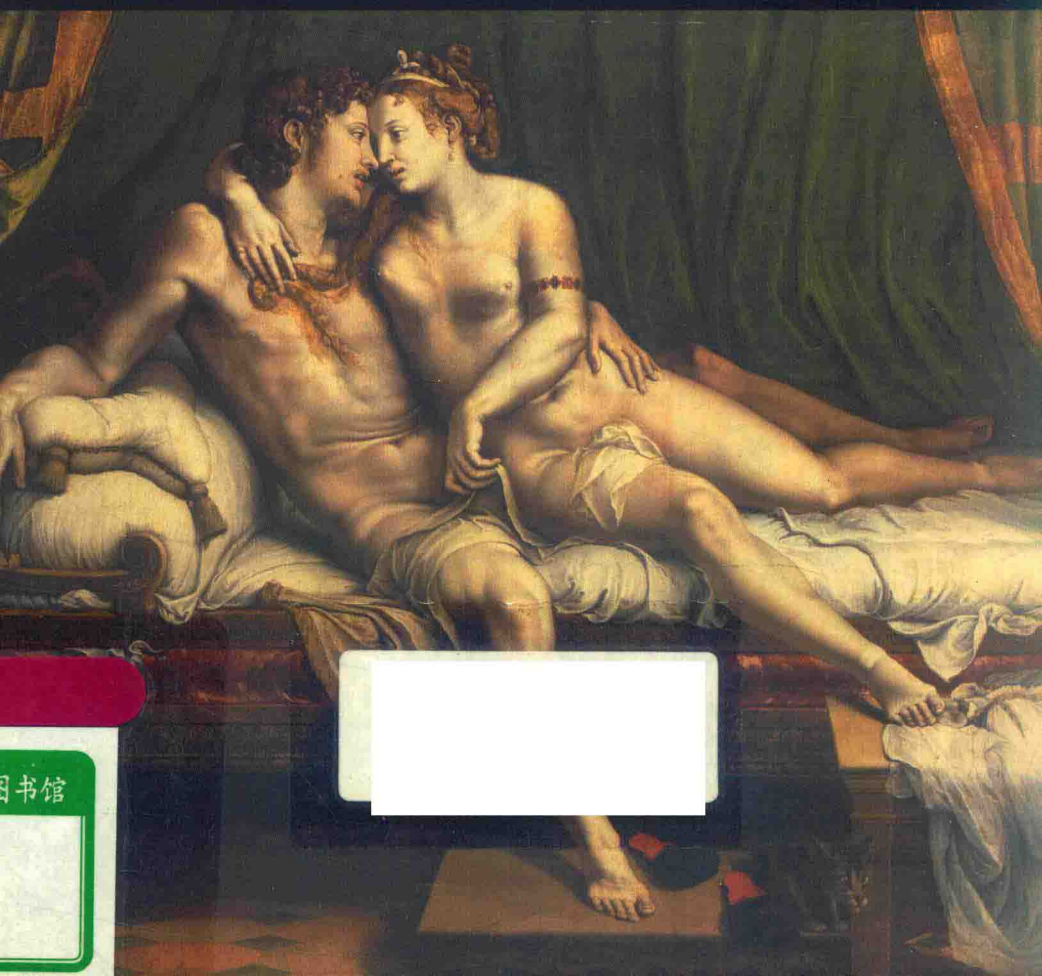


KIM M. PHILLIPS & BARRY REAY

Sex before Sexuality

A P R E M O D E R N H I S T O R Y



Sex before Sexuality

A Premodern History

Kim M. Phillips and Barry Reay



polity

Copyright © Kim M. Phillips and Barry Reay 2011

The right of Kim M. Phillips and Barry Reay to be identified as Author of this Work has been asserted in accordance with the UK Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

First published in 2011 by Polity Press

Polity Press
65 Bridge Street
Cambridge CB2 1UR, UK

Polity Press
350 Main Street
Malden, MA 02148, USA

All rights reserved. Except for the quotation of short passages for the purpose of criticism and review, no part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the publisher.

