to accept prostitution as a natural part of a civilized society.

As a group, these plays also examine what happens if a woman questions or even rejects purgation by marriage. The predominantly submissive wife questions but then falls back into social expectations, whereas the truly deformed suffers marginalization, often to patriarchy's chagrin. For example, *Win and Mistress Overdo* have the opportunity to invert marital hierarchy by considering other roles, but they re-embrace the sanctity of marriage by removing their masks and claiming their outside identities. In contrast, marriage in *The Honest Whore, Part 1* should "convince wives who scole to stop" and "reform the mannish woman who insists on reminding her husband that he has met his match";⁷⁰³ but since Viola constantly questions her husband's authority, the shrewish wife does not survive her own chaos. When Moll Frith of *The Roaring Girl*⁷⁰⁴ rejects marriage, the play suggests that the institution excludes the truly grotesque female. Wengrave denounces her as daughter-in-law material the entire play and at the end chooses exclusionary wording to invite the lords and "you, kind gentlewomen, whose sparkling presence / Are glories set in marriage" (5.2.261-62) to remember "the happiness of this day" (line 265) each spring during a celebration which in his "time now is born" (line 266). But Moll has already proclaimed that she has "no humour to marry" (2.2.35) and will not until the following conditions occur:

Honesty and truth unslandered,

Woman manned but never pandered,

Cheaters booted but not coached,

Vessels older ere they're broached (5.2.219-22)

Her “doomsday” (line 224) deadline excludes her from the invitation, but also situates her humor and social deformity as a result of irresponsible men. She pleads for choice between marriage to a man of her picking and life as an independent woman because marriage without free election can mean slavery to a debased man selected by patriarchy which “Custome and not Reason hath approved” and because “*Custome is an Idiot*”⁷⁰⁵ which often sacrifices the ideal female to patriarchal folly.

Generally, a weak patriarchy either does not protect the ideal or does not stop the female grotesque. In such cases, neither marriage nor patriarchy can cure social ills. Bartholmew Fair discusses this issue by presenting hypocritical patriarchal figures that expose females to sin instead of reforming them. Busy could keep the women out of the Fair; but by conceding that one can eat with a reformed mouth, he leads Win and Purecraft into Ursula's den, a place which “reduces the revelers and reformers to the level of the Fair.”⁷⁰⁶ Puritan neglect of their women and their compromising of virtue become evident when the zealot debates the puppets in Act 5, scene 5. Puppet Dionysius notes the hypocrisy of male reformers who allow Puritan dressmakers to cater to vanity by selling extravagant theatrical clothing. Rather than protecting the women from theater's influence, the Puritan cast aside ideals to “have all the sin within yourselves” (line 83) for profit. Moreover, churchman Busy, who could take a firm stand against cross-dressing, fails to stop theatrical, and by implication, social gender blurring, even though he uses biblical proscription from Deuteronomy 22:5. He spouts out, “The woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto a man, neither shalt a man put on a woman's raiment: for all

that do so are abomination unto the Lord thy God” (1599 Geneva Bible). Having declared the puppets “an abomination; for the male among you putteth on the apparel of the female, and the female of the male” (lines 88-89),⁷⁰⁷ he has to admit “the cause hath failed me” (line 102), because viewing the puppet’s nether parts convinces him that no real difference exists between genders. Although Burt argues that “the force of his [Busy’s] conversion is deeply qualified [first] by the fact that the puppets have no legitimacy of their own,”⁷⁰⁸ the voice of the puppet represents the theology of the Fair, a distortion of Bible verses and Christian doctrine that often parallels the zealot’s compromising of biblical regulation. Like this carnival’s voice, Busy’s does not produce reform, only compromise, and opens the way for the female grotesque to emerge.

In The Honest Whore social measures to create a society safe from the prostitute who “is temptress, sinful, and to be avoided”⁷⁰⁹ fail because reform does not address the whole fallen woman or patriarchal omission. The Duke defines his methods as “med’cine” that will “purge our Milan” and the suburbs (Part 2, Scene 10, p. 185), but his purgation omits marriage for all of the whores except Bellafront. This female grotesque achieves complete reform because she experiences humiliation, punishment, and marriage in accordance to dramatic convention which suggested that women sully social roles “be brought low: cast out, branded a whore, forced to repent, killed.”⁷¹⁰ Since the prostitute serves as “an encoder of cultural tensions,”⁷¹¹ authors use her to comment on ineffective contemporary practices which offer merely religious and economic symbolism. The Duke says that “Vice, like a wound lanc’d, mends by punishment (Scene 13, p. 197) in the brick house of castigation” (Scene 12, p. 194), but the ceremonial parading of prostitutes produces a mere spectacle, not religious

transformation. Although using the symbolism of the blue gown of humility, the chalk and mallet, and the basin beating “as an emblem of their revelry” (Scene 13, p. 212), this show misses the internal process that changes humors, even though the whip “lets forth their wanton blood, / Making them calm” (p. 212). Not even institutional employment that should wear out wantonness by learning a trade can purge fallen women of their business. For example, Target says that she “had rather get half a crown abroad than ten crowns here” (Scene 13, p. 206); moreover, the law burned Horseleech at the age of fourteen, whipped her seven times, carted her six times, ducked her nine times, and searched her one hundred and fifty times. She now parades in front of the noble spectators along with the other prostitutes. In this scene, Dekker condemns Bridewell prison where inmates experienced brutal punishment which “bred hardened (and not so dumb) hostility”⁷¹² rather than reform. The prostitutes flaunt the Duke’s failed policy, which does not offer them blood-cooling marriage and security.

Perhaps, the contradiction of the Duke’s taking stern measure and his suggestion that he and the others “*disguise their authority*” to “make the scene more comical” (Scene 13, p. 205) indicates that a weak patriarchy only jokes about reform. The dragnet reins in the whores, while upper class men who have used prostitutes don disguises to escape notice and punishment. This scene makes evident that Dekker considers the prostitute “a product of the social contradictions of her society”⁷¹³ and these men no better than bawds. Significantly, contrary to the scene at Bedlam, no church representative joins the stage, and the Duke tries to effect change by addressing only the physical element of prostitution by administering pain and teaching a trade to provide food and clothing. The absence of a religious figure in this scene suggests that patriarchy ignores the spirituality

of the fallen female, but Bellafront's transformation reveals that only when prostitutes receive religious instruction can they deal with sin and the men who force them into service. Accordingly, Dekker addresses prostitution as a community sin for which patriarchy must examine its role and the whore's spiritual destiny.

As a whole, the plays suggest that patriarchy can achieve strength through judicious authority over erring women. Justice Overdo of Bartholmew Fair mentions the Mirror of Magistrates to reassert proper hierarchy between Littlewit and Win by reminding the husband of his responsibility to govern his wife; but a feigned madman, Quarlous, instructs the Justice to protect his own wife from the Fair, to get her "out o' the air, it will make her worse else" (5.6.92-93). Quarlous also advises Overdo to forget his last name, "And remember you are but Adam, flesh and blood!" (line 93), because he can govern his Eve only by recognizing his human frailty and by paying attention to his subject's condition. As a husband, Overdo should have intentions that "*are ad correctionem, non ad destructionem; ad aedificandum, non ad diruendum*" (5.6.107-08),⁷¹⁴ since the proper role of husband entails building a family and knowing the difference between a chaste wife and a whore. Overdo finally takes "enormity by the forehead, and brand[s] it" (line 114) and includes himself as part of the reformation in order to reclaim his fallen world.

Since in the traditional analogy of marriage, original paradise, and the commonwealth, a husband must deny grotesque rule, Candido of The Honest Whore learns that a wife's acting out is an anger-appropriate occasion. Thus, when he faces Wife's feigned hot humors in Part 2, a condition he ascribes to the mother, an illness curable by marriage (Scene 3, p. 133), he takes Lodovico's suggestion to "Swear,

swagger, brawl, fling!” because of the deformed nature of “woman who was made of the rib of a man, and that rib was crooked” (p. 132). Wife’s behavior cools after Candido claims, “Wife, I’ll tame you” (Scene 5, p. 146), and then offers mock sword play with a yard-rule “for the breeches” (p. 147) to see who will serve as the measuring stick. Her submission proves that even feigned authority, “Play’d thus the rebel only for a jest,” works better than absolute patience and that the humorally balanced woman should “disdain / The wife that is her husband’s sovereign” (p. 147). Since “the bodie [is] in best proportion, when it hath the best governor,”⁷¹⁵ Candido, who finally achieves equilibrium between patience and control, should maintain a healthy marital body, even if paradise never returns.

According to the plays, reformation and good behavior begin with the head patriarch of the family. Bellafront’s father in The Honest Whore, Part 2, Orlando, redeems his daughter and son-in-law by joining spiritual wholeness with worldly reality. The Duke informs a silent and unpromising Matheo, “All your ills / Are clear purg’d from you by his working pills” (Scene 13, p. 213), the humoral medicine of a house, meat, and wine during Orlando’s life and all of his money after death, as long as they play “the whore no more, nor [. . .] the thief again” (p. 213). According to McLuskie, the father retains patriarchal power and offers “condescending sympathy” to dramatize male anxiety “about their control of sex in the domestic and the city world.”⁷¹⁶ If one envisions this play as extendable to society, then Dekker claims that the father figure, the king, has responsibility for keeping order in his whorish society. More important for the female, her correct behavior guarantees her security and grace.

Calling for cleansing patriarchal virtue, these comedies fall in line with Muld Sacke, which says for princes and patriarchy to standardize behavior: “These above named are the chiefe persons whose reformation shall bind us Masculine Women to the good behauiour: others there bee whom I will not grace, by couenancing with them, because they are almost (if not altogether) past hope of recouerie.”⁷¹⁷ Women, the weaker vessel “now only misse-led by the over-sight of carelesse Parents, or indulgence of effeminate husbands,” will “cast off all such deformities,”⁷¹⁸ thereby proving their strength and the weakness of patriarchy. Tragedy, on the other hand, shows the destructive chaos created by the unbridled female when patriarchy fails to claim authority by modeling proper behavior. The family conflict directly impacts the country, so that achieving social health requires purging the male and female. Rather than containing transgressive behavior, marriage destroys society because of the grotesque female and the wayward male. Therefore, reform cannot take place in this genre, and society must experience cleansing; however, permanent order remains doubtful.

In Women Beware Women,⁷¹⁹ unchecked male desire, key in the creation of a corrupt court, subverts religion to ensure death and the female grotesque’s further fall by teaching her the means to her own destruction. The Duke, who may consider Cardinal “an alien who speaks a language which none of the other characters really understand,”⁷²⁰ perverts the idea of chastity by manipulating Hippolito’s desire “to purge the air” (4.2.14) of Leantio’s blood-corrupting presence in order to claim another man’s wife. Although the Duke honors his vow to the Cardinal that he will “no more keep a sensual woman” (4.3.31), his actions produce defective chastity, defiling his union and court. By observing her mate, Bianca learns to feign reform to obtain her desires and professes to

Cardinal, “Heaven and angels / Take great delight in a converted sinner” (lines 55-56); but she declares in the next act, “Cardinal, you die this night” (5.2.21). Faith reduced to perfunctory statements, characters mimic reform, and the female grotesque absorbs the husband’s debased power.

Instead of correcting the female’s humoral balance, marital relationships in this tragedy actually promote uncontained passion. A husband steals a wife from her parents; the Duke robs the thief of his treasure; the men perform “adulterous thefts” that “take sanctuary in marriage” (4.3.36, 37), their deeds “Never to be repented” (1.1.39), despite Bianca’s ability to “shoot destruction through the bloods” (line 164) of Florence’s sons. Refusing social protocol in obtaining a mate, the men move the family rapidly toward horror, because they overvalue their stolen goods and will do anything to protect them, even murder. Moreover, Uncle Hippolito’s incestuous love for Isabella comes “As easily / As man come by destruction (2.1.3-4), but their relationship makes palatable the her sacrifice of her free will in favor of the father’s choice of husband. The forced union with Ward demonstrates that the transgressive grotesque will find a destructive outlet for animalistic sexual impulses, because she has never learned to live quietly in a familial unit as daughter or wife and refuses correction from what she perceives as corrupt patriarchy.

Since marriage cannot contain male passion and female appetite in Women Beware Women, society must purge to create a holier state. The letting of Hippolito’s blood excises the sin of incest, and the deaths of Livia and Isabella occur in purification rites. Descending to earth dressed as Juno, the protector of marriage, Livia breathes in poisoned incense to “epitomize[s] the prime reason for her damnation—her spiritual

poisoning of the charges placed in her care.”⁷²¹ In this sacrifice, as Isabella terms it in 4.2.219, incense serves as “a means of making tolerable the smells of unwashed humanity,”⁷²² in this case, by metaphorically purifying the stench of Livia’s sin. Simultaneously, flaming gold burns out nymph Isabella’s and the court’s sexual impurity. The unredeemable participants cleanse the court in a fury of vengeance, but Guardiano’s accidental death hints that God purifies the stage as a sacred place “to be protected from defilement”⁷²³ for a holy cardinal to ascend the throne. The ending demonstrates that “unorthodox female behavior must be exorcised”⁷²⁴ to bring about order, while the “tragic masque expounds the court’s corruption and the abiding truths of individual responsibility and moral judgment.”⁷²⁵ As the masque culls out grotesque elements for ideal ones to establish dominion, Cardinal moralizes that sin and correctness cannot occupy one throne or body, saying, “So where lust reigns, that prince cannot reign long” (5.2.227). This holy man may represent “a grotesque phoenix” that “ris[es] from the ashes,”⁷²⁶ but his position as the “next heir” (line 20) complicates the ending. Whether Florence will become a state of God or of secular passion, remains unclear, because even though “the last scene is purgative,” it does not destroy “amoral attitudes engrained in the fiber of daily life.”⁷²⁷ Middleton suggests that only communal purification can produce a balanced, sanctified state, but that the seeds of chaos lie in the ashes, waiting to begin another cycle of carnival.

Although the female grotesque acts outside of her expected role to bring about this cycle of destruction, the patriarch, as in King Lear,⁷²⁸ has to experience purging to counteract his part in producing chaos and the women involved. After blaming the female, “Whose face between her forks presages snow, / That minces virtue, and does

shake the head to hear of pleasure's name" (4.6.118-21), as the cause of his state, Lear realizes belatedly that he holds the key to reformation. For the broken kingdom to mend, this monarch must repent carnal, understand the patience which "oughte to leade us to repentance,"⁷²⁹ and recognize the female's inability to extend his mortality. Finding himself "not ague proof" (line 105), Lear now understands that the people who "told me I was everything" (line 104) lied for control of the kingdom. At this point, the father cannot correct his grotesque daughters, and Albany cannot force Goneril to "See thyself, devil" or her deformity which "seems not in the fiend / So horrid as in woman" (4.2.60-61), because of Lear's modeling.⁷³⁰

The father's mental state has created the family's unhealthy condition, and he must heal himself for communal wholeness. Earlier, he could have chastised his children to produce more orderly offspring, because "Correction is the physic to purge out much corruption which lurketh in children and as a salve to heale many wounds and sores made by their folly,"⁷³¹ but the daughters' responses to his question about loving him suggest a lifetime of manipulating the father to their own advantage. Their relationship with the father has made them believe that they can control any man. Therefore, Albany cannot make Goneril purge her "hearts pride, and selfe-conceit," to think "humbly and lowly" of herself for her own good and to see her "owne infirmities" so that her "blacke feet," and "proud-peaclock-feathers may be cast downe."⁷³² Before any male in the family can have authority, Lear needs purgation to draw "out all his corruptions as cleane as wine out of a vessel."⁷³³ The storm begins Lear's purgative process through which he gains insight into his own grotesque nature. Willingly facing the tempest in his mind, he expresses self-imposed purgation, saying, "Take physic, pomp" and "Expose thyself to

feel what wretches feel, / That thou mayst shake the superflux to them / And show the heavens more just” (3.4.35-38). With Lear away from the epicurism of “Men so disordered, so debauched and bold” that they make Goneril’s court “infected with their manners” to show “like a riotous inn” (1.4.236-38), sobriety returns to make him question his “Undivulged crimes / Unwhipped of justice” (3.2.52-53), the justice of nature and the gods, and the injustice of his own mind. Once in nature, he executes a mock trial that “restages the story of Job and his comforters”⁷³⁴ and gains the patience for submission so that he can expunge the grotesque from his mind to reaccept the ideal in Cordelia. Becoming masculine again, he readies to “die bravely, / Like a smug bridegroom” (4.6.197-98), the father of his children, the husband of his people.

The British camp provides an orderly masculine environment for Lear to finish his purgative healing by re-acquiring the ideal; but all of the daughters must eventually die before the father can achieve wholeness, because the family and his mind decompose from within, as noted by two references to “decay” in Act 5, scene 3.⁷³⁵ Although the daughters represent aspects of Lear’s mind, he has made females into aberrant gods of nature, unnatural usurpations of spirituality causing decay. The cessation of carnival can come only through the destruction of the female in Lear’s mind, but the ideal female must first re-assert herself to “redeem[s] nature from the general curse / Which twain have brought her to” (4.6.205-06), by saving the monarch from the two grotesque daughters with her own sacrifice.⁷³⁶ Lear refers to the ending of carnival as a return of holy sobriety in which the “gods themselves throw incense” (5.3.21) on sacrifices such as they will become. Father and daughter accept natural decay, as “The good years shall devour them [eyes], flesh and fell” (line 24), but reject the unnatural destruction of Lear’s

carnival. In the healing process, the father becomes docile just as Regan lacks her “full-flowing stomach” (5.3.74), and Goneril spews the humors of her heart onto a dagger that “hot it smokes” (5.3.229), their bodily heat purged. Yet order for Lear can resume only after Cordelia dies because her inheritance as a daughter of Eve means that she could sin against him again. Since the father does not exclude her from his negative portrayal of women, her continued existence could result in the re-fragmentation of his mind.

Furthermore, his desire to “sing like birds i’ th’ cage” (5.3.9), to ask her forgiveness, to “tell old tales, and laugh / At gilded butterflies” (lines 12-13) and to hear court news signifies his willingness to retain feminine qualities, thereby humorally unbalanced.

Only through responding to Cordelia’s death by killing “the slave that was a-hanging thee [Cordelia]” (5.3.280) does Lear return to the stage in a more masculine, monarchical state, purged of the female. Over the ideal’s body, the slumping Lear howls the death knell for carnival and himself. To the father, “everything external has become nothingness” and “what remains is ‘the thing itself,’ the soul in its bare greatness.”⁷³⁷ As Cordelia’s soul fuses with Lear’s, she becomes a “gender-reversed Pieta, held in the arms of a grieving Lear.”⁷³⁸ The images collapse into one another so that the emasculated father rejoins the ideal; the maleness and femaleness “made into warring factions”⁷³⁹ now reconstitute into the natural, old man. Mourning the daughter and himself, he cries, “Thou’lt come no more, / Never, never, never, never, never” (5.3.314-15). As he collects the fragments of his mind, the father knows that King Lear will never come again, that his carnival has ended; but peace comes to the country when the King accepts the healthy part of himself, the ideal.

