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Notes

Introduction

- 1 See e.g. Carreen Shannon, 'The Patriarchy Is Dead? Really?' (16 September 2013, <http://msmagazine.com/blog/2013/09/16/the-patriarchy-is-dead-really/>; accessed on 13 July 2014).
- 2 See e.g. Allegra Stratton and Jo Adeunji, 'As the Recession Bites, Will Women Bear the Brunt of Job Losses?', *The Guardian* (Saturday 31 January 2009, <http://www.theguardian.com/money/2009/jan/31/recession-women-job-losses>; accessed on 13 July 2014).
- 3 See e.g. Stephanie Nicholl Berberick, 'The Objectification of Women in Mass Media: Female Self-Image in Misogynist Culture', *The New York Sociologist*, 5 (2010), <http://newyorksociologist.org/11/Berberick2011.pdf>; accessed on 13 July 2014.
- 4 See e.g. Kira Cochrane, 'The Fourth Wave of Feminism: Meet the Rebel Women', *The Guardian* (Tuesday 10 December 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/dec/10/fourth-wave-feminism-rebel-women>; accessed on 1 July 2014).
- 5 With 'power', we refer to a situation where an individual or an institution has the *puissance* (the potential) to act on something or somebody if they want to (see e.g. Cesare Cuttica and Glenn Buress (eds), *Absolutism and Monarchism in Early Modern Europe* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012), esp. 'Introduction', pp. 1–17).
- 6 See e.g. Moi Toril, *Sexual/Textual Politics* (London: Routledge, 1985) and Josephine Donovan (ed.), *Feminist Thought. The Intellectual Traditions* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2012; fourth edition revised and expanded).
- 7 See Goran Therborn, *Between Sex and Power: Family in the World, 1900–2000* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004).
- 8 It is worth specifying that a society that is not subject to a patriarchalist system of government or one where the political apparatus does not depend on a patriarching can be a society where the rules of patriarchy still apply, for instance to the way in which jobs are allocated, positions of influence (e.g. political, economic) distributed, sexuality perceived and lived, women treated, marriage arranged and gender-related rituals performed.
- 9 Nicola Matteucci, 'Paternalismo', in Norberto Bobbio, Nicola Matteucci and Gianfranco Pasquino (eds), *Dizionario di Politica* (Turin: UTET, 1983), pp. 804–5, p. 804 (our translation).

- 10 Susan D. Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988), p. 55.
- 11 Gordon Schochet, *Patriarchalism in Political Thought: The Authoritarian Family and Political Speculation and Attitudes Especially in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1975), p. 268.
- 12 See Cesare Cuttica, *Sir Robert Filmer (1588–1653) and the Patriotic Monarch: Patriarchalism in Seventeenth-Century Political Thought* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), ‘Introduction’, pp. 1–18.
- 13 See e.g. Sylvia Walby, *Theorizing Patriarchy* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990). Relevant feminist classics here are Joan Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988) and Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York and London: Routledge, 1990).
- 14 Mary Beard, ‘The Public Voice of Women’, *London Review of Books*, 36 (20 March 2014), pp. 11–14.
- 15 In his Letter to the Corinthians, St Paul called on the congregation, ‘Let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law’ (1 Corinthians 14:34).
- 16 Speaking is only one dimension of the process whereby women were barred from expressing themselves and their ideas, and needs to be related to reading, writing and printing. Only over the course of the early modern period would women come to benefit from the opportunity of seeing their work published through the new freedom of print.
- 17 Beard, ‘The Public Voice of Women’, p. 14.
- 18 See Katherine Smits and Susan Bruce (eds), *Feminist Moments* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, forthcoming).
- 19 See Cesare Cuttica, ‘To Use or Not to Use... The Intellectual Historian and the *Isms*: A Survey and a Proposal’, *Etudes Epistémè*, 13 (2013), Varia (<http://episteme.revues.org/268>).

Chapter 1

- 1 Genesis 3.14–19. Bible quotations are taken from the Revised Standard Version.
- 2 Sirach 25.24.
- 3 1 Timothy 2.11–15.
- 4 The outright forbidding of women to speak later in the same letter (1 Cor. 14.34–35) clashes awkwardly with the more permissive attitude; it has more in common with the dogmatic negativity of 1 Timothy, and may well be a gloss.