ISBN-13: 978-0-7456-2522-5

ISBN-13: 978-0-7456-2523-2(pb)

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Typeset in 10.5 on 12 pt Times
by Toppan Best-set Premedia Limited
Printed and bound in Great Britain by MPG Books Group Limited,
Bodmin, Cornwall

The publisher has used its best endeavours to ensure that the URLs for external websites referred to in this book are correct and active at the time of going to press. However, the publisher has no responsibility for the websites and can make no guarantee that a site will remain live or that the content is or will remain appropriate.

Every effort has been made to trace all copyright holders, but if any have been inadvertently overlooked the publisher will be pleased to include any necessary credits in any subsequent reprint or edition.

For further information on Polity, visit our website: www.politybooks.com

Sex before Sexuality

Themes in History

Wolfgang Behringer, *Witches and Witch Hunts*

M. L. Bush, *Servitude in Modern Times*

Peter Coates, *Nature*

Mark Harrison, *Disease and the Modern World*

Jonathan Hart, *Empire and Colonies*

Colin Heywood, *History of Childhood*

Randall D. Law, *Terrorism*

Kim M. Phillips and Barry Reay, *Sex before Sexuality*

Robert Ross, *Clothing: A Global History*

J. K. J. Thomson, *Decline in Europe*

David Vincent, *Rise of Mass Literacy*

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank the editors at Polity Press for their patience and enthusiasm for the project; Louis Gerdelan and (eagle-eyed) Nina Attwood for expert research assistance; Lisa Bailey for help on late antique and early medieval scholarship; Erin Griffey for her art history expertise; the Faculty of Arts at the University of Auckland for the Faculty Research Development Fund which enabled one of us (Phillips) to find the time to work on the project; our Head of Department, Malcolm Campbell; Sherry Velasco and Marta Vicente for allowing us to draw on their forthcoming publications; our respective partners, Athina Tsoulis and John Bevan-Smith, for their interest and emotional support, and to John for generously compiling the index; and University of Auckland students in courses on the history of sex for enlivening our teaching experience over several years.

Lightning Source UK Ltd.
Milton Keynes UK
UKOW02f1214231214

243601UK00006B/108/P



Contents

List of Images	vi
Acknowledgements	vii
Introduction: Sex before Sexuality	1
1 Sin	17
2 Before Heterosexuality	40
3 Between Men	60
4 Between Women	88
5 Before Pornography	112
Epilogue: Sex at Sea?	134
Notes	147
Index	194

List of Images

1	<i>Paul the Hermit Sees a Christian Tempted</i>	3
2	Hugo van der Goes, <i>Diptychon mit Sündenfall und Erlösung (Beweinung Christi)</i>	24
3	<i>Les Amants Trépassés</i>	36
4	<i>Coffret (Minnekästchen)</i>	45
5	Lorenzo Lotto, <i>Signor Marsilio Cassotti and His Wife, Faustina</i>	48
6	Raphael (Raffaello Sanzio of Urbino), <i>Self Portrait with a Friend.</i>	74
7	Fra Carnevale (Bartolomeo di Giovanni Corradini), <i>Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple.</i>	80
8	Jacob van Loo, <i>Diana and Her Nymphs</i>	103
9	<i>Gabrielle d'Estrees and Her Sister, the Duchess of Villars</i>	105
10	Romano, Giulio (Giulio Pippi) (?), <i>Love Scene</i>	114
11	Misericord of man with open legs in the air	117
12	Baron Jean-Baptiste Regnault, <i>A Phallic Rite</i>	131
13	John Keyes Sherwin, <i>A Dance in Otaheite</i>	135
14	Samuel Middiman, <i>An Offering Before Capt. Cook in the Sandwich Islands</i>	142