Since family dynamics are analogous to the country's government and since women must represent the ideal in an orderly society, purging in 1 Henry VI⁷⁴⁰ acts violently against Joan, who degrades motherhood and family; but the males are unable to prevent her influence. La Pucelle claims that "God's mother [. . .] infused on me / That beauty am I blessed with" (1.3.64-65), but rather using her gift to glorify the Son or his Mother, she uses her appearance as a tool. Furthermore, she dedicates her maternal body to Satan by nourishing profane children in an inverted Eucharist⁷⁴¹ and asks the evil spirits, "Cannot my body nor blood sacrifice / Entreat you to your wonted furtherance?" (5.3.20-21). After Joan rejects family by denying the Shepherd as her father, he begins the purgative process by cursing her nativity and wishing that the milk that she had sucked from her mother's breast had "been a little ratsbane" (5.6.29) for Joan's sake. Implicit in this comment, the mother controls the child's destiny, either by giving life, taking it away, or determining the baby's qualities.⁷⁴² Thus, when Joan claims pregnancy, the capability of passing on her characteristics becomes a real threat, even if one determines France as her only child. To prevent further degradation of the family, York commands, "Take her away, for she hath lived too long, / To fill the world with vicious qualities" Lines 34-35). Joan has denigrated motherhood, a sacred office that must cohere with the ideal male to form a union based on purity and valor in God's service; otherwise, her continued engendering of degraded faith, sexuality, and motherhood will destroy both countries.

Even as she faces purgation, Joan influences future action and further genders both sides of the conflict. Her plea that the sun remove from England to bring "mischief and despair" (5.6.87) portends the appearance of another female grotesque who in later

plays takes on masculine characteristics. Since “sun” is an allegory for king, Joan’s words prove truthful, as the young King reflects his beams from England to shine on France’s Margaret, with his union wedging division. Although the French, who turn their backs on Joan, do later reclaim land from the effeminately weak Henry VI, La Pucelle’s burning does not “reinvest[s] the French fully with their lost masculinity,”⁷⁴³ because gender categories do not order neatly with the virago’s death. Since Joan’s deceit models French “‘feminine’ strategies as the means to ‘masculine’ identity,”⁷⁴⁴ Charles pretends peace while plotting revenge on the English. Thus, the female grotesque becomes a foreign element that England and France must purge from power to maintain masculinity.

The English momentarily establish their sense of manhood through their portrayal of Joan, but it puts French and English history into question. If, as Schwarz says, the English “return to a smaller England” but “bring with them a clarified sense of what Englishness means,”⁷⁴⁵ one must question their ideal of valorous manliness. In order to establish the English as the masculine ideal, military authority, rather than rehabilitating the witch as the Church would, moves swiftly to the secular practice of persecution, which usually took the forms of single combat, fire by burning on a pyre, subjection to live coals, or infliction by hot ploughshare, brick, spikes, or mailed gloves; or water, boiling or cold, to test for heresy. Significantly, as only innocent people supposedly came away unscathed,⁷⁴⁶ purgation equaled proof, even in this play. Although the action offers three moments of potential purgation, two instances of single combat (which reveal nothing but masculine doubt about women having power) and one burning, the torching of La Pucelle seals the maid’s association with heresy rather than with godliness. In the end, sacred motherhood rules over satanic ritual; and Joan—who acts like a whore,

defeats males in combat, and perverts motherhood—burns in the English flames. To create English myth, the leaders purge Joan's sainthood from its pages and replace it with accusations of witchcraft and sorcery.

The actual purgation or exorcism⁷⁴⁷ does end the unnatural female grotesque, but the significance of the event as a means to purify England and France becomes lost in masculine power, as Joan's contradictory presentation and the monstrous birth that she prophesizes complicate her final words. As discussed in an earlier chapter, the virago appears as a symptom of the carnivalesque inversion infecting both countries; therefore, her death by fire should cleanse them. In fact, while insisting on heavenly agency through "celestial grace" (5.6.40), Joan lashes out against all masculine figures who define her and God's plans by their own agendas. She describes men as "Stained with the guiltless blood of innocents, / Corrupt and tainted with a thousand vices" and, because of their lack of grace, "judge it straight a thing impossible / To compass wonders but by help of devils (lines 43-48). At this moment, the men watching should see their sinful souls in the spectacle of the grotesque and should transform their appetitive drives for land and power into service for God. Instead, all of the men assume her guilty without proof and unworthy of conveying holy admonishment because witchcraft or kinship to Eve makes her the devil's dam. Using her as a scapegoat for their sins and deficiencies is more logical than questioning their righteousness by undergoing self-examination, confession, repentance, and reform; however, this process alone can ensure a masculine peace. As soon as York sends Joan to the devil, cursing, "Break thou in pieces, and consume to ashes, / Thou foul accursed minister of hell" (lines 92-93), it becomes clear that the action has not exorcised the female grotesque from England, as Winchester

announces Henry's marriage to Margaret in an "effeminate peace" (line 107). By denying Joan's claims to divine injunction, the French join the English to destroy the female voice suggesting that they forego temporal reward for a divine purpose. Even though she may not have demonstrated godliness in the play, her words should cause the men to reflect on their own roles in this inversion. Since neither side purges the carnivalesque conditions sickening the milieu, their body politics will remain inverted, therefore, unhealthy, matters left for other plays and histories.

The inversion of Carnival or carnivalesque behavior does not produce reform but engenders a body politic sick from systemic disease or imbalance that destroys unity. As Quarlous indicates in 5.6.92, something in the air induces individuals to act out their perversion, so that individual spiritual illness infects the family and the country. Rather than having the coupling of the ideal male and female, marriage and social hierarchy in carnival conditions become places of "poisoned malice" in the "cankered hearts," diseased unions that could infect the children with "venimous poyson" or "evill examples."⁷⁴⁸ In order to achieve stability, the grotesque prostitute, scold, or virago must undergo purgation for individual and social health; and the male must excise the female from his makeup and model correct behavior. Only then can the two genders act as a unit. Balance depends on men and women playing proscriptive roles, as the grotesque female and the appetitive male eat away at the moral core. In comedy, the cure should come from a well-balanced union of men and women in which both genders recognize their roles and attempt to perform them; however, the tragedies infer that the fallen nature of man and woman will cause marriage and family to self-destruct; therefore, purification kills the disease-causing agents. Since these characters are fallen

men and women who have rejected Carnival's temporary playful license in preparation for God's plan in favor of carnivalesque states, their heirs will repeat the cycle of temptation, sin, and, possibly, redemption; and purgation and reformation will not excise the sinful nature inherited from the original parents.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

The female grotesque takes the stage as the creation of masculine discourse which defines her as inherently imbalanced and unbounded. As such, she easily perpetuates the social carnival from which she emerges; however, patriarchy never questions the source of the female grotesque as residing outside of the woman's body or mind. Since males assume natural superiority to women, to them the degraded state must result from the internal corruption of the female. Therefore, in these plays, men usually do not take responsibility for their treatment of women; society never abandons the perception of the female as the cause of man's fall from grace; and males often ignore female sermonizing as rantings of an unleashed grotesque. Play-world authority tries to contain women, ideal or grotesque, in order to allay anxiety about masculinity. In comedy, they become the object of ridicule because they point out the hypocrisy, stupidity, and ineffectiveness of the men around them; in tragedy, they take the degraded life given them as permission to transgress, murder, plot, or dominate. In all cases, men's reactions reveal their fear that the females will publicly identify masculine shortcomings.

The plays indicate that males who use females for their sexuality or who model incorrect behavior create grotesque women. Since society limits the females' options, some women, such as Livia in Women Beware Women or Ursula in Bartholmew Fair, proselytize other daughters of Eve to become whores in their devilish carnival. Although females usually lose out, their sexuality endangers patriarchy by disease; emasculation, as in 1 Henry VI; or seduction from virtue, as in Hippolyto's reaction in The Honest Whore, Parts 1 and 2. Since female sexuality often signifies mystery, some men explain women's power in terms of spirituality; but, because patriarchy circumscribes their value to body and appetite, the females sever alliance with the Virgin Mary to denounce themselves as satanic disciples, as with Joan of Arc in 1 Henry VI or Moll in The Roaring Girl, to explain how an inferior subject can transmute into one with power or rationality. To fill the void left by men who do not know how to be men, some female grotesques, like Moll and Joan, take on masculine characteristics, even dressing like a man. In a world where men do not fully tend to their obligations, females get caught in a squeeze between roles as submissive wives and active market female merchants, as in Viola of The Honest Whore, Part 1, or display what they have learned from the parents, as with Goneril and Regan in King Lear. Dramatically, man and country become reduced, not by the female grotesque, but by the male's reluctance to stop the everyday carnival which produces disease, not release.

As this carnival intensifies, word and meaning no longer match, mannerly language diminishes to cursing, and the female outspeaks the male. Degraded communication loses its power to contain or to correct, as meaning vaporizes and reduces speakers. Since a society without clear language or gender roles flails against its own

legal and religious inadequacies, only holistic cleansing of the body and mind can produce individual and collective health. Comedy offers marriage and purging, whereas tragedy bleeds the offending parties, because no subject has the right to rebel; but both genres note the impermanence of change.

Dramatists speak to their contemporary societies about carnival's release of subversive energy through the female grotesque; yet, they also suggest that this release needs containment. Patriarchy fears the female grotesque's creation and the cure, as men are accustomed to wielding power without acknowledging its misuse. Both genres argue that the cyclical movement of Carnival into Lent and Lent back into Carnival will go on, fueled by human nature and original sin, as tempting female and fallen man repeat an age-old pattern.

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Endnotes

¹ Mary Russo, The Female Grotesque: Risk, Excess and Modernity (New York: Routledge, 1995).

² Ben Jonson, Bartholmew Fair, ed. G. R. Hibbard (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998). In this dissertation, all quotations from the play come from this edition. When referring to the play, I retain the editor's spelling; however, when referring to the fair itself or to critical essays about the work, I use the regular form.

³ Thomas Middleton and Thomas Dekker, The Roaring Girl, eds. Kathleen E. McLuskie and David Bevington (Manchester: Manchester U P, 1999). In this dissertation, all quotations from the play come from this edition.

⁴ William Shakespeare, 1 Henry VI, The Complete Pelican Shakespeare, eds. Stephen Orgel and A. R. Braunmuller (New York: Penguin Books, 2002) 773-808. In this dissertation, all quotations from the play come from this edition. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, in William Shakespeare: The Complete Works (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), suggest that Shakespeare did not write all of this play, but that Thomas Nashe may have had a hand in its composition. The editors refer to Nashe's defense of chronicle plays in Piers Penniless and argue that "a variety of evidence suggests that Shakespeare wrote it in collaboration with at least two other authors" and that Nashe probably wrote Act 1. They also suggest that Shakespeare probably wrote Act 2, scene 4 and Act 4, scene 2 to 4.7.32, Talbot's death.

⁵ Thomas Dekker and Thomas Middleton. The Honest Whore, Parts 1 and 2, ed. Nick de Somagyi (New York: Routledge, 1998) 5-109. In this dissertation all quotations from the plays come from this edition.

⁶ Thomas Middleton, Women Beware Women and Other Plays, ed. Richard Dutton (Oxford: Oxford U P, 1999) 74-163. In this dissertation, all quotations from the play come from this edition.

⁷ William Shakespeare, King Lear, The Complete Pelican Shakespeare, eds. Stephen Orgel and A. R. Braunmuller (New York: Penguin Books, 2002) 1574-1615. In this dissertation, all quotations from the play come from this edition.

⁸ Françoise Rabelais, Gargantua and Pantagruel, trans. J. M. Cohen (New York: Penguin Books, 1955). See 1.6, "The Very Strange Manner of Gargantua's Birth."

⁹ See Edward Muir, Ritual in Early Modern Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 2005) 21-61. Marriage, 37-50.

¹⁰ Peter Burke, Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 1994) 183.

¹¹ Natalie Zemon Davis, "Women on Top," Society and Culture in Early Modern France (Stanford: Stanford U P, 1996) 139.

¹² Burke 184-85. Only England did not use a female representation but used Jack-a-Lent to curb Carnival.

¹³ Michael Bristol, Carnival and Theater: Plebian Culture and the Structure of Authority in Renaissance England (New York: Methuen, 1985) 212, 206. Also see Burke 202.

¹⁴ Burke 185.

¹⁵ Burke 191, 199. Burke says that Britain and Scandinavia had the weakest ties to carnival, probably because of their temperatures at that time of year.

¹⁶ Burke 189.

¹⁷ Burke 192. England outlawed the Feast of Fools in 1541.

¹⁸ C. L. Barber, Shakespeare's Festive Comedy (New York: Meridian Books, 1967) 7.

¹⁹ Burke 195.

²⁰ Burke 183.

²¹ Bristol 239. Despite Puritan efforts to squelch anything related to ritual or celebration, Charles I reissued James's book in 1633.

²² Bristol 236.

²³ Davis 97.

²⁴ Bristol 26.

²⁵ Bristol 53.

²⁶ Mikhail Bakhtin, Rabelais and His World, trans. Hélène Iswolsky (Bloomington, IN: Indiana U P, 1984) 217.

²⁷ Michael André Bernstein, "When Carnival Turns Bitter: Preliminary Reflections Upon the Abject Hero," Bakhtin: Essays and Dialogues on His Work, ed. Gary Saul Morson (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1986) 106.

²⁸ Barber 5-7.

²⁹ Barber 8.

³⁰ Bristol 29. Bristol refers to Durkheim.

³¹ Bakhtin 90-91.

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- ³² Bakhtin 91.
- ³³ Bernstein 106.
- ³⁴ See Muir 94.
- ³⁵ Bakhtin 283.
- ³⁶ Bakhtin 283.
- ³⁷ Bristol 4.
- ³⁸ Bernstein 100.
- ³⁹ Stephen Gosson, Playes Confuted in Five Actions (London, 1582).
- ⁴⁰ Barber 8.
- ⁴¹ Barber 8.
- ⁴² Steven Mullaney, The Place of the Stage: License, Play, and Power in Renaissance England (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 2003) 19.
- ⁴³ Mullaney 44.
- ⁴⁴ See Bristol 201.
- ⁴⁵ Mullaney 49.
- ⁴⁶ Gosson qtd. in Mullaney, 51.
- ⁴⁷ Mullaney 71.
- ⁴⁸ H. B. Charlton, Shakesperian Comedy (New York: Methuen, 1966) 17.
- ⁴⁹ Robert Ornstein, The Moral Vision of Jacobean Tragedy (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1960) 17.
- ⁵⁰ Ornstein 13.
- ⁵¹ Ornstein 17.
- ⁵² Ornstein 22.

⁵³ René Girard, Violence and the Sacred, trans. Patrick Gregory (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins U P, 1979). See Chapter 1. Hence, in fifth-century Greece, human sacrifice still occurred in the form of the pharmakos maintained by the city and slaughtered at appointed festivals and at moments of civil disaster (9); however, as society changed, animal sacrifices displaced violence against the abjected humans. Girard cites Clytemnestra from Euripides' Electra as dramatic proof of the custom when she says that they could justify Iphigenia's sacrificial death if they had performed it to save human lives (11), but his inclusion of the play suggests that violence and sacrifice become the matter of tragedy as well.

⁵⁴ Girard quotes Luc de Heusch's account of the Ruandan royal couple who "appeared in public, bound like captives condemned to death," but the people slaughtered a bull and calf in their stead (106), a ritual not unlike Christ's substitution for our sins.

⁵⁵ Bristol 34.

⁵⁶ See Bristol 33 for a discussion of Durkehim and Girard.

⁵⁷ Most critics cite the Peasant Revolt in Romans, France, in February 1580 that emerged from Carnival gone "bad." Bristol says that the rebellion critiqued the principle of domination of those who did not provide material well-being or security and punished bad governors (51). Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie in Carnival in Romans, trans. Mary Feeny (New York: George Braziller, 1979), suggests that the winter carnival reminded people "of the days when Christians buried their pagan ways in a Saturnalian outburst" to prepare for Lent, a time of cleansing "culminating in baptism at Easter, the time of spiritual birth or rebirth" (xv). Masked citizens in Romans divided to address tax issues following a long period of fomenting resentment. The lower classes baited the upper

classes with veiled threats during Carnival, and grotesque sexuality played a part in the violence between Monday and Tuesday nights. On February 18, Just-Louis de Tournon, Governor of Vivarais, wrote to Catherine de' Medici that on lundi gras, February 15, “the most outstanding of said town were no longer able to bear the many mockeries and indignities to which they had long been subjected by those of the league; in the end were forced to attack and crush them” (qtd. in Ladurie, 218).

Classes divided among bestiary costuming as follows: Patricians as eagles, partridges, and roosters, all airborne; the popular faction, composed of craftsmen and plowmen, as bears, sheep, hares, donkeys and capons. The sexual significance of the castrated capon indicates the emasculated effects of hierarchy, so that the capon symbolizes impotency akin to femininity (Ladurie 215). Rebellion may have given an entire class back its masculinity. Nobles and some town officers assisted the patricians and rich men of the Partridge Kingdom to put an end to the protesters. Piémond, the town notary, claims that a masked parade of the four kings and a queen precipitated fighting. The partridge faction, supported by the Eagles, massacred all of the Capon-Paumier men and went to Paumier's house where they murdered him (219). Judge Guérin claims that the peasants of the Capon King's faction exhilarated from seeing the “exquisite queen, her jewels, her train, her finery, and her entourage,” moved quickly to rape the queen. Guérin says that “a Troop of seditionists, not having the patience to wait for the appointed hour of their plot (against the Partridge), which was not until six in the morning; and seeing what seemed to them an easy way to rich booty, flung themselves upon the latter (the queen) with their drum sounding alarm” (220-21). Thus, a bejeweled female, representing class and an easily degradable target as the ideal of the upper class,

provided the impetus for this broil. The fact that Guérin does not mention the king's dress or accoutrements suggests that the dual reading of the female applies. First, she resided in a vulnerable position as the weaker sex, but she her sexuality stirred men. The dangerous yet vulnerable female lurking under the layers of cloth and glitter released the heat building in the lower classes, thereby placing her in the role of victim. The impotent bird, in trying to prove his worth as a class, also symbolically boasted his masculinity as class and gender entwined while attempted to create a grotesque, soiled female.

⁵⁸ Phillip Stubbes, Phillip Stubbes's Anatomy of the Abuses in England in Shakespeare's Youth, A.D. 1583, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall (London: The New Shakespere Society, 1877).

⁵⁹ Ornstein 24.

⁶⁰ Ralph Houlbrooke, James VI and I: Ideas, Authority, and Government (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006) 171. The fall of Charles I's monarchy led to a review of James' reign in memoirs such as these accounts attributed to Weldon, written by Osborne, and published in 1650 and 1658. Weldon, a clerk of the green cloth and the kitchen under James, "was devoted to the schemes of the favourites and 'managers of state.'" Weldon also claimed that someone poisoned Prince Henry and that James feared "the revelation of some guilty secret at Robert Carr's trial" (171).

⁶¹ Houlbrooke 170.

⁶² Houlbrooke 175.

⁶³ Neil Rhodes, Elizabethan Grotesque (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980) 5-7.

⁶⁴ Ornstein 4.

⁶⁵ Ornstein 33.

⁶⁶ Ornstein 34.

⁶⁷ Ornstein 35.

⁶⁸ Ornstein 37. For example, in John Ford's 'Tis Pity She's a Whore, Giovanni thinks that sibling sexual love is natural, though immoral; he calls restrictions against his incestuous feelings toward his sister "A customary form" and argues, "Are we not therefore each to other bound / So much more by nature" (1.1.25, 30-31). Bonaventura never addresses the naturalness of incest but speaks of it as "the leprosy of lust / That rots thy soul" (lines 74-75). In the strictest sense, sin was not originally part of the natural world, but habitual performance of sin has made it natural to man.

⁶⁹ Bakhtin 281.

⁷⁰ Burke 195. Burke refers to J. E. Varey's Historia de los Títeres en España, (Madrid, 1957) and J. E. Varey and N. D. Shergold's "La Tarasca de Madrid" in Clavileño 4 (1953) for his information about Spanish carnival.

⁷¹ Ian Maclean, The Renaissance Notion of Woman: A Study in the Fortunes of Scholasticism and Medical Science in European Intellectual Life, Cambridge Monographs on the History of Medicine (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1995) 20.

⁷² Maclean 71.

⁷³ Wolfgang Kayser quoted in Clayborough, 64. Arthur Clayborough, The Grotesque in English Literature (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965). In response to Kayser's claim that the "creation of the grotesque is the attempt to banish and exorcise the demonic element (das Dämonische) in the world" (64), Clayborough explains that grotesque art expels our fears of something unpleasant by forcing it into the light (66).

⁷⁴ Ralf Remshardt, Staging the Savage God: The Grotesque in Performance (Carbondale: Southern Illinois U P, 2004) 11.

⁷⁵ Rosemarie Garland Thomson, "Introduction," Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body (New York: New York U P, 1996) 2. England made bestiality a capital offense in 1534, in part due to anxiety about man's relationship to the beast.

⁷⁶ Thomson 3.

⁷⁷ Thomson 4. Note that in Bartholmew Fair Ursula calls her punks "whimsies" (2.4.50). The note to that line suggests that this word also occurs as "whimsbies" which is a variant on "quims" or female genitalia. Ursula uses this as a synonym for whores, thereby reducing the prostitute to her sexual parts.

⁷⁸ Paul Semonin, "Monsters in the Marketplace," Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body, ed. Rosemarie Garland Thomson (New York: New York U P, 1996) 71. See Katherine Park's and Lorraine J. Daston's "Unnatural Conceptions: The Study of Monsters in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France and England," Past and Present 92 (1981): 20-54.

⁷⁹ Semonin 71.

⁸⁰ Semonin 77.

⁸¹ Semonin 79. Of interest, The American Heritage Dictionary gives the following definitions of "chimera": 1. *Greek Mythology*. A fire-breathing she-monster usually represented as a composite of a lion, goat, and serpent. 2. An imaginary monster made up of grotesquely disparate parts. These definitions allude to the assertiveness, lechery, and evil thought to be present in the hybrid female grotesque.

⁸² Nashe qtd. in Neil Rhodes, 14.

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- ⁸³ Francis Bacon, "Of Deformity," Francis Bacon the Major Works, ed. Brian Vickers (Oxford: Oxford U P, 2002) 426.
- ⁸⁴ Bacon 426.
- ⁸⁵ Bacon 427.
- ⁸⁶ Francis Bacon, "Of Beauty," Francis Bacon the Major Works, ed. Brian Vickers (Oxford: Oxford U P, 2002) 426.
- ⁸⁷ Wolfgang Kayser qtd. in Rhodes 15.
- ⁸⁸ Crooke qtd. in Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, Women in Early Modern England 1550-1720 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998) 19.
- ⁸⁹ Breton's elegy qtd. in Peter Stallybrass, "Patriarchal Territories: The Body Enclosed," Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe, eds. Margaret W. Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan, and Nancy J. Vickers (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1987) 130.
- ⁹⁰ Thomas Wenden qtd. in Stallybrass, 132.
- ⁹¹ Maclean 27.
- ⁹² Maclean 27.
- ⁹³ Lapidè qtd. in Maclean, 11.
- ⁹⁴ Maclean 11.
- ⁹⁵ Maclean 13.
- ⁹⁶ Luther qtd. in Maclean, 9
- ⁹⁷ See Mendelson and Crawford (27-28) and Maclean (37-38).
- ⁹⁸ Maclean 30.
- ⁹⁹ Mendelson and Crawford 26.

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- ¹⁰⁰ Anthony Fletcher, Gender, Sex, and Subordination in England 1500-1800 (New Haven: Yale U P, 1995) 34.
- ¹⁰¹ Maclean 31.
- ¹⁰² Maclean 33.
- ¹⁰³ Maclean 36.
- ¹⁰⁴ Maclean 39. Also see Mendelson and Crawford (19).
- ¹⁰⁵ Maclean 30.
- ¹⁰⁶ Maclean 31.
- ¹⁰⁷ Maclean 34.
- ¹⁰⁸ Gail Kern Paster, The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England (Ithaca: Cornell U P, 1993) 82.
- ¹⁰⁹ Maclean 34. See the debate on semen on page 36 and approaches to sexual determination on page 37.
- ¹¹⁰ Paster 79.
- ¹¹¹ Paster 21. This comment refers mainly to urinary fluids.
- ¹¹² Paster 79.
- ¹¹³ Paster 80.
- ¹¹⁴ Maclean 16.
- ¹¹⁵ Maclean 41. Also see Mendelson and Crawford (28).
- ¹¹⁶ Maclean 42.
- ¹¹⁷ Maclean 51-52.
- ¹¹⁸ Maclean 22.
- ¹¹⁹ Maclean 27.

¹²⁰ Maclean 44-45.

¹²¹ Peter Stallybrass, "Patriarchal Territories: The Body Enclosed," Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe, eds. Margaret W. Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan, and Nancy J. Vickers (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1987) 126.

¹²² See Hélène Iswolsky's Introduction to Rabelais and His World, specifically pages 25-28 and Bakhtin's chapter entitled "Rabelais in the History of Laughter" pages 59-144. Also see Stallybrass's "Patriarchal Territories," p. 127.

¹²³ Stallybrass, "Patriarchal Territories" 127.

¹²⁴ Catherine Belsey, The Subject of Tragedy: Identity and Difference in Renaissance Drama (New York: Routledge, 1985) 150.

¹²⁵ Rhodes 7.

¹²⁶ Stallybrass in "Patriarchal Territories" gives these examples from Stuart England: 1605 women tore down enclosures; Captain Alice Clark led a group of women and cross-dressed male weavers in a grain riot in Essex in 1629; a man dressed as "Lady Skimmington" led enclosure riots in Wiltshire and Gloucestershire in 1626-28, 1631. [Russo (58) and Davis (148) say 1641], an occasion denoting the power of the female grotesque, masculine willingness to co-opt the protection afforded to women, the fear evoked by the gap between the expected and the actual, and, as Mary Russo argues, a suggestion of social transformation (59); and in 1637 serving women ejected from St. Giles led Scottish resistance to Charles I's imposition of the English prayer book by stoning the church's doors and windows (Stallybrass 142).

¹²⁷ Bakhtin qtd. in Stallybrass, "Patriarchal Territories," 142.

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- ¹²⁸ Russo 58.
- ¹²⁹ Davis 131.
- ¹³⁰ Davis 133, 131.
- ¹³¹ Christian W. Thomsen qtd. in Remshardt 8-9.
- ¹³² Peter Stallybrass, "The World Turned Upside Down: Inversion, Gender and the State," The Matter of Difference: Materialist Feminist Criticism of Shakespeare, ed. Valerie Wayne (Ithaca: Cornell U P, 1991) 206.
- ¹³³ Remshardt 10.
- ¹³⁴ Julia Kristeva, Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection (New York: Columbia U P, 1982) 168.
- ¹³⁵ Ben Jonson, Bartholmew Fair, ed. G. R. Hibbard (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998). All quotations come from this edition. When referring to the play, I keep this spelling; but when speaking of the Fair itself or of other sources, I use the regular form.
- ¹³⁶ Rocco Coronato, Jonson Versus Bakhtin: Carnival and the Grotesque, Studies in Comparative Literature 41 (New York: Rodopi, 2003) 113.
- ¹³⁷ Coronato 113.
- ¹³⁸ Coronato 28. See Frances Teague, "The Effect of Bartholomew Fair," The Curious History of Bartholomew Fair (Toronto: Associated U P, 1985) 29-48. Also see Jonas A. Barish, "Feasting and Judging in Jonsonian Comedy," Renaissance Drama N S 5 (1972): 28-32.

¹³⁹ Teague 23. The St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre of August 24, 1572, in France involved Catholics killing Huguenots. Death counts totaled 2,000 Protestants in Paris and 5,000 in other parts of France (22). Scotland called for a massacre of Catholics in retaliation. When, in 1587, the beheading of Mary Queen of Scots occurred, France tried to intercede, but Elizabeth "answered scornfully that such a plea came poorly from a people who had committed" (22) the massacre. The play has only one reference to the massacre, 2.6.133-35. Teague surmises that Jonson's variable religious fidelity, the fact that he refused "to acknowledge that Puritanism has any religious validity" (23), and the possibility that he held an ambivalent position concerning the Anglican/Catholic conflict led him to downplay the event.

¹⁴⁰ In "Bartholomew Fair and Jonsonian Tolerance," SEL 35.2 (1995), G. M. Pinciss notes that the three characters put in stocks represent the three major aspects of civilized London: law, religion, and learning (350).

¹⁴¹ Lori Schroeder Haslem, "'Troubled with the Mother': Longings, Purgings, and the Maternal Body in Bartholomew Fair and The Duchess of Malfi," Modern Philology 92.4 (1995): 438-59.

¹⁴² Paul Semonin, "Monsters in the Marketplace: The Exhibition of Human Oddities in Early Modern England," Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body, ed. Rosemarie Garland Thomson (New York: New York U P, 1996) 70.

¹⁴³ Malmesbury qtd. in Henry Morley, Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair (London: Chatto and Windus, Piccadilly, 1890, reissued by Singing Tree Press in Detroit, Michigan, 1968) 5-6. Henry I reigned from 1100 to 1135.

¹⁴⁴ Morley 7.

¹⁴⁵ Semonin 76.

¹⁴⁶ Semonin 76.

¹⁴⁷ Charter qtd. in Morley, 12.

¹⁴⁸ William Biggs Boulton, "The Fairs," The Amusements of Old London: Being a Survey of the Sports and Pastimes, Tea Gardens and Parks, Playhouses and Other Diversions of the People of London from the 17th to the Beginning of the 19th Century Vol 2 (London: John C. Nimmo, 1941) 44.

¹⁴⁹ Boulton 44. Boulton suggests that the markets opened "to the enrichment of the city merchants, whose good broadcloth protected the pilgrims' bodies while the monks continued to look after their souls" (44).

¹⁵⁰ Coronato 109-10.

¹⁵¹ Boulton 45-46.

¹⁵² Semonin 76.

¹⁵³ Thirteenth-century manuscript containing Gregory's Decretals with comments belonging to the Priory of St. Bartholomew qtd. in Morley, 49. The manuscript as of 1890 belonged to the British Museum. The work describes "the grotesque images which gave delight to an uncultivated people."

¹⁵⁴ Semonin 77.

¹⁵⁵ Teague 20.

¹⁵⁶ Semonin 77.

¹⁵⁷ Semonin 72.

¹⁵⁸ Semonin 72. A ballad announcing and defining a deformed swine brought to England from Denmark in the late sixteenth century demonstrates this point:

Come neere, good Christians all,
 Beholde a monster rare,
 Whose monstrous shape, no doubt, fortels,
 Gods wrath we should beware. (72)

¹⁵⁹ Semonin 79. Davies genders deformity as evoking female shame, an obtuse reference to the souls of women. One of his verses reads as follows:

E'en at first reflection she espies
 Such strange chimeras and monsters there,
 Such toys, such anticks, and such vanities
 As she retires and sinks for shame and fear. (79)

Morley suggests that the Fair's involvement with religion never disappeared, though Catholicism became the target for political activity. In 1680 Bartholomew Fair supported the 1678 House Resolution that Popish recusants, did, in fact, attempt the assassination of Charles II and the subversion of the government. Fair people even acted out their opinion that the Catholic Church was dangerous to social order in a play billed as "The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth, with the Restauration of the Protestant Religion; or, the Downfall of the Pope. Being a most excellent Play, as it was Acted both at Bartholomew and Southwark Fairs, This present year 1680. With great Applause, and Approved of, and highly commended by all, the *Protestant Nobility, Gentry, and Commonality* of England, who came to be Spectators of the same. London, Printed for *Ben Harris*, at the *Stationer's Arms*, under the *Piazza*, in *Cornhill*, 1680.'" (198). This play, I believe, represents a trend evident in Bartholmew Fair, that probably had roots in the real fair of his own time, but that extended to vociferous attacks against Puritans.

¹⁶⁰ Teague 18.

¹⁶¹ Morley gives the improvements made to the Fair in 1614 (113-14).

¹⁶² Teague 18.

¹⁶³ Semonin writes of a Sir Hans Sloane handbill that invites visitors to see “such hybrid creatures as the hand of a Sea Monster, half man and half fish; a Man-Teger [sic] from the East Indies, ‘from the Head downwards resembling a Man, its fore parts clear, and his hinder parts all Hairy’; a ‘strange and monstrous Female Creature that was taken in the woods in the Deserts of Aethiopia in Prester John’s Country, in the remotest parts of Africa’; and a monster from the ‘Coast of Brazil, having a Head like a Child, Legs and Arms very wonderful, with a Long Tail like a Serpent, where he feeds himself, as an Elephant doth with his Trunk’” (70). Another handbill does not emphasize the exotic as much as it focuses on the female wonder: “‘For the satisfaction of all curious enquierers into the Secrets of Nature, is to be seen a Woman Dwarf, but Three Foot and one Inch high, born in Sommersetshire, who discourses excellently well, and gives great Satisfaction to all that ever saw her’” (71). Wonder, curiosity, and the human relationship to nature and beast underlies these documents of popular culture.

¹⁶⁴ Richard A. Burt, “‘Licensed by Authority’: Ben Jonson and the Politics of Early Stuart Theater,” *ELH* 54.3 (1987) 531. James closed the Fair in 1603 due to the plague (532).

¹⁶⁵ King James VI, *Basilikon Doron*, qtd. in Burt, 541. Burt cites this passage from Charles McIlwain’s *The Political Works of James I* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1965) 27.

¹⁶⁶ Charles Gross, “The Court of Piepowder,” The Quarterly Journal of Economics 20.2 (1906) 235. Rulers licensed fairs from the time of William the Conqueror (234). Judges at Westminster began to oversee the court in Edward IV’s reign. Although most Courts of Piepowder existed tangentially to the fair, the rule of law allowed such a court to convene independent of a market.

¹⁶⁷ Gross 238. Gross argues that these courts represent the early use of a rational method of proof before sentencing (246).

¹⁶⁸ No matter the period, the ethics of feasting infused the atmosphere; Jonson combines that feature with people’s fear of declining into beastliness to create his character Ursula. Consequent to these aspects, ballad makers included references to the selling of pig. For example, “Roger in Amaze; or, The Countryman’s Ramble Through Bartholomew Fair,” a ballad from Charles II’s reign, relates the same hustle and bustle of Jonson’s play and notes that “the Cooks zung, ‘Here’s your delicate Pit and Pork” (qtd. in Morley, 193). As late as 1685, Sir Robert Southwell’s son, Edward Southwell, having gone to Bartholomew Fair with his tutor, Mr. Webster, described the Fair “as a sort of Bacchanalia, to gratify the multitude in their wandering and irregular thoughts” (qtd. in Morley, 224).

¹⁶⁹ Jonson, notes 5, 6, p. 7.

¹⁷⁰ Barish 28.

¹⁷¹ Burford 51. Other women who wore them received fines.

¹⁷² Qtd. in Burford, 168. Part of the poem goes as follows:

mydnyghte Playes, or Tavernes of New Wine.

Hie, ye white Aprons, to your landlord’s sign:

when all save toothless age or infancy,

are summond to the Courte of Venerie.

¹⁷³ Burford 26. The Romans originated the practice around AD 100 as a form of execution, but the English did not actually kill whores with filth.

¹⁷⁴ Qtd. in Coronato, 111.

¹⁷⁵ Coronato 113.

¹⁷⁶ Robert Fagles, “A Reading of The Oresteia: The Serpent and the Eagle,” The Oresteia: Agamemnon, The Libation Bearers, The Eumenides, by Aeschylus (New York: Penguin Books, 1977) 88.

¹⁷⁷ Fagles also suggests that The Oresteia “culminates in a union of male and female strengths” (87), which may relate to the hybridization discussed in other chapters.

¹⁷⁸ Pinciss 348.

¹⁷⁹ OED 3 c. and d.

¹⁸⁰ Theodora A. Jankowski, Women in Power in Early Modern Drama (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1992) 27.

¹⁸¹ Jankowski 27-28.

¹⁸² Jankowski 37.

¹⁸³ Burford 137. William Harrison, circa 1572, suggests that brothels were “private enterprise.” He claims the following: “The Stewes and publicke bordello howses are bolished and so continue untill the tyme of Quene Marie, in whose daies some of the Clergie made laboure to have them restored againe: and were very likely to have gained their sute if shee had lived a while longer.” Harrison also notes that one priest in

a sermon at Paul's Cross said that stews "are so necessary in a common welthe as a jaxe [lavatory] in a mannes howse'" (137).

¹⁸⁴ Edmund Spenser, The Faerie Queene, ed. Thomas P. Roche, Jr. (New York: Penguin Books, 1978).

¹⁸⁵ Catholics and Protestants come under fire in Jonson's construction of the female grotesque and her habitat. In addition to the puppet master's entitling a play The Gunpowder Plot and the mention of Cokes and Wasp coming from Harrow Hill, a Catholic recusant safe area seven miles from London (Pinciss 347), references to medieval religious drama in combination with contemporary ecclesiastical terminology paint an anti-Catholic portrait to compound the obvious attack on Puritans in the character of Busy and Dame Purecraft. The Fair's association with Catholicism and with St. Bartholomew, the patron saint flayed alive for his convictions (352), surface through Ursula's choice of bodily infliction for punishment and her slicing pork off of the bone to serve her Protestant customers.

¹⁸⁶ Susan Wells, "Jacobean City Comedy and the Ideology of the City," ELH 48.1 (1981): 38-39.

¹⁸⁷ Jonson n. 50, p. 55. This note also suggests that people used "whimsies" as a synonym for "whores." Once again, language and social perception reduce the female to her genitalia.

¹⁸⁸ Plays such as The Roaring Girl suggest that merchant wives traded in prostitution on the side.

¹⁸⁹ Jonathan Haynes, "Festivity and the Dramatic Economy of Jonson's Bartholomew Fair," ELH 51.4 (1984): 649.

¹⁹⁰ Audrey Eccles's paraphrase of Guillemeau's 1609 Childbirth, or the happy deliverie of women qtd. in Haslem, 446.

¹⁹¹ Haslem 445-46.

¹⁹² Haslem 446.

¹⁹³ Deuteronomy 22: 5. The Geneva Bible, A facsimile of the 1599 edition. (Ozark, MO: L. L. Brown, 1990). Of interest, no one mentions that this passage occurs in the second giving of the law and therefore seems unquestionable and natural for civilization.

¹⁹⁴ Thomas Middleton, and Thomas Dekker, The Roaring Girl, Plays on Women, eds. Kathleen McLuskie and David Bevington (Manchester: Manchester U P, 1999) 152-267.

¹⁹⁵ A Mad World My Masters and Friar Bacon and Friar Bundy come to mind. These works demonstrate how residents of London move toward the outside greenworld with their inversion. Other works, such as A Chaste Maid in Cheapside, have the city going out to recruit women to become grotesque prostitutes.

¹⁹⁶ William Shakespeare, 1 Henry VI, The Complete Pelican Shakespeare, eds. Stephen Orgel and A. R. Braunmuller (New York: Penguin Books, 2002) 773-808.