Introduction: Sex before Sexuality

A woman bends over a man in a woodland glen. She is elegantly dressed in a low-cut rose-coloured gown, tight around her high breasts and narrow waist, then falling in fullness over a swelling belly. Her golden hair is fashionably dressed with a pointed kerchief. She gazes to the horizon as her right hand grasps the reclining man behind his back and her left reaches boldly under his raised tunic to fondle his naked thigh, or something higher up. We notice two troubled older men at the right of the scene, one raising his eyes and gesturing with dismay. The lady's right knee is raised to the young man's chest, pinning him to the ground. As he attempts to rise we see that his hands are bound behind his back. He is a handsome youth with fleshy lips and thick curling hair and his rich blue tunic is lined with fur. At first glance he might be thought to be rising to meet the embrace of the lady, gazing at her with abandoned desire, but at last one notices the bloody object he has spat at her face – his own tongue – and the bloody trail issuing from his mouth.

This scene from the Limbourg brothers' early fifteenth-century masterpiece, the *Belles Heures*, made for Jean de France, Duc de Berry (1340–1416), illuminates the story of St Paul the Hermit. Its accompanying text briefly tells the story: 'Saint Paul, the first hermit, under the vehement persecution of Decius, saw a certain Christian bound to a pleasurable place (*inter amena ligatus*), and caressed by an impure woman. Whereupon he bit off his tongue and spat in her face. To escape the anguish of temptation he [Paul] fled from Rome.'¹ *The Golden Legend* (c. 1260) explains in a little more detail that the unfortunate youth was one of two Christians tortured for their faith under Roman rule in the later third century; the first covered in honey

and left to be stung to death by bees, hornets and wasps, the second 'laid upon a downy bed in a pleasant place . . . bound down with ropes entwined with flowers', and accosted by a 'very beautiful but totally depraved young woman'. Feeling his flesh responding in spite of himself, the youth repelled her in the only way left to him.²

St Paul the Hermit (not to be confused with St Paul the Apostle) is a minor figure in Christian hagiography and reasons for including his life in the *Belles Heures* are unclear. Most likely it gains a place simply to provide a vivid moment between the image cycles from the lives of the better-known figures St Jerome (who wrote Paul's hagiography) and St Anthony (who succeeded Paul as a pioneer among Christian hermits and is likely the second of the two older observers in the image in question). The book's owner, the Duc de Berry, younger brother of King Charles V (d. 1382) and uncle of Charles VI (d. 1422), was an important political figure of his day but is now mainly remembered for his lavish patronage of the arts. His sexual interests and preferences have also been subject to recent scholarly interest. Some art historians have suggested, taking their cues from hints in medieval texts, that he might have been 'homosexual'. Michael Camille has argued instead that his desire for bodies should be seen in relationship to his connoisseurship of images and things.³ Living in an age when, as we will document at length in the present book, 'homosexuality', 'heterosexuality' and the other sexual categories familiar to us did not yet exist and women, youths and children were available for the possession of more powerful men, Jean took delight in the faces and bodies of lower-ranking androgynous young males in a manner congruent with the pleasure he took in the books and *objets* made for him by the greatest artists of his day. This pleasure, moreover, could sit happily alongside his apparent taste for very young or lower-class women.

What lessons or pleasures might the scene of *St Paul the Hermit Sees a Christian Tempted* have offered its owner? As a medieval Christian, Jean may have read it straight: that is, as an illustration of the temptations of the flesh and the virtues of carnal renunciation. All sexual response was understood in Jean's day and for several preceding centuries to be tainted to some extent with sin. The seductive *femme fatale* was a recurrent trope of Christian literature on sin – figured most prominently in the first woman, Eve, and her role in the fall of humankind – and the seductive woman of this scene could be sister to the 'dancing girls' seen tormenting the daydreaming St Jerome a few folios earlier.⁴ Alternatively, the near helplessness of the man when provoked by the beautiful 'depraved' woman may have roused masculine sympathy. The sexually forward or dominant woman was familiar to readers of courtly literature and viewers of