¹⁹⁷ Thomas Nashe qtd. in William Shakespeare: The Complete Works, eds. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005) 125. Wells and Taylor refer to Nashe's defense of drama in Piers Pennilesse, a work that also notes the celebration of "our forefathers valiant acts" (125). Also see Thomas Nashe, Piers Pennilesse, Thomas Nashe: The Unfortunate Traveller and Other Works (New York: Penguin Books, 1985). In "The Dispraise of Lay Chronigraphers" within Piers

Penniless, Nashe defends making history into poetry, a genre that contains more than a list of “mayors and sheriffs, and the dear year, and the great frost” (92). He states, “How much better is it, then, to have an elegant lawyer to plead one’s cause, than a stutting townsman, that loseth himself in his tale, and doth nothing but make legs; so much it is better for a nobleman, or gentleman, to have his honour’s story related, and his deeds emblazoned, by a poet than a citizen” (92). Nashe situates drama and ballads that may take poetic license as more appealing, even admirable, historical records that discuss masculinity better than the courtly, effeminate noblemen of his day can. Wells and Taylor also refer to Nashe’s statement that the audience can ““imagine they behold him [Talbot] fresh bleeding”” (125). As Talbot’s bleeding in I Henry VI revitalizes English masculinity in the play, it may have the same effect on the audience.

¹⁹⁸ James Knowles, “Introduction,” Oxford English Drama: The Roaring Girl and Other City Comedies, ed. James Knowles (Oxford: Oxford U P, 2001) xxxviii.

¹⁹⁹ Knowles xxxvii.

²⁰⁰ Knowles xxxix.

²⁰¹ Jean E. Howard, “Crossdressing, The Theatre, and Gender Struggle in Early Modern England,” Shakespeare Quarterly 39.4 (1988): 436-38. Howard argues that a society considering the act of a female sitting in an open doorway as a sign of prostitution could make no other reading of Moll except as a whore.

²⁰² Linda Woodbridge, Women and the English Renaissance: Literature and the Nature of Womankind, 1540-1620 (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1986) 250.

²⁰³ Woodbridge 263.

²⁰⁴ Bernhard Klein, “‘Tales of Iron Wars’: Shakespeare and the Uncommon Soldier,” War and the Cultural Construction of Identities in Britain, eds. Barbara Korte and Ralf Schneider (New York: Rodopi, 2002) 93.

²⁰⁵ Klein 102.

²⁰⁶ Klein 103.

²⁰⁷ Lisa Dickson, “No Rainbow without the Sun: Visibility and Embodiment in 1 Henry VI,” Modern Language Studies 30.1 (2000): 138.

²⁰⁸ Dickson 143.

²⁰⁹ Nancy Gutierrez, “Gender and Value in 1 Henry VI: The Role of Joan de Pucelle,” Theatre Journal 42.2 (1990): 191.

²¹⁰ George Gascoigne, The Steele Glas. A Satyre compiled by George Gascoigne Esquire. Together with The Complaints of Phylomene. An Elegie Devised by the Same Author (London, 1576).

²¹¹ “effeminate,” OED, adj. def. 1 a.

²¹² Muld Sacke or The Apologie of Hic Mulier: To the late Declamation against her, (London, 1620).

²¹³ Susan Wells, “Jacobean City Comedy and the Ideology of the City,” ELH 48.1 (1981): 37.

²¹⁴ Knowles xxxix.

²¹⁵ A popular saying during Stewart rule, “*Rex fuit Elizabeth: nunc est Jacobus Regina*” (Elizabeth was King. Now is James Queen), suggests the pervasive inversion (E. J. Burford, Bawds and Lodgings: A History of the London Bankside Brothels c. 100-1675 (London: Peter Owen, 1976) 164).

²¹⁶ Woodbridge 168. The author speaks about effeminate peace: “But when fruitless war [with Spain] yielded to unpopular peace, literary unease about effeminacy in society only increased. James I was a pacifist; on his accession in 1603 he took immediate steps to end the Spanish war” (161). In Woodbridge’s view, literature reflected unease about James’s actions.

²¹⁷ Randall S. Nakayama, “Introduction,” The Life and Death of Mrs. Mary Frith, Commonly Called Moll Cutpurse, Facsimile of 1662 edition (New York: Garland Publishing, 1993) xv.

²¹⁸ The Life and Death of Mrs. Mary Frith, Commonly Called Moll Cutpurse, ed. Randall S. Nakayama, (New York: Garland Publishing, 1993) 22.

²¹⁹ The Life and Death of Mrs. Mary Frith 59.

²²⁰ The Life and Death of Mrs. Mary Frith 2.

²²¹ Nakayama xiii.

²²² Knowles xxxvii. I include a discussion of “fantasticalest” in the chapter on witchcraft.

²²³ The historical Moll relates herself to natural oddities, but ends by categorizing herself as human, not monster; her autobiography equates her to the deviance considered normal in her society. She explains:

I do more wonder at myself than others do, and dare assure them that nature does sometimes disport herself not only in the careless nativities of dwarves, changelings, and such naturals, but also in her more considerate productions; for I am confident I can boast of as much human policy

in acquisitions, revenges, dissemblings, & c., as any of the grandees of the world, if proportionably considered. (22)

Moll brings up several issues here: The grotesque occurs as a part of nature gone awry, but unlike many early moderns, she does not think that God has punished her by making her different. In fact, she claims equality with the other inhabitants of this inverted world. Never expressing shame of her physical presentation, Moll concentrates on the inner person and the resulting behavior. Middleton and Dekker use her self-acceptance to make a dramatic statement about the world, its manhood, and its norms.

²²⁴ Woodbridge 159.

²²⁵ Klein 103. Jean Howard argues the implausibility of Shakespeare having constructed Joan “explicitly to remind spectators of the English Queen” (qtd. in Klein, note 41).

²²⁶ Klein 102.

²²⁷ Klein 97.

²²⁸ The reference to “crystal tresses” (line 3) sets up the expectation that a female will save England since “tresses” usually describes women’s hair. Shakespeare undercuts this presumption by having Joan and then Margaret as dichotomies of good and bad that actually hurt the English. Joan seems to have a dark complexion through her association with the devil, whereas Margaret’s marriage to Henry VI has possibilities of salvation by making Henry an adult man. The rest of the tetralogy, however, refutes the initial expectation.

²²⁹ Michael Neill in “‘Feasts Put Down Funerals’: Death and Ritual in Renaissance Comedy” in True Rites and Maimed Rites: Ritual and Anti-Ritual in

Shakespeare and His Age (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1992), associates funeral with carnival due to the procession and feast accompanying the ritual. The procession “establishes hierarchic organization,” and serves as a “distinctive sign of tragic closure” (53), so that tragedy more closely corresponds to Bakhtin’s official feast. Like carnival, funerals look toward the future (54).

²³⁰ Stuart Clark, Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe (Oxford: Oxford U P, 2005) 87.

²³¹ Desmond Seward, The Hundred Years War: The English in France 1337-1453 (New York: Penguin Books, 1999) 189.

²³² Seward 179.

²³³ Seward 182.

²³⁴ Seward 216.

²³⁵ Holinshed’s 1587 account of Joan probably served as a source for this play. Even though Holinshed himself probably did not write this account, as he died in 1580, it contains details that Shakespeare incorporated into his play. See Richard F. Hardin’s “Chronicles and Mythmaking in Shakespeare’s Joan of Arc” Shakespeare Survey 42 (1990): 25-35. Also see Holinshed’s Chronicle: As Used in Shakespeare’s Plays, eds. Allardyce and Josephine Nicoll (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1955). As recorded in this book, the chronicle first describes Joan at the Battle of Orléans as “a young wench of an eightene yeeres old, called Ione Arc” who “was counted likesome, of person stronglie made and manlie, or courage great, hardie, and stout withall” (93). It then mentions her as chaste and as having “the name of Iesus in hir mouth” (93). The account relates that the Dolphin, upon Joan’s direction, sent to Saint Katharine’s Church “(where she never

had beene and knew not,) in a secret place there among old iron, appointed she hir sword to be sought out and brought hir” (93). Holinshed does mention that she rode “in armour cap a pie & mustered as a man” (94). Only when the Chronicle addresses the issue of Joan’s association with witchcraft does it mention Joan’s “unnaturall wearing of mans abilliments” (105). The account brings two issues to bear: the mystery and divine importance of Joan’s sword and the association of cross-gendering with witchcraft. Men did not termed her “unnaturall” in battle attire until sorcery accusations became the means of destroying her as the enemy. Hardin mentions Edward Hall’s rough treatment of Joan in calling her “‘a monster’ (fo. 107), a disgrace to her sex, an oracle, a soothsayer, and a witch” (28).

²³⁶ Phillip Stubbes, Anatomy of the Abuses in England, Part I, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall (London: N. Trübner, 1877) 73.

²³⁷ Woodbridge 214.

²³⁸ Woodbridge 140.

²³⁹ Woodbridge 250.

²⁴⁰ Jane Baston, “Rehabilitating Moll’s Subversion in The Roaring Girl,” SEL 37.2 (1997): 322. Jean Howard also notes this event in “Crossdressing, The Theatre, and Gender Struggle in Early Modern England,” Shakespeare Quarterly 39.4 (1988): 420.

²⁴¹ Qtd. in Baston, 322. Also see Mary Beth Rose’s “Women in Men’s Clothing: Apparel and Social Stability in The Roaring Girl,” ELR 14.3 (1984): 371.

²⁴² Howard 424.

²⁴³ Baston 322.

²⁴⁴ Qtd. in Steen, 68. According to Sara Jayne Steen in “The Crime of Marriage: Arbella Stuart and The Duchess of Malfi,” Sixteenth Century Journal 22.1 (1991), Arbella Stuart donned a “man’s doublet, wig, cloak, boots, and rapier” for love in defiance of her cousin, James I (69). The imprisoned Stuart dressed as a man in order to escape with the husband she had married contrary to King James’ orders. Ironically, she appeared as a masterless woman in order to have a master, William Seymour, an Oxford scholar with some claim to the throne. King James interpreted her actions as treason, but the incident added fuel to the debate about love for marriage rather than for political expedience. James committed Stuart to the Tower where she starved herself to death in 1615 after four years of imprisonment. Her death by suicide represents her last act to maintain control over her body and future. One pamphleteer writes that Stuart represented an “unruly woman who had ‘touched pleasure in order to transgress.’” (68). At least one supporter, the Florentine secretary, notes that the people praised her initiative “for having dressed herself in man’s attire, for having so well contrived to arrange how to deliver her husband from the Tower, disguised as a merchant.”²⁴⁴ The mixed responses parallel the authors’ use of Moll in The Roaring Girl: some people exhibit tacit approval, while others vilify her. Additionally, like the play, Stuart’s case demonstrates how women could use costuming to gain power, how those actions interplayed with cultural debate, and how men regarded cross-dressing, love, and sex as humorally based.

²⁴⁵ Howard 424.

²⁴⁶ Howard 436

²⁴⁷ Woodbridge 142. Williams’ sermon suggests that the devil rejoined male and female in the cross-dressed woman. His concern came mainly from the spectacle of the

mannish female who took people's attention from the sermon. In addition to the male and female articles of clothing, the preacher noted the quality of the material as well, complaining that women wore satin instead of sackcloth. Woodbridge does note that Williams argued against extravagant male dress as well, a position putting him at some danger since he preached at court (142-43).

²⁴⁸ Woodbridge 423.

²⁴⁹ Woodbridge 422. Woodbridge notes that some "unmarried women of the serving class eking out a precarious living in London" (421) cross-dressed in order to travel without impediment, to conduct business, to gain admittance into places otherwise forbidden, and to visit their husbands at war. In a contrariety, though female transvestites may have participated in prostitution out of economic necessity, citizen wives donned male clothes as well, perhaps as signs of wealth and independence.

²⁵⁰ According to Klein, Nina Tauton describes "the presence of women in an early modern army" as "a punishable offence" (99). Tauton also cites Leicester's Lawes and Ordinances Militarie for the Low Countries (1590) which addresses the disruptive effect of women in a military camp. David Cressy's "Gender Trouble and Cross-Dressing in Early Modern England," which appeared in The Journal of British Studies 35.4 (1996): 438-65, writes that Dutch sources from the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries note over a hundred cases of cross-dressed women in the military, some of whom had female lovers or wives.

²⁵¹ Howard gives the 1601 Bridewell Court Minute Book (4.207) account of Margaret Wakeley of who "had a bastard child and went in man's apparel" (420). Cressy notes the Clayton case, examines the Joanna Goodman account, and includes a reference

to a woman wearing the habit of man whom authorities apprehended in Plymouth as she readied to go to sea (n. 43, 460).

²⁵² Howard 421.

²⁵³ Howard 421.

²⁵⁴ Jane Baston quotes John Chamberlain's letter to Sir Dudley Carleton in which an account of Moll Cutpurse's pilloring occurs. According to the author, Moll upstaged the preacher, Ratcliffe of Brazen Nose in Oxford, "A likelier man to have led the revels in some ynne of court" (318). Though Moll subverts the intention of the spectacle by weeping and seeming penitent, her drunken behavior underscores the carnival of the event and the danger of inversion occurring at anyone's public punishment.

²⁵⁵ Chamberlain qtd. in Baston 322.

²⁵⁶ Adrienne L. Eastwood. "Controversy and the Single Woman in The Maid's Tragedy and The Roaring Girl." Rocky Mountain Review of Language and Literature 58.2 (2004): 17.

²⁵⁷ Ortner qtd. in Lawrence Manley, "From Matron to Monster: Tudor-Stuart London and the Languages of Urban Description," The Historical Renaissance: New Essays on Tudor and Stuart Literature and Culture, eds. Heather Dubrow and Richard Strier (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1988) 355.

²⁵⁸ Dekker qtd. in Manley, 355.

²⁵⁹ Howard 436.

²⁶⁰ Wells 38.

²⁶¹ Wells 41.

²⁶² David Cressy's "Gender Trouble and Cross-Dressing in Early Modern England" addresses the issue of male cross-dressing as well as female activity in transvestism. See my note 55.

²⁶³ Even the editors acknowledge the difficulty of determining the "he" to whom Curtalax refers and suggest that continuity is sacrificed for comedy. See note 153-6.

²⁶⁴ Men have the ability to conform to the situation in order to get what they want. For instance, the loving father, Wengrave, tricks Sebastian and tries to frame Moll, even though he should represent the moral compass as a member of the gentility. Sebastian uses Moll and Mary for his own agenda; Laxton seems to affect Mrs. Gallipot, all the while despising her; Trapdoor pretends to serve as Moll's second in order to get money from Wengrave.

²⁶⁵ "Epistle," Mulde Sacke.

²⁶⁶ Anthony B. Dawson, "Mistris Hic & Haec: Representations of Moll Frith," SEL 33.2 (1993): 400.

²⁶⁷ See n. 80, p. 246 of play.

²⁶⁸ Howard 437.

²⁶⁹ Cressy 459.

²⁷⁰ Wells 38.

²⁷¹ Woodbridge 250.

²⁷² Wells 54.

²⁷³ Howard 426.

²⁷⁴ Howard 427.

²⁷⁵ Wells 57.

²⁷⁶ The editors of the text claim that the name “Openwork” “suggests openness and ingenuousness in business dealing and in sexual relationships” (n. 13, 155). Moll also calls her a “private pandress between shirt and smock” (2.1.218).

²⁷⁷ Klein 103.

²⁷⁸ Dickson 148.

²⁷⁹ Gutierrez 189. This critic argues that in “essentializing Joan, the French have reacquired the masculine identity they had lost in battle with the England.” Gutierrez refers to Charles’ idealization of Joan in Petrarchan rhetoric while his soldiers make her into a sexual object. I see this action as actually making the French more feminine.

²⁸⁰ Kathryn Schwarz, “Fearful Simile: Stealing the Breech in Shakespeare’s Chronicle Plays,” Shakespeare Quarterly 49.2 (1998): 147.

²⁸¹ David Bevington, “The Domineering Female in 1 Henry VI,” Shakespeare Studies 2 (1966): 51. John D. Cox in “Devils and Power in Marlowe and Shakespeare,” which appeared in The Yearbook of English Studies 23 (1993): 46-64, notes the lack of central power due to pairings of competition for dominance: Winchester and Gloucester, Somerset and Suffolk, York and the King, Suffolk and Gloucester, and Suffolk and Margaret against the King. Cox also argues that Suffolk and Margaret seduce each other (61).

²⁸² Fiona Bell, “Joan of Arc in Part I of Henry VI, and Margaret of Anjou in Parts 1, 2, and 3 of Henry VI and in Richard III,” Players of Shakespeare 6: Essays in the Performance of Shakespeare’s History Plays, ed. Robert Smallwood (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 2004) 165.

²⁸³ Bevington 56.

²⁸⁴ Bevington 55. Bevington notes that the Queen of Scythia overcame Cyrus the Great in revenge for her son's death and threw his severed head into a wineskin of human blood. In this reading Talbot becomes a second Cyrus, a "bloodthirsty lord" (2.2.34). He also mentions that Joan and the Countess act out of concern for their fame.

²⁸⁵ Bevington 55. Bevington argues that the Countess wields temporal power over Talbot, but I do not sense that she represents anything more than a curiosity to him, a chance to outwit what he knows is a trap.

²⁸⁶ "An Homilie of the State of Matrimonie," Certaine Sermons or Homilies Appointed to be Read in Churches in the Time of Queen Elizabeth I (1547-1571), eds. Mary Ellen Rickey and Thomas B. Stroup (Gainesville, Florida: Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, 1968) 239.

²⁸⁷ John Taylor, A Bawd. A Vertuous Bawd, a Modest Bawd: As Shee Deserves, Reproove, or Else Applaud, (London, 1635).

²⁸⁸ Thomas Middleton and Thomas Dekker, The Honest Whore, Parts One and Two, ed. Nick de Somogyi (New York: Routledge, 1998). Fredson Bowers, in "Textual Introduction" to The Honest Whore, Part I, explains that the Stationers' Register on 9 November 1604 records the following: "Entred for his cotype under the hand of mr. Pasfeild A Booke called. The humors of the patient man. The longinge wife and the honest whore." Sometime between January 1, 1604, and March 14 of the same year, Henslowe paid Dekker and Middleton £ 5 for "the pasyent mand & the onest hore" (3).

Bowers also claims that the second edition of The Honest Whore labeled the play The Converted Curtezan (7). I find this name change significant because it stresses the process of reformation for the whore, not just the paradox of an honest whore dedicated to one man. See The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker, ed. Fredson Bowers, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1955).

²⁸⁹ Thomas Middleton, Women Beware Women and Other Plays, ed. Richard Dutton (Oxford: Oxford U P, 1999).

²⁹⁰ George Thornton, The Social and Moral Philosophy of Thomas Dekker, The Emporia State Research Studies 4.2 (Emporia, KS: Kansas State Teachers College, 1955) 12.

²⁹¹ Thornton 23.

²⁹² Thornton 23.

²⁹³ John Twyning, London Dispossessed: Literature and Social Space in the Early Modern City (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998) 6-7.

²⁹⁴ Twyning 10.

²⁹⁵ Twyning 48.

²⁹⁶ Twyning 12.

²⁹⁷ Twyning. 14.

²⁹⁸ Barbara Kreps, "The Paradox of Women: The Legal Position of Early Modern Wives and Thomas Dekker's The Honest Whore," ELH 69.1 (2002): 96.

²⁹⁹ Kreps 98.

³⁰⁰ John Taylor, in A Common Whore With all These Graces Grac'd: Shee's Very Honest, Beautifull and Chaste, 1622, calls the common whore "A Succubus, a

damned sinke of sinne, / A Mire, where worse then Swine doe wallow in.” He then compares her to broken Latin:

And with small teaching she will soone decline
 Mulier into the Gender Masculine.
 By her attire, of which sex she should be,
 She seemes the doubtfull Gender unto me,
 To either side her habit seemes to leane,
 And may be taken for the Epicene.

The whore’s presentation and her ability to turn men into beasts create uncertain boundaries between man and woman, humans and the unnatural. Of wives gone amiss, Taylor suggests that the husband should “pray God men her, or the devill take her.” The whore as an instrument of the devil defies social expectations for women. Samuel Rowlands’ Greene’s Ghost Haunting Coniecatchers (1602) refers to strumpets as “hell-moths, that eat a man out of bodie & soul.” Freevill in Marston’s The Dutch Courtesan calls any whore “a creature made of blood and hell” (5.1.76) who has a monstrous devil (line 99). See The Malcontent and Other Plays, ed. Keith Sturgess (Oxford: Oxford U P, 1997).

³⁰¹ Robert Ornstein, The Moral Vision of Jacobean Tragedy (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1960) 192.

³⁰² Ornstein 199.

³⁰³ Ornstein 197.

³⁰⁴ Albert H. Tricomi, “Middleton’s Women Beware Women as Anticourt Drama,” Modern Language Studies 19.2 (1989): 65.

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- ³⁰⁵ Tricomi 65.
- ³⁰⁶ Tricomi 65.
- ³⁰⁷ Nick de Somogyi, “Introduction,” The Honest Whore, by Thomas Dekker and Thomas Middleton (Routledge: Globe Education, 1998) ix.
- ³⁰⁸ John Stow, A Survey of London, ed. C. L. Kingsford (1908; rpt. New York: Adamant Media Corporation, 2005) 2.54, 53.
- ³⁰⁹ Stow 2.10.
- ³¹⁰ “Stew,” OED—def. 3: heated room for hot air or vapor baths; definition 4: a brothel because of the frequent use of public houses for immoral purposes
- ³¹¹ “Stew,” OED def. 4d.
- ³¹² “The Practice of Bawds,” Time’s Whistle (1614), Satire No. 6 qtd. in E. J. Burford’s Bawds and Lodgings: A History of the London Bankside Brothels c. 100-1675 (London: Peter Owen, 1976) 175. The satire speaks of “this choisest beauties,” a “private room, which round / aboute is hung with pictures: all goodlie Rout / is framed with Venus’s fashion, female all,” the wine “provocative to stir up appetite / to bruitish luste & and sensuall delighes, and the aphrodisiacs, including marmalade, marchpane, and Alicante wine, “the blood of Veneries” (170-71). The satire also speaks of the “crew of whores far worse than Crocodiles, / killing with feign’d Tears and forged Smiles.”
- ³¹³ Anne M. Haselkorn, Prostitution in Elizabethan and Jacobean Comedy (Troy, NY: Whitson Publishing, 1983) 12-13.
- ³¹⁴ Haselkorn 15.
- ³¹⁵ Haselkorn 12.

³¹⁶ Burford 173. Many prostitutes did not live past the age of 40 due to venereal disease and/or tuberculosis (175).

³¹⁷ Haselkorn 11.

³¹⁸ Qtd, in Burford, 166.

³¹⁹ Robert Burton, The Anatomy of Melancholy (New York: New York Review Books, 2001) 3.55.

³²⁰ Qtd. in Burford, 174.

³²¹ Burford 175.

³²² Burford 19.

³²³ Burford 147.

³²⁴ In 1533 Edward VI gave Bridewell to the city “for the Commonalitie and Citizens to be a Workehouse for the poore and idle persons of the Cities” (Stow 2.44-45). Housing prostitutes in this establishment indicates their poverty and the idea that work can cure social disease.

³²⁵ Haselkorn 15-16. According to Twynning, just prior to the production of Dekker’s play, four entrepreneurs hired to put people to work scandalized Bridewell by forcing prostitutes to ply their trade in the institution, so that it became a brothel with a matron serving as the procuress (26).

³²⁶ Haselkorn. 17. In an attempt to purge the suburbs, apprentices participated in public whore bashing by attacking brothels on Shrove Tuesday, a traditional day of carnival (11-12). John Taylor in A Bawd (see above) speaks of “London Prentices, then two or three thousand of those boot-hailing pillaging rascals” who broke down doors, walls, and windows, “ripping and emboweling Bolsters and Featherbeds, ravishing her

mayds or stale virgins, spoyling all they stole not, and stealing what they liked, beating the grave Bawd, and all her female vermine, most unmanly and unmannerly,” but the Bawds did not give “these landsharkes an ill word” or show “any signe of anger or desire of revenge.” In The Prentices Answer to the Whores Petition (London, 1668), the apprentices claim that the prostitute “war” started from “the scum of a rude multitude, / Who under the Name of Prentices / Would have pul’d down houses.” The pamphlet does accuse the whore of responsibility, saying, “you are not blamesless / Your damned impudence hath made you shamless, / You at your doors doe stand Poxed and Painted / Perfum’d with powder yet with all vice tainted.” The work also suggests that apprentices bought sex from whores: “We partly do believe that it is true / T’was some you clapt before, that now clapt you.” News From Whetstones Parke, or, a Relation of the Late Bloody Battle There Between the Bawds and Whores, and How both Parties after a sharp Dispute, and much loss on either Side, were at last Reconciled by the Mediation of the Pimps and Hectors, with The Articles of Peace Concluded upon between them (London, 1674) indicates the disruptive effect of the whore on society as she turns order into carnival brawling in the name of competition. The Character of A Town-Miss (London, 1680) also creates vivid negative images of the whore. Some tracts spoke more specifically about disease and social cure. For example, Dekker’s 1609 epistle dedicatory to Lanthorne and candle-light. Or, The bell-mans second nights-walke speaks of the “Mongrell Madnesse” from degenerate behavior as a humoral condition, saying that the bellman has opened “several Veines” for the letting “of Vice blood” so that it cannot “endanger the Bodie of the Common-wealth, or make it feeble. But rather restore those parts to perfect strength, which by disorder have been diseased.”

³²⁷ Haselkorn 18.

³²⁸ Twynning 38.

³²⁹ Burford 164. Burford and others claim that James I and his courtiers may have used the services of Holland's Leaguer, a brothel run by Dame Elizabeth Holland in Old Paris Garden. This comment does not necessarily mean that James and the gallants went to her brothel.

³³⁰ Burford 171. The Jacobean climate meant that in a high-class brothel such as Hollander's a girl served ten to twelve men per night; while in a lower-class establishment, a whore might serve thirty; and the lowest-class whore provided sex for as many as fifty-seven (171).

³³¹ Taylor.

³³² If one regards the printing date for Part 2, 1630, response to the treatment of prostitution under Charles I gains significance. Charles did not mimic James's toleration of prostitution and conducted his court with a bit more morality. At his first Parliament in 1625, he ordered the Lord Chief Justice to attend to bawdy houses in the suburbs. Although authorities did not bother too much with Bankside, troops did close Holland's Leaguer in 1631-3. The flux of Dutch and Flemish Protestant refugees in the previous fifty years had given London large areas of the sober, artisan class determined "to adhere to their brands of Puritanism" (Burford 177-78), beliefs that did not support prostitution. As a result, Parliament closed all whore houses in 1644 (178), the time at which Charles I had lost a great deal of power. Hence, the struggle for control between King and Parliament also played out in official responses to prostitution. Dekker's play fits with Charles' initial measures against the brothels and addresses the conflict of authority

between secular and religious government. Burford also notes that Puritans closed the theatres, whorehouses, and gambling establishments in April and then pulled down maypoles thought to incite lust in the peasantry (178), as the attack on festival and revelry targeted appetite.

³³³ Haselkorn, "Sin and the Politics of Penance" 119.

³³⁴ Haselkorn, Prostitution in Elizabethan and Jacobean Comedy 1.

³³⁵ Haselkorn, Prostitution in Elizabethan and Jacobean Comedy 1.

³³⁶ Twynning writes, "In the city it is both more possible and necessary to function through your appearance" (6). As in the plays, men valued appearance over reality and often became unable to distinguish the difference between them.

³³⁷ Ken Jackson, in "Bethlem and Bridewell in The Honest Whore Plays," SEL 43.2 (2003), says that in the Jacobean period, the hospital housed "fewer than thirty patients" (396), mainly poor people marginalized by London society. In the late sixteenth century, the hospital began receiving charity by allowing people to view the patients (396).

³³⁸ Jackson 404.

³³⁹ Burton 1.140. Burton discusses madness as "raving without a fever, far more violent than melancholy, full of anger and clamours, horrible looks [. . .] with far greater vehemency of both body and mind."

³⁴⁰ Twynning 31.

³⁴¹ Taylor.

³⁴² Jackson 409, 407.

³⁴³ Joost qtd. in Jackson, 408-09.

³⁴⁴ Burton 2.33.

³⁴⁵ George Rowe, Thomas Middleton and the New Comedy Tradition (Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1979) 196.

³⁴⁶ Rowe 195.

³⁴⁷ Ornstein 198.

³⁴⁸ Burton 1.109. Burton notes that enforced marriages “commonly produce such effects [contrary spouses], or if on their behalfs it be well, as to live and agree lovingly together, they may have disobedient and unruly children, that take ill course to disquiet them”

³⁴⁹ Rowe 198.

³⁵⁰ Rowe 199.

³⁵¹ Burton 1.171.

³⁵² Burton 3.305.

³⁵³ Stallybrass and White qtd. in Arthur Lindley, Hyperion and the Hobbyhorse: Studies in Carnavalesque Subversion (Newark: U of Delaware P, 1996) 21. Peter Berek’s “The Jew as Renaissance Man,” Renaissance Quarterly 51.1 (1998) 128-62 agrees with James Shapiro’s Shakespeare and the Jews (New York: Columbia U P, 1996) that the question of Jewishness related to the meaning of Englishness, a debate marginalizing Jews (Berek 129). Banished in 1290 but returned in numbers before the 1654 Whitehall Conference allowed them to come back, the Jew had to create an identity. I find that dramatists often couple whores with Jews as persons of marginality who have to form some type of meaning for themselves in a Christian, English society.

³⁵⁴ John Knox, The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women (London, 1558).

³⁵⁵ Gail Kern Paster, Humoring the Body (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2004) 72, 73.

³⁵⁶ Paster 73.

³⁵⁷ See Introduction in this dissertation.

³⁵⁸ Thornton calls Infelice “an egotistical, strong-minded young woman who will not permit her desires to be frustrated,” so she marries the man of her choice (30). Her rebellious nature prompts the Duke’s actions.

³⁵⁹ Paster 4.

³⁶⁰ “Cordial,” OED, def. 2: “Stimulating, ‘comforting’, or invigorating the heart; restorative, reviving, cheering.” Def. 1b: “Of the heart as the seat of feeling, affection.”

³⁶¹ Burton 3.56.

³⁶² See Richard A. Levin’s “If Women Should Beware Women, Bianca Should Beware Mother,” SEL 37.2 (1997): 371-89 and Neil Taylor and Bryan Loughrey’s “Middleton’s Chess Strategies in Women Beware Women,” SEL 24.2 (1984): 341-54.

³⁶³ Levin 373.

³⁶⁴ Neil Taylor suggests that Middleton often uses games as a comparison “to sexual intercourse and the old procuring of sex partners” (346). The “loser is always guilty of something” (353).

³⁶⁵ Levin 377. Levin reminds us that since a “stale” is a prostitute, Bianca becomes the stale and Mother the “old ware” ; however, a “stale” sometimes serves as a decoy who profits from a crime. Mother, in this case, lures Bianca to Livia’s (378).

³⁶⁶ Anthony B. Dawson in “Women Beware Women and the Economy of Rape,” SEL 27.2 (1987) suggests that Livia defines a space for herself by controlling Isabella and Bianca and by using the chess game (314); however, I believe that if Mother understands what happens upstairs as it happens, then she, too, defines a space for herself as a guest and as a recipient for courtly benevolence.

³⁶⁷ Dawson 315.

³⁶⁸ Haselkorn in “Sin and the Politics of Penance: Three Jacobean Adulteresses,” The Renaissance Englishwoman in Print: Counterbalancing the Canon (Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1990) suggests that the “sexual woman represents his [the male’s] libidinal or ‘id’ tendencies” (119).

³⁶⁹ Twynning 47. Twynning suggests that the whore’s change “would be perceived as socially unexpected and theologically impossible” (47), a comment with serious ramifications if she represents the city.

³⁷⁰ John Taylor.

³⁷¹ Paster 165.

³⁷² Burton 1.152. Burton suggests that loving or hating overmuch can cause overheating or madness (1.269).

³⁷³ Haselkorn, “Sin and the Politics of Penance” 128.

³⁷⁴ Levin 372.

³⁷⁵ Ornstein 377.

³⁷⁶ Other dramatists also used the association of the open window and the licentious female. In Jonson’s Volpone, Corvino, who keeps his wife, Celia, mewed, beats her from the window under which the disguised Volpone sings. The husband rages

at his wife, “Death of mine honour, with the city’s fool? [. . .] And at a public window,” where she could “give your hot spectators satisfaction!” (2.5.1,3,9). Ben Jonson, Volpone, eds. Brian Parker and David Bevington (Manchester: Manchester U P, 1996). Windows also played an important part in brothels. According to a 1546 ordinance, brothels had to have signs visible to customers across the river and had to hang red curtains in the window to distinguish the houses from inns (Burford 125-26). The Character of A Town-Miss (see above) suggests that whores procured business from windows: “and sometimes like Jezabel, she looks out at the window: But her main market-place is the balcony, which she frequents as constantly as any Lady in a romance” (2). The association of a window opening with female genitalia seems obvious.

³⁷⁷ Levin 383. Having willingly placed herself in a marriage where she asks “less now / Than what I had at home when I was a maid” (3.1.52-53), Bianca becomes one of the nearly poor exposed “to the possibility of rape” (385) or forced into whoring for survival. Dawson claims that “she displays the classic pattern of the victim succumbing to and embracing the inevitability of redefined power relations” (312).

³⁷⁸ Levin suggests that Bianca’s cosmopolitan Venetian origin means that she has the social skills to know what the court expects of her. E. J. Burford describes the high standards of Venetian brothels, with elegant and mannerly courtesans who served as a tourist trap (118), maybe even to some factor from Florence. He also speaks of the whores of the Bishop of Winchester as like those maintained in Rome “in emulation of those who were making Venice famous” (167). To complete the association of Venice with prostitution, during the Commonwealth many English whores migrated to Venice (181).

³⁷⁹ Ornstein 195.

³⁸⁰ Paster 240.

³⁸¹ Ornstein 193.

³⁸² Dawson 306. Dawson says that this scene “is a brutalized embodiment of male fantasies in operation in the rest of the play” (307). Haselkorn, in Prostitution in Elizabethan and Jacobean Comedy, describes the process of slave trading in Rome. She writes, “Bawds, pimps, brothelmasters and other prospective buyers were given license to scrutinize, to touch, and to probe every aspect of their naked bodies” (5). In light of this information, Ward’s inspection makes Isabella comparable to one of these slaves who will become a prostitute; she, too, will receive no respect.

³⁸³ Tertullian qtd, in James J. Paxson’s “Shakespeare’s Medieval Devils and Joan La Pucelle in 1 Henry VI: Semiotics, Iconography, and Feminist Criticism,” Henry VI: Critical Essays, ed. Thomas A. Pendleton (New York: Routledge, 2001) 145.

³⁸⁴ Tertullian, “The Apparel of Women,” Disciplinary, Moral and Ascetical Works, trans. Rudolph Arbesmann, Sister Emily Joseph Daly, and Edwin Quain, (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1959) 111-149. Edwin A. Quain’s translation of this passage goes as follows:

You are the one who opened the door to the Devil, you
are the one who first plucked the fruit of the forbidden tree,
you are the first who deserted the divine law; you are the one
who persuaded him whom the Devil was not strong enough to
attack. All too easily you destroyed the image of God, man. (118)

This translation gives the woman an active role rather than a passive one. She did not serve as the gate or door but opened it for man to enter. Quain ignores the sexual allusion that Paxson's passage provides.

³⁸⁵ Stuart Clark, Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe (Oxford: Oxford U P, 2005) 113.

³⁸⁶ Tertullian 118.

³⁸⁷ Tertullian 134.

³⁸⁸ Tertullian 139.

³⁸⁹ Tertullian 144-45.

³⁹⁰ William Shakespeare, 1 Henry VI, The Complete Pelican Shakespeare, eds. Stephen Orgel and A.R. Braunmuller (New York: Penguin Books, 2002) 1574-1615.

³⁹¹ Thomas Middleton and Thomas Dekker, The Roaring Girl, Plays on Women, eds. Kathleen E. McLuskie and David Bevington (Manchester: Manchester U P, 1999) 152-267.

³⁹² See Heinrich Kramer and James Sprenger, Malleus Maleficarum, trans. Montague Summers, (New York: Dover Publications, 1971) 96-104; Martín Del Rio, Investigations into Magic, trans. P. G. Maxwell-Stuart, (Manchester: Manchester U P, 2000) 73-77; Jean Bodin, On the Demon-Mania of Witches, trans. Randy A. Scott, (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 1995) 45, 112; Reginald Scot, The Discovery of Witchcraft: Proving That the Compacts and Contracts of Witches with Devils and all Infernal Spirits or Familiars, are but Erroneous Novelties and Imaginary Conceptions (London, 1665) 22. Original edition 1584; Christina Larner, Enemies of God: The Witchhunt in Scotland (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2000) 11, 148.

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- ³⁹³ Clark 87.
- ³⁹⁴ Paxson 137.
- ³⁹⁵ Paxson 128. Paxson claims that Shakespeare equates women's nether parts with Lear's reference to the vagina as a "face between [woman's] forks" (4.6.121) (132). This idea joins Joan, Goneril, and Regan in a sisterhood of witchcraft and puts a bit different light on the English grotesque women than what I claim in the chapter on scolds; however, scolds commonly suffered charges of witchcraft.
- ³⁹⁶ Paxson 129.
- ³⁹⁷ Paxson 139.
- ³⁹⁸ Paxson 139.
- ³⁹⁹ John D. Cox, "Devils and Power in Marlowe and Shakespeare," The Yearbook of English Studies 23 (1993): 59.
- ⁴⁰⁰ Cox 60.
- ⁴⁰¹ Cox 61.
- ⁴⁰² Jean E. Howard, "Crossdressing, The Theatre, and Gender Struggle in Early Modern England," Shakespeare Quarterly 39.4 (1988): 437.
- ⁴⁰³ David Cressy, "Gender Trouble and Cross-dressing in Early Modern England," The Journal of British Studies 35.4 (1996): 459.
- ⁴⁰⁴ Clark 132.
- ⁴⁰⁵ Clark 17.
- ⁴⁰⁶ Clark 13.
- ⁴⁰⁷ Clark 11.
- ⁴⁰⁸ Clark 22.

⁴⁰⁹ Clark 23.

⁴¹⁰ Clark 18.

⁴¹¹ Montague Summers, "Introduction," The Malleus Maleficarum of Heinrich Kramer and James Sprenger, trans. Montague Summers (New York: Dover Publications, 1971) xvi.

⁴¹² Summers xxii.

⁴¹³ Summers suggests that the 1590 Scot witch trial occurred because "it was proved that upon 31 October in the preceding year, All Hallow E'en, a gang of more than two hundred persons" gathered "at the old haunted church of North Berwick" to consult the Devil how they could "efficaciously kill King James" to put Francis Bothwell on the Scottish throne. Francis Stewart, Earl of Bothwell, who aspired to the throne, instigated the Halloween service. Barbara Napier, a participant, reportedly declared that she participated so "that another might have ruled in his majesty's place, and the Government might have gone to the Devil" (xxii). Had the group achieved a successful coup, England's future would have changed as well.

⁴¹⁴ Hic Mulier: or The Man-Woman: Being a Medicine to cure the Coltish Disease of the Staggers in the Masculine-Feminines of our Times (London, 1620).

⁴¹⁵ Hic Mulier.

⁴¹⁶ Hic Mulier.