Image 1. *Paul the Hermit Sees a Christian Tempted*, The Belles Heures of Jean de France, Duc de Berry, Herman, Paul and Jean de Limbourg (Franco-Netherlandish, active in France by 1399–1416), French, 1405–1408/1409. Tempera and gold leaf on vellum. Single leaf, 23.8 × 27 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1954 (54.1.1).
Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

secular art.⁵ The assertive woman of the *Belles Heures* reminds fifteenth-century viewers that women – in this pre-heterosexual erotic regime – allegedly felt lust more powerfully than men and as such were objects of at once phobic and ardent imaginings. Clothed and in control, she poses an erotic alternative to the naked tortured figures of virgin martyrs seen elsewhere in the book.⁶ Indeed in the hermit scene the roles are reversed: it is the male victim, bound and assaulted, who has no escape except through brutal action on his own body. The woman's cold gaze to the horizon, meanwhile, gives clear indication (according to the visual codes of medieval art) that in this case she is not in love.⁷ Yet perhaps the youth's response is more complex than fear or revulsion. As Brigitte Buettner reminds us in her short but scintillating reading of the image, 'for medieval people all bodily fluids, including semen, were considered to be a form of bleeding'.⁸ The youth's bleeding tongue is, by implication, a form of ejaculation. Another reading could pick up on Jean's apparently homoerotic inclinations (even if these were not his sole sexual tastes) and see amusing connotations in the handsome youth's violent rejection of the temptress.

There are layers of looking: one hermit watches the couple, the other looks to the heavens, the man directs his gaze at the woman, the reader views the scene, and the temptress stares past both the young man and the reader. Are there layers of touching too? The woman fondles the young man, the painter caresses the page to fashion the scene, and perhaps the book's owner, the Duc, is drawn to touch the beautiful painting. Voyeurism and touch: is this piece of religious art sexual?

None of these interpretations is necessarily more 'true' than any other. What the scene can do is alert us to a few of the many strands to premodern sexual cultures, warn us against singular or premature interpretations, and illuminate the highly visible and often explicit nature of premodern erotic representation. As we will argue near the end of this volume, the modern discourse of 'pornography' is not very helpful to us in interpreting premodern erotic images, yet sex was very much 'on-scene'.

In his glittering exposition of male same-sex erotics in the early modern Arab-Islamic world, Khaled El-Rouayheb has explained the ways in which a society that seemed to have so many of the components or strands that comprise the thing called homosexuality never combined them in this sexual formation – the concept of homosexuality was available to that world only in the twentieth century. Outsiders who have navigated that culture have been puzzled by its perceived proscription of homosexual acts while simultaneously cel-

ebulating male beauty and the close male bonds that could tempt such breaches. Yet there was no contradiction. Much like the ancient Greeks, Ottoman literature distinguished commendable, chaste infatuation with youthful, male beauty from baser, carnal longing. The former, expressed in a whole genre of poetry, was aesthetic appreciation; the latter was the lust that might result in sexual contact. Anal intercourse was the male–male act that was severely proscribed but other sexual contact between males that did not involve intercourse was treated less seriously.⁹

In many respects this regime is reminiscent of sexual cultures in Classical Athens, but with a clearer prohibition on anal penetration. Scholarly debates endure on the question of whether Athenians and indeed other Greeks condoned most forms of consensual male–male sexual contact provided they respected broader social hierarchies including age, status and citizenship, or instead celebrated only chaste love between men and were more morally dubious about penetration.¹⁰ Despite ongoing controversy, it appears that in both the early modern Ottoman and ancient Athenian contexts the active and passive in the sex act were conceived differently. Those prone to committing sodomy exhibited moral failure rather than sexual pathology in ways that will become familiar from the pages below.