⁴¹⁷ John Williams, "A Sermon on Apparell," qtd. in Linda Woodbridge, Women and the English Renaissance: Literature and the Nature of Womankind, 1540-1620 (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1986) 142.

⁴¹⁸ Woodbridge 142.

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- ⁴¹⁹ Summers xxi.
- ⁴²⁰ Summers xxi-xxii.
- ⁴²¹ Summers xxi.
- ⁴²² Larner 17.
- ⁴²³ Larner 192; Linda C. Hults, The Witch as Muse (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2005) 8.
- ⁴²⁴ Summers xxii.
- ⁴²⁵ Jonathan L. Pearl, "Introduction," On the Demon-Mania of Witches, by Jean Bodin (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 1995) 12.
- ⁴²⁶ Summers xxiv-xxv.
- ⁴²⁷ Pearl gives the 1556 account of a possessed girl who "denounced the Protestants as the Devil's flock" and caused "some Protestants in the village to convert back to Catholicism, as her possession proved to them the exclusive rightness of Catholicism" (18).
- ⁴²⁸ According to note 13 in the Pelican Edition, "immanity" means monstrous cruelty.
- ⁴²⁹ Larner 92, 195.
- ⁴³⁰ Larner 193-94.
- ⁴³¹ Scot 103 and "To the Reader." Mother Sawyer, in Dekker, Ford, and Rowley's The Witch of Edmonton (New York: W. W. Norton, 2005), explains the plight of woman:

And why on me? Why should the envious world

Throw all their scandalous malice upon me?

'Cause I am poor, deformed and ignorant,
 And like a bow buckled and bent together,
 By some more strong in mischiefs than myself?
 Must I for that be made a common sink,
 For all the filth and rubbish of men's tongues
 To fall and run into? Some call me witch;
 And being ignorant of myself, they go
 About to teach me how to be one: urging
 That my bad tongue (by their bad usage made so)
 Forespeaks their cattle, doth bewitch their corn,
 Themselves, their servants and their babes at nurse.
 This they enforce upon me. And in part
 Make me to credit it. (2.1.1-15)

Sawyer not only supports Scot, but she parallels what Moll says about the fall of women in general. In both accounts, men make women what they are.

⁴³² Clark 131. Clark mentions shrews, Amazons, scold, gossips, women preachers, whores, seductresses, and viragos. He does not give an example of wives who exchanged roles with their husbands to go to war, but does relate Spenser's Radigund and Artegall as symbolizing this inversion. Jean Howard states, in "Crossdressing, the Theatre, and Gender Struggle," that most cross-dressing women were unmarried women of the serving class "eking out a precarious living in London," while some were in service to tavern keepers and tradesmen; however, she also suggests that citizen wives cross-dressed "as a sign of their wealth and independence" (421). Howard also gives the

example of Johanna Goodman who dressed as a male servant so that she could go with her husband to war.

⁴³³ Scot 4

⁴³⁴ Bodin 109.

⁴³⁵ Pearl 19; Karen Newman, in Fashioning Femininity and English Renaissance Drama (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1991) 55, cites ninety percent.

⁴³⁶ Larner 92.

⁴³⁷ Hans Peter Broedel, The Malleus Maleficarum and the Construction of Witchcraft (Manchester: Manchester U P, 2003) 141. Among the abilities of witches that most authors cite include keeping cows from producing milk, spoiling crops, preventing butter from churning, seemingly trivial matters to us today, but for the early modern family these issues meant life or death.

⁴³⁸ Newman 56-57. For example, after the 1485 trial of Helena Scheuberin, whom authorities described as “an aggressive, independent woman who was not afraid to speak her mind,” Henry Insistoris [Kramer], an inquisitor in the case, commented that “it is a general rule that all witches have been slaves from a young age to carnal lust and to various adulteries, just as experience teaches” (Broedel 1; Kramer qtd in Broedel 2).

⁴³⁹ Kramer and Sprenger, The Malleus Maleficarum 47.

⁴⁴⁰ Kramer qtd in Broedel 97. Sources also list knotting as a means of robbing the male of sexual power. The witch literally ties off the male member. Kramer also relates that people claimed that after stealing a penis, the witch kept it alive in a bird’s nest on a diet of oats and made the man put back the largest member when he came to recover it because it belonged to a secular priest. Of course, this process shamed the man further.

⁴⁴¹ Broedel 181. Broedel suggests that in these cases the witch literally made a man into a woman. Bodin notes that a man could have his penis restored if he appeased the witch, and he relates that the “shameful part” had withdrawn into the abdomen (101). This German perception sounds like early modern explanations of sexual difference.

⁴⁴² Del Rio 121; Broedel 26.

⁴⁴³ Thomas Middleton and Thomas Dekker, The Roaring Girle or Moll Cut-Purse. As it hath lately beene Acted on the Fortune-stage by the Prince his Players, First Edition (London, 1611).

⁴⁴⁴ Phillip Stubbes, Anatomy of the Abuses in England in Shakespeare’s Youth (1583), ed. Frederick J. Furnivall (London: N. Trübner, 1877) 73.

⁴⁴⁵ Clark 33.

⁴⁴⁶ Broedel 179. According to Del Rio, some people believed that magical arts involving evil spirits could change one sex into the other (103). He also states that gender changes can occur naturally.

⁴⁴⁷ Broedel qting Kramer, 183.

⁴⁴⁸ Delcourt qtd. in Woodbridge, 141.

⁴⁴⁹ See David M. Bevington on Virgin Mary and Joan in “The Domineering Female in 1 Henry VI,” Shakespeare Studies 2 (1966): 52.

⁴⁵⁰ Broedel 176.

⁴⁵¹ See Bevington on Sisera and Mars and Venus 52.; Queen of Sheba 54

⁴⁵² Archbishop Stephen Gardiner, also Bishop of Winchester, pandered for Henry VIII and established houses on Bankside for whores who became known as Winchester’s

Geese. See E. J. Burford in Bawds and Lodgings: A History of Bankside Brothels c. 100-1675 (London: Peter Owen, 1976) 127, 137.

⁴⁵³ Qtd. in Desmond Seward, The Hundred Years War: The English in France 1337-1453 (New York: Penguin Books, 1978) 214.

⁴⁵⁴ Seward 214-15.

⁴⁵⁵ Bodin 63.

⁴⁵⁶ Clark writes of witch-cleansing for France: “It follows that France should be purged (Nodé uses the verb *repurger*) by an authority acting not merely according to the conventional dictates of Romans 13 but in the spirit of Revelation 19—where judgement is given against the Whore, where the word and the sword act righteously together to smite and slay, and where the forces of the Beast are routed in bloody slaughter” (385). Clark refers to religious war in the 1650s when authority blamed witches, magicians, and heretics who aided those “bringing France to the brink of the apocalypse” (385). This image resonates in 1 Henry VI.

⁴⁵⁷ Bodin 66.

⁴⁵⁸ Broedel 129. Broedel suggests that authority had to differentiate between a heretic and a witch. Malleus Maleficarum says that witches commonly performed spells through the sacraments of the Church, so that witchcraft became an inversion of the Church (114). Clark notes that witches did everything backwards (15) and that the inverted Eucharist involved robed priests, a black host (maybe a blackened turnip), unguents and potions, instead of blood and wine, offered amid execrations (85). Del Rio (75) and Broedel (129-30) also talk about the Eucharist; Bodin (113) describes the

witch's baptism; See Scot (22) and Lerner (11) for more discussion on sacraments and the witch.

⁴⁵⁹ Lerner 110—The witch fed her familiars through supernumerary nipples. The Devil consummated the pact by nipping the witch, and the wound left a mark that would not bleed when pricked.

⁴⁶⁰ Bodin 54.

⁴⁶¹ Seward 218.

⁴⁶² Qtd. in Seward 218. Bevington notes the bewitching powers of Auvergne and Margaret 55-58.

⁴⁶³ Qtd. in Seward, 214.

⁴⁶⁴ Margaret Murray qtd. in Hultz, 4. Carlo Ginzburg in Hultz describes witchcraft as a religion engrained with fertility rites and discusses the “persistence of fertility myths in Eurasian origins in witchcraft beliefs” (4).

⁴⁶⁵ Shakespeare salvages Joan's femininity as a mother figure who, unlike the English army, will go “victual Orleans” (1.7.14) to pit it against negligent father figures. This positive portrayal of Joan might reaffirm her association with the Virgin Mary; but it also serves to remind Talbot that the division between York and Somerset leaves the English troops famished, as its leaders do not perform the duties of the patriarchy by ignoring their masculine role. This gap allows the female grotesque to emerge.

⁴⁶⁶ Holinshed's Chronicle states, “. . . she fullie afore possest of the feend, not able to hold her in anie towardnesses of grace, falling straight waie into hir former abominations, [. . .] to confesse hir selfe a strumpet, and (unmarried as she was) to be with child” (105). The author adds that the lord regents gave her a nine-month stay and found

her “false as wicked” and delivered her to “secular power, and so executed by consumption of fire in the old market place at Rone” (105). This account does mention her conversations with wicked spirits, whom Joan claimed were “our Ladies, saint Katharine, and saint Anne” (105); these matters justified her execution. Holinshed’s Chronicle as Used in Shakespeare’s Plays, eds. Allardyce and Josephine Nicoll (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1955).

⁴⁶⁷ Broedel 29.

⁴⁶⁸ Bodin 53.

⁴⁶⁹ Bodin 90. Referring to God’s law, Bodin describes these predictions as “unlawful” because they come from a witch.

⁴⁷⁰ See Madonne M. Miner’s article, “Neither mother, wife, nor England’s Queen’: The Roles of Women in Richard III” in The Woman’s Part: Feminist Criticism of Shakespeare, eds. Carol Ruth Swift, Gayle Greene, and Carol Thomas Neely (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1980) 35-55.

⁴⁷¹ Bodin 102. Bodin writes about pagans who committed sodomy, who “not only were idolaters but also witches” (102). The homoerotic scene with Laxton and Moll’s suggestion that she loves “to lie o’ both sides o’ th’ bed” (2.2.35) add another layer to associating Moll with witchcraft.

⁴⁷² OED 3b.

⁴⁷³ OED, “Fantastic” def. 2.

⁴⁷⁴ OED, “Fantastical” def. 2. Ridley 1555, Christ’s body. This doctrine stated that Christ had a phantastical, or fleshless, body.

⁴⁷⁵ Del Rio cites Grillando's catalog to give the composition of the Host, consecrated or unconsecrated. Menstrual fluid, semen, human dung, herbs, leaves, roots, human hair, nail-clippings, and pieces of material that the body of the target person has touched made a mixture of shameful elements that witches used with evil spirits to attract the lover (121). If a true hermaphrodite, Moll could supply both sexual fluids, plus the dung. Even though philters served as "the arts by which silly women are usually captivated" (121), drama tends to attribute bewitching to dangerous predatory females who threaten masculinity and social order, but this portrayal paralleled reality since the majority of women accused of witchcraft supposedly practiced these spells (Clark 110).

⁴⁷⁶ Del Rio discusses philters in the chapter entitled "Harmful magic and superstition" (120).

⁴⁷⁷ Del Rio 121.

⁴⁷⁸ Del Rio 121. Del Rio suggests that philters cannot bend the will of anyone to love a person he does not want to love. This perception may represent another fear of Wengrave: the son really wants to love Moll.

⁴⁷⁹ As with Satan and Eve, Laxton tries to use Mrs. Gallipot to undermine her husband's authority.

⁴⁸⁰ If the gallant refers to an aborted fetus in a jar, he defines himself as a spectacle open for ridicule or signification as God's punishment.

⁴⁸¹ Clark 87.

⁴⁸² John Dod, and Robert Cleaver, A Godly Form of Household Government (London, 1598).

⁴⁸³ See the following for discussions about disorder and its relationship to family breakdown. Susan Dwyer Amussen, in An Ordered Society: Gender and Class In Early Modern England (New York: Columbia U P, 1988), speaks of the “anxiety of those in authority about the potential for disorder” (122) because of economic instability and change (123). She suggests that scolding as a problem disappeared when authority no longer obsessed over disorder (123). Amussen also investigates the role of separation and divorce during this period and argues that some forms of legal intervention disappeared after 1660 (123) when the family “became less central to political and social order” (133). For the breakdown of order in regards to the scold, see David E. Underdown, “The Taming of the Scold: The Enforcement of Patriarchal Authority in Early Modern England,” Order and Disorder in Early Modern England, eds. Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 2007) 116-36. Underdown views the punishment of scolds as a sign of the breakdown of family and community during early modern England; he says, “Even the patriarchal family, the linch-pin of the whole structure of order, appeared to be threatened” (116). He also notes the preoccupation of late Elizabethan and Jacobean writers with “themes of female independence and revolt” (117). Martin Ingram, in ““Scolding Women Cucked or Washed,”” Women, Crime and the Courts, eds. Jenny Kermode and Garthine Walker (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1994) 48-80, argues against Underdown’s use of punishment records as signs of community breakdown in favor of reading them as the “essence” (66) of that which made local government work.

⁴⁸⁴ Thomas Dekker, The Honest Whore: Parts One and Two, ed. Nick de Somogyi, (New York: Routledge, 1998).

⁴⁸⁵ William Shakespeare, King Lear, The Complete Pelican Shakespeare, eds. Stephen Orgel and A. R. Braunmuller (New York: Penguin Books, 2002) 1574-1615.

⁴⁸⁶ Underdown 117.

⁴⁸⁷ George Thornton, The Social and Moral Philosophy of Thomas Dekker, The Emporia State Research Studies 4.2 (Emporia, Kansas: Kansas State Teachers College, 1955) 32.

⁴⁸⁸ Thornton 22.

⁴⁸⁹ Barbara Kreps, "The Paradox of Women: The Legal Position of Early Modern Wives and Thomas Dekker's The Honest Whore," ELH 69.1 (2002): 94.

⁴⁹⁰ Kreps 94.

⁴⁹¹ Peter L. Rudnytsky, "'The Darke and Vicious Place': The Dread of the Vagina in King Lear," Modern Philology 96.3 (1999): 306.

⁴⁹² Rudnytsky 301.

⁴⁹³ Marjorie Garber, "King Lear," Shakespeare After All (New York: Anchor Books, 2005) 649.

⁴⁹⁴ Garber 650.

⁴⁹⁵ Garber 651. Geoffrey M. Ridden looks at folk-drama and King Lear. See his "King Lear Act III Folk-Tale and Tragedy," The Review of English Studies 49.195 (1998): 329-30. Ridden compares the Revesby Play to King Lear, as the Lincolnshire play centers on children who plan to kill their parents. He also comments that W. Montgomerie in "Folk-Play and Ritual in Hamlet," Folk Lore 67 (1956): 214-27, connects Hamlet to the Revesby Play.

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- ⁴⁹⁶ Garber 687-90.
- ⁴⁹⁷ Garber 653.
- ⁴⁹⁸ William H. Swatos, Jr., “Ave Virginia, Regina Terrae: The Power of Culture and the Culture of Power in Renaissance England,” Equal at the Creation: Sexism, Society, and Christian Thought, eds. Joseph Martos and Pierre Hégy (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1998) 105.
- ⁴⁹⁹ Ian W. Archer, The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 2002) 218.
- ⁵⁰⁰ Swatos 104.
- ⁵⁰¹ Amussen 54.
- ⁵⁰² Amussen 63.
- ⁵⁰³ William Gouge, Of Domesticall Duties: Eight Treatises (London, 1622) 272.
- ⁵⁰⁴ Gouge 270.
- ⁵⁰⁵ Amussen 56.
- ⁵⁰⁶ Gouge 273.
- ⁵⁰⁷ Gouge 273.
- ⁵⁰⁸ Gouge 275.
- ⁵⁰⁹ Juan Vives, A Very Fruitfull and Pleasant Booke, Called the Instruction of a Christian Woman, trans. Richard Hyrde (London, 1585) 242.
- ⁵¹⁰ Vives 182.
- ⁵¹¹ Underdown describes a scold as one “who disturbs the peace by publicly abusing family members or neighbours” (119).
- ⁵¹² Gouge 287.

⁵¹³ Gouge 287.

⁵¹⁴ Gouge 287.

⁵¹⁵ Gouge 363.

⁵¹⁶ Ingram 65. He also argues against the evidence (67). Before 1640, scolding and brawling made up a tenth to a quarter of the offenses recorded in Act Books of the Archdeacons of Norwich and Norfolk, but these types of infractions do not appear in the sample books after 1660 (65).

⁵¹⁷ Underdown 119. Also see Martin Ingram's "'Scolding Women Cucked or Washed': A Crisis in Gender Relations in Early Modern England?" 65, as in note 35.

⁵¹⁸ Scot qtd. in Underdown 120. Reginald Scot, The Discovery of Witchcraft (London, 1665. Original 1584) claims the following: "They are doting, scolds, mad devilish, and not much differing from them that are thought to be possessed with spirits, so firm and stedfast in their opinions, as whosoever shall only have respect to the constancy of their words uttered, would easily believe they were true indeed" (4). Also see Ingram 67.

⁵¹⁹ Underdown 119.

⁵²⁰ Ingram 65.

⁵²¹ Ingram 65.

⁵²² Ingram 56. Underwood notes that town and pasture areas or clothing districts had more trouble with scolds because of the market connection (135).

⁵²³ Ingram 136.

⁵²⁴ Amussen 123.

⁵²⁵ See Coppélia Kahn's "'Magic of Bounty': Timon of Athens, Jacobean Patronage, and Maternal Power," Shakespeare Quarterly 38.1 (1987): 34-57. Despite James I's words to his son about good governance, the King turned a £ 40,000 surplus into a debt of about £ 600,000 in five years of peace, 1603-1608 (R. H. Tawney's Business and Politics Under James I: Lionel Cranfield as Merchant and Administrator cited in Kahn, 42). Kahn attributes the financial situation as traceable to the king's "compulsive giving" (42). James gave peers more than £ 1,000,000 in Crown lands and rents (Stone cited in Kahn, 42). Once he gave £ 3,000 in coin to the younger son of the Earl of Warwick who said he wished he had the coins that the Keeper of the Privy Purse was carrying (44). Candido does not waste money, but his acquiescence to the gallant's request to cut material in the middle of a bolt does have similarity to James who wanted to please his courtiers at the expense of his own accounts.

⁵²⁶ Ingram 58. See Underdown who suggests that by the sixteenth century official authority considered ducking fit as a punishment for women only. Cucking and gender-related offenses, including sexual incontinence, became associated by the fifteenth century. Underwood also notes that the 1547 "Homily Against Contention" suggests the cucking-stool for scolds only "with 'well-ordered cities'" (123). He also lists the scold's bridle or brank as the punishment of choice in northern England.

⁵²⁷ Ingram 63.

⁵²⁸ Underwood suggests that courts prosecuted scolds and witches but that women who beat their husbands underwent unofficial community action, the charivari (127). Archer lists Bridewell as an officiating body dealing with scolds. He gives the numbers of cases heard before the governors of Bridewell as the following: 1559-60, 7; 1576-77,

3; 1600-01, 0. One cannot draw conclusions about the frequency of scolding from these numbers. I mention them because we usually associate Bridewell with matters concerning prostitution, but the governors heard a variety of cases. Society associated the scold with illicit sexuality and with other violations needing official correction, associations that point to the breakdown of familial patriarchal control.

⁵²⁹ Ingram 48, 71.

⁵³⁰ A case of failure occurred in Nettleton, Wiltshire, in 1612 when two women came before the court leet for scolding. The manor court commended the parson to reform the women, but they came back before the court again two years later to receive the punishment of ducking. Not having a stool, the town built one and carried out the order, but in 1621, officials had to send one of the women to ecclesiastical court “because the manor court was powerless to deal with her” (Underdown 125).

⁵³¹ Underdown 122.

⁵³² Amussen 96-97.

⁵³³ John Knox, The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women (London, 1558) 17, 9.

⁵³⁴ Knox 15, 18.

⁵³⁵ John Twyning, London Dispossessed: Literature and Social Space in the Early Modern City (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998) 44.

⁵³⁶ Twyning 42.

⁵³⁷ Robert Snawsel, A Looking Glasse for Married Folkes. Wherein They May Plainly See Their Deformities; and Also How to Behave Themselves One to Another, and Both of Them Towards God (London, 1610).

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- ⁵³⁸ Knox 14.
- ⁵³⁹ Chambers cited in Thornton, 21.
- ⁵⁴⁰ Vives 233.
- ⁵⁴¹ Gouge 289.
- ⁵⁴² Snawsel, “Epistle.”
- ⁵⁴³ Vives 204.
- ⁵⁴⁴ Gouge 359.
- ⁵⁴⁵ Kreps 95. Robert Burton suggests that patient men often attract unpleasant women. He says, “A good, honest, painful man many times hath a shrew to his mate, a proud, peevish flirt, a liquorish, prodigal quean, and by that means also goes to ruin” (1.109). Viola displays pride and toys with the notion of sexual incontinence with her brother; however, she does not have the other negative traits.
- ⁵⁴⁶ Gouge 271.
- ⁵⁴⁷ Gouge 289.
- ⁵⁴⁸ Underdown 122.
- ⁵⁴⁹ Amussen 121.
- ⁵⁵⁰ Amussen 119.
- ⁵⁵¹ Amussen 123.
- ⁵⁵² Gail Kern Paster’s Humoring the Body (Chicago: U Chicago P, 2004) 48-50, discusses the relationship of gall to masculinity. She interprets Hamlet’s self-comparison to Pyrrhus, “But I am pigeon-liver’d, and lack gall” (2.2.516), as a metaphor for inaction. Hamlet’s and Candido’s non-aggressive or delayed response to perceived threats comes from lethargy as a result of their having no gall bladder (49). Referring to A Dictionary

of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, ed. Morris Palmer Tilley (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1950), Paster explains the proverb of the pigeon lacking gall and also suggests that “it was the pigeon’s meekness that associated it not only with cowardly men but also with dupes” (n. 58, 48-49). Characters not understanding Candido’s rational, legal approach to the marketplace could apply both of these labels to him.

⁵⁵³ “An Homilie of the State of Matrimony,” Certaine Sermons or Homilies Appointed to be Read in Churches in the Time of Queen Elizabeth I (1547-1571), A facsimile reproduction of the edition of 1623, eds. Mary Ellen Rickey and Thomas B. Stroup (Gainesville, Florida: Scholars’ Facsimiles and Reprints, 1968) 241.

⁵⁵⁴ “An Homilie” 242.

⁵⁵⁵ “An Homilie” 242.

⁵⁵⁶ “An Homilie 247.

⁵⁵⁷ In Part 2, Candido and Wife actually take up measuring sticks as swords in a contest to see who should wear the breeches. The bawdy pun on “ell” and “yard” make the scene significant for masculinity.

⁵⁵⁸ Gouge 277.

⁵⁵⁹ Vives 232.

⁵⁶⁰ Gouge 281.

⁵⁶¹ Gouge 281, 282.

⁵⁶² Vives 102.

⁵⁶³ Gouge 337.

⁵⁶⁴ Qtd. in Vives, 177.

⁵⁶⁵ “An Homilie” 244.

⁵⁶⁶ Jerome qtd. in “An Homilie,” 244.

⁵⁶⁷ Vives 207.

⁵⁶⁸ Archer 124-25.

⁵⁶⁹ Vives 191.

⁵⁷⁰ Stanley Cavell, “The Avoidance of Love: A Reading of King Lear,”

Shakespeare’s Middle Tragedies, ed. David Young (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1993) 193.

⁵⁷¹ King James VI, Basilikon Doron, King James VI and I: Political Writings, ed. Johann P. Sommerville (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1994) 3. The editor’s introduction reminds the reader that “the advice which the king gave was intended to strengthen the position of the monarchy in Scotland” (xix) against presbyterian thinking and heritable sheriffdoms, which he concluded undermined the monarch’s authority. The editor also notes James’ position that rebellion against tyrants was unlawful and that God would punish harsh rulers (xix).

⁵⁷² King James VI 4.

⁵⁷³ King James VI 4.

⁵⁷⁴ King James VI 20.

⁵⁷⁵ Snawsel 4.

⁵⁷⁶ Gouge 553.

⁵⁷⁷ Gouge 584, 560.

⁵⁷⁸ Cavell suggests a psychological connection between Gloucester and Lear, so that the meeting of the two in 4.6 represents “Lear’s submerged mind” (190).

⁵⁷⁹ Garber 655. Garber's argument implies that Cordelia, as the heart, must learn to speak out. The critic writes, "Love is a bond that transcends both rhetoric and the law, but it requires expression and communication, voiced or unvoiced" (690). While Cordelia may indeed love her father more than the other two sisters do, she must share that love, though not falsely as Lear expects in the first scene.

⁵⁸⁰ Garber 655.

⁵⁸¹ Garber 654.

⁵⁸² Gouge writes, "Though man may be as the head, yet is the woman as the heart, which is the most excellent part of the body next the head, farremore excellent then any other member under the head, and almost equall to the head in many respects, and as necessary as the head" (273). He also states that a woman who marries below her station "in taking him to be her husband, she advanceth him above her selfe, and subjecteth her selfe unto him" (274).

⁵⁸³ Gouge 3

⁵⁸⁴ Gouge 505.

⁵⁸⁵ Dod and Cleaver 339.

⁵⁸⁶ See Coppélia Kahn's "The Absent Mother in King Lear," Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe, eds. Margaret W. Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan, and Nancy J. Vickers (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1986) 33-49.

⁵⁸⁷ Gouge 556.

⁵⁸⁸ Gouge 474.

⁵⁸⁹ Gouge 446.

⁵⁹⁰ Gouge 479.

⁵⁹¹ King James VI 24.

⁵⁹² Gouge 460.

⁵⁹³ A. C. Bradley, “King Lear,” Shakespearean Tragedy: Lectures on Hamlet, Othello, King Lear, Macbeth, 1905 (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1967) 265.

⁵⁹⁴ See the OED: **Shrew**: 1. Any of the small insectivorous animals belonging to the genus Sorex [. . .]. *Sb2* A. A wicked, evil-disposed, or malignant man; a mischievous or vexatious person; a rascal, villain. 3.a. A person, esp. (now only) a woman given to railing or scolding or other perverse or malignant behaviour: freq. a scolding or turbulent wife. **Shrewd**: early medieval, crabbed, dogged, wicked. The former two suggest the possibility that the animal is referred to 1.a. Of persons, their qualities, actions, etc.: Depraved, wicked; evil-disposed. b. Of children: Naughty. 12. a. given to railing or scolding.; shrewish (fourteenth century). b. Of action, speech: Cunning, artful. [This definition has 1589 as the earliest date.]

⁵⁹⁵ Gouge 498.

⁵⁹⁶ Bradley discusses the relationship of man to animal in King Lear (265-68).

⁵⁹⁷ Bradley 268.

⁵⁹⁸ Underdown 127.

⁵⁹⁹ If one agrees with critics that Lear expects Cordelia’s response and that the first scene really exhibits his craftiness, perhaps Lear wants his favorite marginalized, away from the daughters he knows will play his games with “correct” phrases. With the ideal out of the way, the grotesque daughters can direct carnival to their own ends.

⁶⁰⁰ Dod and Cleaver 340.

⁶⁰¹ Garber 669, 662.

⁶⁰² Gouge 501.

⁶⁰³ John Taylor, A Bawd. A vertuous Bawd, a modest Bawd: As Shee Deserves, reprove, or else applaud, (London, 1635).

⁶⁰⁴ Mikhail Bakhtin, Rabelais and His World, trans. Hélène Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana U P, 1984) 27.

⁶⁰⁵ Bakhtin 28.

⁶⁰⁶ Bakhtin 154. Bakhtin interprets marketplace language as performance and cursing as a scripted form that festive genres, including Church drama, adopted (153). In light of this idea, Ursula and her companions perform for the visitors to produce an artificial hierarchy that actually separates the visitors from the reality of the Fair. Due to the construction of language, Overdo et al can never experience the intimate life of the Fair people, unless, as in the attempt to draw Win and Mrs. Overdo into illicit sexuality, the visitors actually become Fair people.

⁶⁰⁷ Bakhtin 154.

⁶⁰⁸ Dekker Lanthorne and Candle-light, (London, 1609). Dekker suggests that although the inventor of canting suffered hanging because of the language, contemporary speakers studied canting from infancy. The language allowed “spies to steal into their companies to discover them they might freely utter their mindes one to another, yet avoide the dagger.”

⁶⁰⁹ Edward Muir, Ritual in Early Modern Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 2005) 128.

⁶¹⁰ Muir 129.

⁶¹¹ Muir 130.

⁶¹² Muir 130. Quakers condemned language manipulation and considered all forms of courtesy “idle talk” or “empty ritual” that affronted God (133). They also argued against “phatic communication,” consisting of greetings, phrases, and gestures (133).

⁶¹³ Muir 125.

⁶¹⁴ René Girard, Violence and the Sacred, trans. Patrick Gregory (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U P, 1977) 98. Girard speaks of Dinka ritual choral incantations that draw together a crowd from which individuals emerge to beat and insult the sacrificial cow or calf. He argues that the curses, not the death of the victim, entail the paroxysm.

⁶¹⁵ Bakhtin 195.

⁶¹⁶ Thomas Middleton and Thomas Dekker, The Roaring Girl, Plays on Women, eds. Kathleen E. McLuskie and David Bevington (Manchester: Manchester U P, 1999) 152-267.

⁶¹⁷ Thomas Dekker, The Honest Whore, Parts One and Two, ed. Nick de Somogyi (New York: Routledge, 1998).

⁶¹⁸ John L. McMullan, The Canting Crew: London's Underworld, 155-1700 (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers U P, 1984) 1. Gypsies moving to England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries developed canting (96).

⁶¹⁹ In Lanthorne and Candlelight, Dekker gives the following example: “Pannam is bread: & Panis in Lattin is likewise bread.”

⁶²⁰ This image of Sebastian does remind one of representations of Rumor. See note 37.

⁶²¹ Qtd. in McMullan, 96.

⁶²² Julia Kristeva, Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection, trans. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia U P, 1982) 191. Dekker in Lanthorne and Candlelight suggests that some people call canting “Pedlars Frēnch.”

⁶²³ Ben Jonson, Bartholmew Fair, ed. G. R. Hibbard (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998).

⁶²⁴ E. J. Burford, Bawds and Lodgings: A History of the London Bankside Brothels c. 100-1675 (London: Peter Owen, 1976) 133-34.

⁶²⁵ Gary Taylor, “Lives and Afterlives,” Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works, eds. Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007) 33.

Taylor also notes William Hazlitt’s 1808 comment about Middleton’s scenes being ““an immediate transcript from life”” (33). This description recognizes not just Middleton’s use of normal, contemporary language rather than classically constructed poetry for his plays; it also alludes to prevalent and fallen conditions.

⁶²⁶ Thomas Middleton, Women Beware Women and Other Plays, ed. Richard Dutton (Oxford: Oxford U P, 1999) 74-163.

⁶²⁷ Anthony Dawson, “Women Beware Women and the Economy of Rape,” SEL 27.2 (1987): 310.

⁶²⁸ Any reader of Renaissance drama becomes familiar with the term “French pox.” This label “Others” traders, conquerors, and visitors by shifting blame for sexual incontinence; however, the pervasive use of references to syphilis may indicate social anxiety about expanding markets of commerce and “culture’s collective wickedness” (Marie E. McAllister, “Stories of the Origin of Syphilis in Eighteenth-Century England,”

Eighteenth-Century Life 24.1 (2000): 24). McAllister notes that early Renaissance debates focused on the sin of the individual but that blame shifted to social disease. Stories exposed prejudices, misogyny, racism, and anti-Semitism (24). Italian texts blame the pox on French invaders in Naples, but by the 1530s most early modern discourse blamed West Indians. I believe that social anxiety about international trade and its diluting effect on cultural values underlies attributions. Although “the preferred scapegoats were political and religious outsiders” (24) in Renaissance England, London merchants may have used the term “pox” in regards to marketplace competition. The term in the play has metaphorical significance in that it can apply first to the family and then to the broader family consisting of the English.

⁶²⁹ Christopher Hill, The Century of Revolution: 1603-1714 (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1980) 31. The issue of international trade is much too large to discuss in this paper; however, “three-quarters of London’s total exports were cloth” (27) that came from rural areas unfinished and from cities already dyed. London sent the cloths to Holland for dyeing and dressing before exportation to Germany and the Baltic. In 1614 James I formed a new company, the King’s Merchant Adventurers, licensed to export only cloth finished in England. The Dutch responded by prohibiting the import of all English cloth. Since England did not have the means to ship directly to the Baltic, the company had to get permission to sell undyed cloth. As a result of this crisis, over-production and five hundred bankruptcies occurred (27-28). I think that Dekker’s play alludes to anxiety about trade through its references to language and sexuality.

⁶³⁰ Hélène Iswolsky, “Introduction,” Rabelais and His World, 27.

⁶³¹ James E. Robinson, "Bartholomew Fair: Comedy of Vapors." SEL 1.2 (1961): 66.

⁶³² Robinson 68.

⁶³³ Robinson 82.

⁶³⁴ Busy mimics Christ's turning over the moneychangers' tables at the synagogue, but his actions perversely suggest the sanctification of the Fair itself as a temple of sorts.

⁶³⁵ n. 95, p. 60.

⁶³⁶ Robinson 76. I believe that the silencing of Busy demonstrates a marked difference between Jonson's reaction to the Puritans or nonconformists and that of Dekker and Middleton. Jonson suggests that all Puritan discourse deserves silencing, whereas in The Roaring Girl the authors present the females as bad examples of Puritans and the husbands as people more appropriate to the sect. Deborah K. Shuger's article, "Hypocrites and Puppets in Bartholomew Fair" in Modern Philology 82.1 (1984): 70-73, argues that Busy assumes the language of martyrdom when locked in the stock, a "pose dear to the Puritan" (71) and part of his role-playing or hypocrisy. According to Shuger, the puppets silence Busy with the New Testament words of St. Paul, "for we have neither male nor female amongst us" (5.5.92-93), to oppose Busy's Old Testament literalism. The debate, then, represents New Testament interpretations against Old Testament restrictions and, thereby, leaves an opening for celebration.

⁶³⁷ William Shakespeare, 1 Henry VI, The Complete Pelican Shakespeare, eds. Stephen Orgel and A. R. Braunmuller (New York: Penguin Books, 2002) 773-808.

⁶³⁸ Many critics have noted that as Joan loses power, Margaret steps in to replace her as the female focus; however, if one considers the rest of the tetralogy, the two women use cursing as an ineffectual means of communicating power. In this respect, they mirror Ursula in Bartholmew Fair.

⁶³⁹ Of note, Shakespeare writes a marked difference between the language of the nobles at the English court and that of the participants in war. At court, the nobles never degrade into base sexual references as in most carnivalesque situations, even though Suffolk makes Henry a fool and Winchester stables whores. The play posits war as the greater inversion and, thus, an occasion for marketplace language on the battlefields where monarchs barter human bodies for small patches of land. Amid the grotesque horrors of war, aberrant behavior and language find a natural home.

⁶⁴⁰ See 2 Henry IV. The Induction note in Pelican's The Complete Shakespeare suggests that Rumor comes out covered with tongues.

⁶⁴¹ See Holinshed's Chronicle As Used in Shakespeare's Plays, eds. Allardyce and Josephine Nicoll (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1955). Also read Richard F. Hardin's "Chronicles and Mythmaking in Shakespeare's Joan of Arc," Shakespeare Survey 42 (1990) 25-35.

⁶⁴² According to the Collins Gem Latin Dictionary, "rūmor" referred to hearsay, public opinion, and reputation. Hence, the story Sebastian's love affair with Moll will damage his reputation and will make him the subject of the commoner's talk.

⁶⁴³ Jonson uses a reference to the pox (bald thrasher) and plays on England's anxiety about the grotesque as a product of bestiality.

⁶⁴⁴ John Taylor, A Bawd.

⁶⁴⁵ See Neil Taylor and Bryan Loughrey, “Middleton’s Chess Strategies in Women Beware Women,” SEL 24.2 (1984): 341-54.

⁶⁴⁶ Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, “Adult Life,” Women in Early Modern England (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998). The authors write the following: “After marriage, in most cases, women conceived quickly and bore babies within ten months. Those who did not do so began to worry, for barrenness was seen as an unhappy female condition, perhaps even, as the Bible suggested, a punishment for sin” (149-50).

⁶⁴⁷ Many writers associated whores with the fishing trope. John Taylor’s A Bawd. A virtuous Bawd, a modest Bawd: As Shee Deserves, reprove, or else applaud uses the fishing trope as follows: “Though shee live after flesh, all is Fish that comes to the Net with her; shee is a cunning Angler, and gets her living by hooke or by crooke, shee hath bayts for all kinde of Frye.” Taylor then assigns types of fish to different social levels:

A great Lord is her Groneland Whale, a Countrey Gentleman is her Cods-head, a rich Citizens sonne is her Sows’d Gurnet, or her Gudgeon, A Puritan is her Whiting-mopp, her Lobster is a Scarlet Townsman, and a severe Justice of Peace is her Crab; her meanest Customers are Sprats and Pilchards, whilst the Puncke is her Salt Eele, and the Pander her Sharke & Sword-fish; And though shee deale most in Scorpio, yet shee holds correspondencie with Pisces, for they are both Signes that attend upon Venus: Friday is her day, and a day of doome to more Fish then all the dayes in the weeke beside. And Fish by nature is provocatory, as appears

by the chaste lives of fasting fish-eating Fryers and Nuns, whose notorious meritorious continency is touched partly afore.

The Prentices Answer to the Whores Petition (London, 1668) defends the apprentices' pulling down of brothels by claiming,

You at your doors doe stand Poxed and Painted
 Perfum'd with powder yet with all vice tainted.
 You with your becks and damn'd alluring looks
 Are unto men just like to tenter hooks
 To pull them in

While the pamphlet does not use "hook" as specific to fishing, the idea remains the same.

Furthermore, Lillo's The London Merchant (1731) uses phrasing very similar to The Honest Whore, as the whore says that Barnwell "swallowed the bait" (1.4.63).

Millwood's tropic use does not change, as she never reforms; however, she does argue forcefully for her position as a conquered land, thereby placing the blame for her situation on men who took her treasures before she knew their worth. In Act 4, scene 18, she says that "women are your universal prey" (line 67-68) and that men "blame in us those arts first taught by you" (line 72). See George Lillo, The London Merchant, ed. William H. McBurney (Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1965).

⁶⁴⁸ Orlando wants to create a miracle, one referred to by Bellafront in Scene 4, the raising of Lazarus from the dead, alive and cleansed of his disease. When Matheo emerges from prison the first time, his wife asks, "Oh, my sweet husband, wert thou in thy grave, and art alive again?" (133). The reader might expect the reformed wife to influence her husband and to cure him from the illness dragging him toward death and

punishment; however, this play permits reformatory power only to males since Orlando retains the Christ image as the head of the family. Therefore, when Matheo walks from the tomb of Bridewell, Orlando, not Bellafront, provides the means for his redemption.

⁶⁴⁹ William Shakespeare, King Lear, The Complete Pelican Shakespeare, eds. Stephen Orgel and A. R. Braunmuller (New York: Penguin Books, 2002) 1574-1615.