In the premodern West, sex accommodated what we would term homosexual desire, in fact that desire was part of a culture that actively encouraged homosociality (strong bonds between men) and the homoerotic (representation of female–female and male–male desires). There are certainly behaviour and desires that prefigure what we would term heterosexual: opposite-sex courtship, the centrality of marriage and married reproduction, and male dominance. Shakespeare and other playwrights repeatedly take us through the various stages of man meets woman, man marries woman, and so on. So why should we hesitate to use the word ‘heterosexuality’ to describe premodern desires? Because the desires we have to deal with are different to those associated with conventional heterosexuality today.¹¹

Critics once interpreted early modern drama in terms of heterosexual courtship and marriage. But for the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century, as Jean Howard has put it, the ‘heterosexual marriage plot was carried out, literally, by a man and a boy actor’.¹² The Cleopatra who in 1606 referred, self-referentially, to ‘Some squeaking Cleopatra boy . . . / I th’ posture of a whore’ was indeed a boy.¹³ The sexual permutations are bewildering when one thinks of the scenarios of early modern drama with boys playing women who cross-dress as men in pursuit of women who are really boy actors.¹⁴ When two female characters dressed as boys fall in love with each other – as happens in John Lyly’s *Gallathea* (1592) – did

spectators focus on the male actors or the female characters? It is a question that has certainly divided modern critics.¹⁵

Stephen Orgel has explained premodern fears of what could happen when men watched boys playing female roles in the theatre. They might lust after the woman being played by the boy, but they might also yearn for the boy beneath the woman's clothing. When female actors replaced the boys in the later seventeenth century, the layers of lusting could be reversed. Although Orgel is more interested in the male-to-male erotics involved in these desires, the point really is that male wants were focused on both males and females, and the sexual identity of the spectator (as we would see it) was as unstable as the actor's. It is what Orgel refers to as 'an undifferentiated sexuality, a sexuality that does not distinguish men from women and reduces men to women'.¹⁶ English drama indicates that both boys and women were objects of sexual desire for early modern men; and Alan Sinfield has isolated dramatic moments of the appeal of sexual ambivalence.¹⁷ We certainly know that this was the case in Italy, where a boy's lack of beard, youth and beauty, and perceived passivity put him in the same category as a woman.¹⁸ We are a long way from conventional modern heterosexuality. A similar point can be made for women: they might lust after the boy who they knew was beneath the clothing or be seduced by the surface woman. There is copious evidence of female homoerotics on the early modern stage.¹⁹ Life could imitate art. The depositions relating to the marriage of two women in England in 1680 revealed that the woman who had assumed male identity during the ceremony had sometimes courted 'his' bride in woman's apparel, pretending to be a man in disguise!²⁰

The respective erotics of the premodern and modern are very different. Michael Rocke has explained the essential distinction between the sexual cultures of Renaissance Italy and the modern West as one of gender versus sex: in Renaissance Italy it was not 'the biological sex of one's partners in erotic pleasures that significantly distinguished and classified individuals, but rather the extent to which their sexual behaviour conformed to culturally determined gender roles'.²¹

This was a society, we need to remind ourselves, that could seriously consider copulation with demons and reflect upon the nature of the bodies, genitals, fluids and pleasures involved in such sexual transactions.²² The demons in *Malleus Maleficarum* (1486-7) demonstrate remarkable erotic and gender versatility, able (as a succubus) to remove the semen from a man in order (as an incubus) to impregnate a woman. Their seed can mingle with the semen of a woman's husband if they follow marital congress. There are claims that men had witnessed demons 'performing such acts with their wives, though they thought them not to be demons but men'. And demons can pass

seed from one to another between human transfer. 'It could happen that in place of one succubus demon another one receives the seed from him and makes himself an incubus in his place,' write the *Malleus's* authors, though they do not explain how this male-to-male transfer might occur.²³ (These demons were what moderns might term aficionados of bisexual multi-partnered sex.)

The premodern dildo or statue with penis that emits fake semen in the form of milk or fluid to heighten its user's sexual passion – both mentioned in pornography and surviving as actual artefact – demonstrates at least some sexual dissonance between premodern and modern.²⁴ Such things are not quite what we have in mind when we think of modern heterosexuality. As Valerie Traub once put it, we will find neither heterosexuals nor homosexuals in the contemporary sense in the premodern world.²⁵

The nineteenth century has a special place in the making of Western sex. The terms 'heterosexual', 'homosexual', 'lesbian', 'bisexual', 'sadist', 'masochist' – indeed 'sexuality' itself – all date from that period and are to be found in the works of those who came to be called the sexologists, those who made a scientific study of sexual behaviour.²⁶ Following the great Michel Foucault, Arnold Davidson has argued that the nineteenth century saw an epistemological or conceptual shift, with the emergence of 'new structures of knowledge' and 'a new style of reasoning'. The 'science of sexuality', he writes, 'made it possible, even inevitable, for us to become preoccupied with our true sexuality. Thus our existence became a sexistence, saturated with the promises and threats of sexuality.'²⁷ Both the word 'sexuality' and our sense of it date from the nineteenth century: 1879 according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*.²⁸

In the period dealt with in this book, c. 1100–1800, there was sex but no sexuality. That is, modern preoccupations with the centrality of sexual habits, tastes or preferences (what are often termed 'orientations', 'identities') to one's *true* or *inner* self were yet to emerge. In a discussion of the much-printed, premodern medical text *Aristotle's Master-piece* (1684), Roy Porter explained its difference from modern sexology. *Aristotle's Master-piece* was not concerned with sexual identity, desire or perversion; it conveyed 'no notion that sexual activity involves problems inherent to the psyche and expressive of unconscious predicaments of the self'.²⁹

If one person whips another in the modern West that act will reveal – however ritualistically – something of the sexuality of those involved, based on the biological sex of the flogger and flogged. It will be evidence of either heterosexual or homosexual sex and a declaration

of the participant's sadism or masochism. But no such assumptions can be made of the premodern period, where, as Niklaus Largier has charted in some detail, flagellation was either an aesthetic religious act or a means of enabling the flow of blood and increasing bodily heat to facilitate female sexual pleasure or male erection.³⁰ When a nun in *Venus in the Cloister* (1725) scourges herself to discipline her immoderate desires, the joke is that it merely increases them: 'For thou must know that these Sorts of Exercises, far from extinguishing those Flames that consumed her, had on the contrary increased them more and more.'³¹ Lawrence Stone misapprehended the cultural context when he referred to an episode of adultery, whipping and group sex in Norwich in the 1700s as a 'flagellant sex ring' and to what he termed the participants' 'psychosexual preoccupations'.³² Neither description applies to the premodern period. Davidson has provided the telling comparison between a seventeenth-century medical treatise on the use of flogging to facilitate erection, and late nineteenth-century descriptions of masochism. The former, it was believed, involved a physiological (humoral) response to the stimulation of the blood; the latter was an expression of sexuality. The difference between the two was the difference between a physical and a psychological act, between therapy and identity.³³

It is true that the authors of *A Treatise on the Use of Flogging in Venereal Affairs* (1718) hinted at those who derived rather too much pleasure from the act, the man 'who the more Stripes he received, was the more violently hurried to Coition . . . it was a Question which he desired most, the blows or the Act itself . . . a rare Instance of a Man who went with an equal pace to Pleasure and Pain'.³⁴ And there is a tantalizing reference to 'the Hanging-lechers', practising, presumably, a version of what is now termed erotic asphyxiation but based then on the logic of manipulation of the blood-flow.³⁵ Yet while the authors disagreed on the precise bodily architecture of the blood's flow, they were agreed that the predominant response was physiological, a matter of the stimulation of the blood, with heat transferred to the 'Organs of Generation'.³⁶ The flogging cure could be abused by those whose appetites and practices were excessive – 'for the Continuation of their ungovernable Lusts, and a Repetition of the same filthy Enjoyments' – but was also available for men whose flagging desire rendered them unable to perform their marital duty and to women who wanted to improve their fertility ('*Women too, are raised and inflam'd by Strokes to a more easy Conception*').³⁷

We argue that historians of premodern sex will be constantly blocked in their understanding if they use terms and concepts applicable to