⁶⁵⁰ William Gouge, Of Domesticall Duties Eight Treatises (London, 1622) 284-85. Concern about married women in control of language comes from Paul who said, "I permit not the woman to usurpe authority over the man, but to be in silence" (qtd. in Gouge, 284).

⁶⁵¹ Gouge 283.

⁶⁵² Gouge 287.

⁶⁵³ Martin Ingram, "'Scolding Women cucked or washed': A Crisis in Gender Relations in Early Modern England," Women, Crime and the Courts in Early Modern England, eds. Jenny Kermode and Garthine Walker (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1994) 68.

⁶⁵⁴ Ingram 69.

⁶⁵⁵ Gouge 287.

⁶⁵⁶ Gouge 287.

⁶⁵⁷ Gouge 285, 286.

⁶⁵⁸ Even in response to Fustigo, Candido's speech seems measured and based on a husband's rights, as he terms the man an "antic," or the grotesque, "in mine own house" (p. 50) rather than cursing him.

⁶⁵⁹ Ken Jackson, "Bethlem and Bridewell in The Honest Whore Plays," SEL 43.2 (2003): 403.

⁶⁶⁰ Gouge 439-40.

⁶⁶¹ Juan Vives, A Very Fruitfull and Pleasant Booke, Called the Instruction of a Christian Woman (London, 1585) 6.

⁶⁶² Gouge 500.

⁶⁶³ Gouge 465.

⁶⁶⁴ Gouge 438.

⁶⁶⁵ Gouge 477.

⁶⁶⁶ Hazel Sample Guyol, a high school English teacher, discusses the subordination of Lear to Goneril through the daughter's use of prepositional phrases and hyperbole. Further, Guyol notes Goneril's scorn of Albany through intense interjection and metaphor: "A Temperance of Language: Goneril's Grammar and Rhetoric," The English Journal 55.3 (1966): 316-19.

⁶⁶⁷ John Dod and Robert Cleaver, A Godly Form of Householde Governement: for the ordering of private Families, according to the directions of Gods word (London, 1598) 47.

⁶⁶⁸ Gail Kern Paster, "Purgation as the Allure of Mastery," Material London, ca. 1600, ed. Lena Cowen Orlin, (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2000) 198.

⁶⁶⁹ Paster 195, 197.

⁶⁷⁰ Paster 199. Paster cites Sir Thomas and Lady Margaret Hobys.

⁶⁷¹ Paster 201. Paster relates the 1577 English translation of the account of New World drugs by Nicolás Monardes, a Spanish physician, who, writing of the Mechoacan

root, notes that “some gentlewomen that have not brought forth the children, have used it . . . for to purge the Mother.” Mendelson and Crawford, in Women in Early Modern England 1550-1720 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998) 23-25, describe mother-fits as the “suppression of menstruation, or corruption of a woman’s seed” (23), a condition that could cause hysteria, suicidal thoughts, madness, and melancholy. These authors note that accusations of witchcraft often represented reaction to women with the mother. Physicians prescribed marriage for virgins and frequent copulation for married women to release the seeds. A married woman, then, represented a healthier female since sexual activity evacuated the cause of the illness; marriage, or at least sex, acted as a purgative.

⁶⁷² Gail Kern Paster, The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England (Ithaca: Cornell U P, 1993) 113.

⁶⁷³ Paster, “Purgation as the Allure of Mastery” 200. Cathartics included gentle ones made of rhubarb and senna and strong ones of hellebore, mastic, and antimony to improve humors and to expel waste.

⁶⁷⁴ Paster, The Body Embarrassed 136.

⁶⁷⁵ Paster, “Purgation as the Allure of Mastery” 193. Also see The Body Embarrassed 136.

⁶⁷⁶ Paster, The Body Embarrassed 131.

⁶⁷⁷ Julia Kristeva, Power of Horror (New York: Columbia U P, 1982) 205.

⁶⁷⁸ Michael Bristol, Carnival and Theater: Plebeian Culture and the Structure of Authority in Renaissance England (New York: Methuen, 1985) 42.

⁶⁷⁹ Peter Burke, Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2002) 244-48.

⁶⁸⁰ Burke 252. In 1570 of Durham's population only 20 per cent of lay witnesses before the consistory courts were literate, but by 1630, that number was 47 percent.

⁶⁸¹ Peter Burke 212. See Burke 204-212. The section on the similarity between the Cult of Virgin Mary to the Cult of Venus on p. 209 brings up interesting questions about Joan of Arc as spectacle. Shakespeare might use her to support reformers or to give support to Catholics by degrading the Cult of Venus as mere witchcraft.

⁶⁸² Neil Rhodes, Elizabethan Grotesque (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980) 3. Edward Muir, in Ritual in Early Modern Europe (Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 2005), suggests that in the sixteenth century authorities responded to uncivil behavior, such as that exhibited by these young men and society as a whole, by focusing on transforming human behavior through ritualized social graces that subordinated lower bodily functions to upper ones, or marginalized carnival in favor of individual official behavior (125). The new manners addressed three characteristics of carnival license: feasting, sexual pleasure, and violence (126). According to Peter Stallybrass, in "Patriarchal Territories: The Body Enclosed," Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe, eds. Margaret W. Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan, and Nancy J. Vickers (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1987), Erasmus's De civilitate morum puerilium (1530) instigated a general reform of manners targeting social purity through bodily cleanliness, so that forks, handkerchiefs, and separate bowls for eating came into use (125). Erasmus having argued that good manners serve as outward signs of the inner soul (Muir 127), by the seventeenth century good posture became synonymous with religious righteousness in the term "upright" (131). Additionally, sumptuary laws in England delineated class and gender. Elizabeth I

reaffirmed the Act of 1533 with nine proclamations on apparel and even established watches in 1559-1560 to clamp down on infractions of the “‘monstrous abuse of apparel’”(Stallybrass 125). Stallybrass argues that we can imagine the grotesque body of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries only in “opposition to the development of new canons that distinguished the ‘correct’ techniques of the body even as they carefully distinguished between ‘familiar speech and “correct” language’” (124). As part of containing the female grotesque’s transgression of these new ideals, Whatley, Gouge, Snawsel, and Vives established a discourse to tame women with the implicit threat of violence. Conduct books asked the reader to “interiorize a judgmental social perspective” (Steven Mullaney, The Place of Stage: License, Play, and Power in Renaissance England (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1995) 132), a process giving more significance to confession, reformation, and eventual reincorporation of the sinner into social morality but also providing fodder for satire. Mullaney suggests that confession and execution marked the traitor’s return to society. First, the criminal reinstated himself by the admission of guilt and then became acceptable to society as a redeemed soul in death (117). This comment seems extreme when considering the profligate young men flooding to London; however, many of them did end up in serious trouble. Comedy often has them redeemed, whereas tragedy plays out the deadly consequences.

⁶⁸³ Mullaney 141.

⁶⁸⁴ Rhodes 4.

⁶⁸⁵ Rhodes 5.

⁶⁸⁶ Mullaney 132.

⁶⁸⁷ Jonathan Dollimore, Radical Tragedy (Durham, NC: Duke U P, 2004) 25.

⁶⁸⁸ Dollimore 8.

⁶⁸⁹ Dollimore 14, (*Italics his*).

⁶⁹⁰ Ben Jonson, Bartholmew Fair, ed. G. R. Hibbard (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998).

⁶⁹¹ Lori Schroeder Haslem, “‘Troubled with the Mother’: Longings, Purgings, and the Maternal Body in Bartholomew Fair and The Duchess of Malfi,” Modern Philology 92.4 (1995): 450.

⁶⁹² Dame Purecraft of Bartholmew Fair exemplifies an ineffectual confession/reformation process. She claims that “the Tempter, the wicked Tempter” (1.6.13-14) lives at the Fair but then orchestrates the outing to the Fair where they “may be religious in the midst of the profane” (1.6.66). Her confession to the madman Quarlous represents an effort to cleanse herself of guilt before marrying, but does not precede the expected reformation. Her litany of sins includes equating money, faith, and marriage. She married off young virgins to wealthy men, and, after having “confirmed them in the faith (5.2.59), got them to steal from their husbands for her. Since her Father Confessor displays his unclean soul by marrying her for money, her confession produces no change, and she asks Quarlous to “enjoy all my deceits together” (line 69). The play implies that purging sins or confession for the female grotesque can move her toward a mad marriage effecting no reform.

⁶⁹³ Thomas Dekker and Thomas Middleton, The Honest Whore, Parts One and Two, ed. Nick de Somogyi (New York: Routledge, 1998).

⁶⁹⁴ “Mermaids,” according to C. T. Onions in A Shakespeare Glossary, refers to a siren, a classically conceived sexual tempter who deterred men from masculine quests. As such, the term links the female grotesque to beastliness.

⁶⁹⁵ Arthur Lindley, Hyperion and the Hobbyhorse: Studies in Carnavalesque Subversion (Newark: U of Delaware P, 1996) 35.

⁶⁹⁶ B. J. Burford, Bawds and Lodgings: A History of the London Bankside Brothels c. 100-1675 (London: Peter Owen, 1976) 143.

⁶⁹⁷ Anne M. Haselkorn, “Introduction,” Prostitution in Elizabethan and Jacobean Comedy (Troy, NY: The Whitson Publishing Co., 1983) 21.

⁶⁹⁸ “An Homilie of the State of Matrimonie,” Certaine Sermons or Homilies Appointed to be Read in Churches in the Time of Elizabeth I (1547-1571), Fascimile Reproduction of the 1623 edition (Gainesville, FL: Scholars’ Facsimiles and Reprints, 1968) 239.

⁶⁹⁹ Barbara Kreps, “The Paradox of Women: The Legal Position of Early Modern Wives and Thomas Dekker’s The Honest Whore,” ELH 69.1 (2002): 98.

⁷⁰⁰ While writers in the period interpret man as head of the wife just as Christ is the head of the Church, Vives notes that “virgins and all holy soules, engender Christ spiritually” (46); therefore, as a newly chastened soul, Bellafront has the ability to gently lead her husband back to Christ. Vives, Gouge, Dod and Cleaver, and Snawsel speak of the benefits that a wife will receive if the wife suffers her husband’s faults patiently and attempts to guide him. Vives writes of Terence’s example of a young wife who “as becommeth an honest Woman, shamefast, sad, and demure, suffered all the injuries and faults of her husbände, and kept close the displeasure. And for these causes, the

husbands minde turned againe unto his wife, from whose love he abhorred” (249-59).

Bellafront may stay in her relationship with Matheo in order to help him become a Christ-like figure in the house and to gain what she sorely needs, a man’s genuine love.

Snawsel has Eulalie tell Xanthippe, “But it is not too late to labour the reformation of your husband” (See note 37). Though Eulalie speaks of manners, her comment extends to virtue.

⁷⁰¹ Haselkorn, Prostitution 125. Also see Julie Gasper’s Introduction to The Dragon and the Dove: The Plays of Thomas Dekker (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990) for comments about Dekker and Puritanism. She terms Dekker a “militant Protestant playwright” (9), to me a somewhat exaggerated description.

⁷⁰² Frances E. Dolan, The Taming of the Shrew: Texts and Contexts (New York: Bedford Books of St. Martin’s Press, 1996) 178.

⁷⁰³ Robert Snawsel, A Looking Glasse for Married Folkes. Wherein they may plainly see their deformities; and also how to behave themselves one to another, and both of them towards God (London, 1610). Eulalie speaks of the shrew as the “terrible mannish woman” and suggests that her own transformation into a goodly wife came from two experiences: “motherly and modest matrons” gave her “grave and sage counsel” which she obeyed, and “sayings of the holy ghost swaied” her. In The Honest Whore, Viola has no other women to model good behavior for her; moreover, Bellafront is the only female persuaded by religious discourse. She does not read the Word of God as Eulalie does, but learns it from Hippolyto’s message. Although Snawsel emphasizes the “buxom” wife as making a happy home, which in turn makes a happy community, Dekker and Middleton’s play never gives a feeling of a cohesive community experience,

perhaps because of the “untamed” wife. See Dolan’s The Taming of the Shrew: Texts and Contexts, 184-93, for a discussion on Snawsel.

⁷⁰⁴ Thomas Middleton and Thomas Dekker, The Roaring Girl, Plays on Women, eds. Kathleen McLuskie and David Bevington (Manchester: Manchester U P, 1999).

⁷⁰⁵ Haec-Vir: Or The Womanish Man: Being an Answer to a Late Booke intituled Hic Mulier (London, 1620).

⁷⁰⁶ James E. Robinson, “Bartholomew Fair: Comedy of Vapors,” SEL 1.2 (1961): 74.

⁷⁰⁷ Busy’s claim extends to the Fair itself, particularly to the grotesque female as represented by Ursula, who has some male characteristics but who dresses as a female to produce order confusion. Shuger makes note of the puppet’s comment as a perversion of St. Paul’s “there is neither male nor female amongst us” in Galatians 3:28, a reference that Busy would know and appreciate (72). The verse begins with the following: “There is neither Jew nor Grecian; there is neither bond nor free.” If Dionysius’s words evoke this verse in Busy, the preacher would know all of the passage and would see that it reflects the leveling at the Fair, a place where the inhabitants consider themselves as worthy as the outsiders and where language tears down class divisions. Furthermore, Paul goes on to say, “for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.” Again, if Busy thinks of this verse, he would see that theater people, Puritans, Catholics, and Anglicans operate in doctrinal equality. Significantly, since Paul notes Jews and Greeks, he recognizes a place for the social Other, a class that would include the grotesque. Although I argue that Ursula represents the devil, this part of the verse does not contradict the claim. God

would have wanted Lucifer back, not alienated in hell. See Deborah K. Shuger, “Hypocrites and Puppets in Bartholomew Fair,” Modern Philology 82.1 (1984): 70-73.

⁷⁰⁸ Richard A. Burt, “‘Licensed by Authority’: Ben Jonson and the Politics of Early Stuart Theater,” ELH 54.3 (1987): 536.

⁷⁰⁹ Haselkorn, Prostitution 115.

⁷¹⁰ Anne M. Haselkorn, “Sin and the Politics of Penitence: Three Jacobean Adulteresses,” The Renaissance English Woman in Print: Counterbalancing the Canon, eds. Anne M. Haselkorn and Betty S. Travitsky (Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1990) 120.

⁷¹¹ John Twyning, London Dispossessed: Literature and Social Space in the Early Modern City (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998) 54.

⁷¹² Burford 132.

⁷¹³ George E. Thornton, The Social and Moral Philosophy of Thomas Dekker, The Emporia State Research Studies 4.2 (Emporia Kansas: Kansas State Teachers College, 1955) 24. Also see Twyning 79, 80.

⁷¹⁴ As translated by G. R. Hibbard, this line means, “To correct; not destroy; to build up, not to tear down” (n. 107-08, p. 180).

⁷¹⁵ Referenced in John Knox’s The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women (London, 1558) 25.

⁷¹⁶ Kathleen E. McLuskie, Dekker and Heywood: Professional Dramatists (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1994) 129.

⁷¹⁷ Muld Sacke: Or The Apologie of Hic Mulier: To the Laste Declamation Against Her (London, 1620).

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- ⁷¹⁸ Muld Sacke.
- ⁷¹⁹ Thomas Middleton, Women Beware Women, Women Beware Women and Other Plays, ed. Richard Dutton (Oxford: Oxford U P, 1999).
- ⁷²⁰ Robert Ornstein, The Moral Vision of Jacobean Tragedy (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1960) 198.
- ⁷²¹ Albert H. Tricomi, "Middleton's Women Beware Women as Anticourt Drama," Modern Language Studies 19.2 (1989): 73.
- ⁷²² Mary Douglas, Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo (New York: Routledge, 1966) 30.
- ⁷²³ Douglas 7.
- ⁷²⁴ Haselkorn, "Sin" 129.
- ⁷²⁵ Tricomi 73.
- ⁷²⁶ Richard A. Levin, "If Women Should Beware Women, Bianca Should Beware Mother," SEL 37.2 (1997): 386.
- ⁷²⁷ Ornstein 198.
- ⁷²⁸ William Shakespeare, King Lear, The Complete Pelican Shakespeare, eds. Stephen Orgel and A. R. Braunmuller (New York: Penguin Books, 2002).
- ⁷²⁹ Snawsel.
- ⁷³⁰ Dod and Cleaver claim that from the lack of good government in the household "many parents leave theyr children faire faces and foule minds: proper bodyes, and deformed souls: full coffers, and emptie hearts" (7). Just before this statement, the authors recall that Jacob "purged his family, and sette up Gods worship" (7).

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- ⁷³¹ William Gouge, Of Domesticall Duties Eight Treatises (London, 1622) 561.
- ⁷³² Gouge 278. Gouge speaks of a wife's embarrassment over her husband's physical infirmities.
- ⁷³³ Snawsel.
- ⁷³⁴ Marjorie Garber, "King Lear," Shakespeare After All (New York: Anchor Books, 2004) 660.
- ⁷³⁵ Examples of decay in Act 5, scene 3, of King Lear: as Lear recovers his ability to see straight, Kent refers to Lear's "difference and decay" (5.3.294), and Albany speaks of "What comfort to this great decay may come / Shall be applied" (lines 304-05). The decay of Lear's mind, his kingship, and his kingdom through the rotting effects of filial and spousal ingratitude results in the bastardization of family and spirituality, especially as expressed in mental acuity. On another note, in light of Dod and Cleaver's work, the deaths of Goneril and Regan follow natural processes. Referring to Deuteronomy 28:15 and Leviticus 26: 14, the authors write: "And although that the temporal officers [parents], be negligent in punishing such disobedience: yet shall they not escape unpunished. For the vengeance of god [sic] shall accompany them, untill they bee utterly destroyed. For there is nothing more unnaturall, then [sic] to see children dishonour and disobey their parents: and inferiors, their superiors" (364).
- ⁷³⁶ See A. C. Bradley, "King Lear," Shakespearean Tragedy: Lectures on Hamlet, Othello, King Lear, Macbeth, 1905 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1967) 253.
- ⁷³⁷ Bradley 292.
- ⁷³⁸ Garber 661.
- ⁷³⁹ Garber 665.

⁷⁴⁰ William Shakespeare, The First Part of Henry the Sixth, The Complete Pelican Shakespeare, eds. Stephen Orgel and A. R. Braunmuller (New York: Penguin Books, 2002).

⁷⁴¹ Karen Newman, Fashioning Femininity and English Renaissance Drama (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1991) 60-61.

⁷⁴² Juan Vives, A very fruitfull and pleasant booke, called the Instruction of a Christian Woman (London, 1585) 2.

⁷⁴³ Nancy A. Gutierrez, "Gender and Value in I Henry VI: The Role of Joan de Pucelle," Theatre Journal 42.2 (1990): 193.

⁷⁴⁴ Gutierrez 193.

⁷⁴⁵ Kathryn Schwarz, "Fearful Simile: Stealing the Breech in Shakespeare's Chronicle Plays," Shakespeare Quarterly 49.2 (1998): 145.

⁷⁴⁶ Martín Del Rio, Investigations into Magic, ed. and trans. P. G. Maxwell-Stuart (Manchester: Manchester U P, 2000) 181. Pearl's introduction to Jean Bodin's On the Demon-Mania of Witches (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 1995) suggests that ecclesiastical courts of the Spanish and Italian Inquisitions treated witchcraft as a real offense but tried to educate the offenders for re-incorporation into the church. On the other hand, secular courts demanded persecution in Northern Europe (19).

⁷⁴⁷ Lisa Dickson, "No Rainbow without the Sun: Visibility and Embodiments in I Henry VI," Modern Language Studies 30.1 (2000): 150.

⁷⁴⁸ Snawsel.