Chapter 2

- 1 *Androgynus* is the Greek loanword in rabbinic literature for one born with male and female genitals. In this case, however, the term refers to a body that is half male and half female.
- 2 See Bereshit Rabbah (*hereafter*: BR) 8:1 for complete text. The translation is my own from the edition of *Midrash Bereshit Rabbah*, ed. Judah Theodor and Hanoah Albeck (Jerusalem: Wahrmann, 1965). I have divided the text into sections for ease of reading and inserted ellipses for brevity. Double quotation marks are used for biblical verses referred to by the rabbis and the verse references supplied in brackets. Italics indicate transliterations and my own emphasis. While I consider only this *petihta*, many of the individual *midrashim* also appear elsewhere in rabbinic literature. See, for example, bBer 60b–61b; bEruv 17b–19a.
- 3 I have retained both uses in this chapter.
- 4 The Hebrew Bible is divided into three sections: *Torah* (the Pentateuch, or ‘The Five Books of Moses’), *Nevi'im* (lit. Prophets) and *Ketubim* (Writings, or the Hagiographa).
- 5 More often than not, a *petihta* quotes only a small part of the verse, but refers to a larger text around it. Here, only the words ‘Let us make an *adam*’ are quoted, but verses Gen. 1:26–27 are referenced.
- 6 For the sake of clarity, I will refer to the text as a whole as ‘the *petihta*’ and to each individual part that forms the *petihta* as a ‘*midrash*’.
- 7 In his opening to the *petihta*, R. Yohanan offers a particular frame for this apparent inconsistency. In this paper, however, I will concentrate on the individual *midrashim* rather than on the frame. See BR 8:1 for full text.
- 8 Plato. *Symposium*, transl. Benjamin Jowett (London: Sphere Books, 1970), section 189e.
- 9 So too, it may object to the story’s origins in Greek lore.
- 10 Although these mini-*midrashim* are compiled into one *petihta*, each is representative of an opinion that may or may not accept the others’. Thus, chances are that this *adam* is regarded as male.
- 11 For the full text of these *midrashim*, see BR 8:1.
- 12 A rabbinic adage that explains the non-linear nature of time in midrashic explanations states: ‘There is no early or late in Torah.’ The fact that in a linear timeline creation precedes praise is thus irrelevant to them in this context.

Chapter 3

- 1 I use the words read/interpret interchangeably, and by patriarchalism I mean the ideologies and institutions of patriarchy as I define it in the text. For a detailed

- analysis of the issues considered in this essay, see Asma Barlas, *'Believing Women' in Islam* (Texas: University of Texas Press, 2002).
- 2 See Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Qur'an* (New York: Tehrike Tersile Qur'an, 1988), p. 1806. Page references to this edition will be given in parentheses throughout the text.
 - 3 See Amina Wadud, *Qur'an and Woman* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 70. The exact meaning of *daraba* is contested in literature.
 - 4 See Ali, *The Holy Qur'an*, pp. 1116–17.
 - 5 Riffat Hassan, 'An Islamic Perspective', in Karen Lebacqz (ed.), *Sexuality: A Reader* (Cleveland, OH: Pilgrim Press, 1999), p. 354.
 - 6 Azizah Al-Hibri quoted in Wadud, *Qur'an and Woman*, p. 71 (her emphases).
 - 7 Zainah Anwar and Ziba Mir-Hosseini, 'Decoding the "DNA of Patriarchy" in Muslim Family Laws', *Open Democracy*, 21 May 2012, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/5050/zainah-anwar-ziba-mir-hosseini/decoding-%e2%80%9cdna-of-patriarchy%e2%80%9d-in-muslim-family-laws>, accessed on 16 February 2015.
 - 8 Azizah Al-Hibri quoted in Wadud, *Qur'an and Woman*, pp. 70–7.
 - 9 Laleh Bakhtiar, *The Sublime Qur'an* (Chicago, IL: Kazi Publications, 2007), p. 94.
 - 10 See Marmaduke M. Pickthall, *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran* (New York: Mentor, n.d.), p. 291.
 - 11 See Mustansir Mir, *Dictionary of Qur'anic Terms and Concepts* (New York: Garland, 1987).
 - 12 See Pickthall, *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran*, p. 81
 - 13 Muhammad Asad, *The Message of the Qur'an* (Gibraltar: Dar al-Andalus, 1980), p. 871.
 - 14 Where I have not quoted an author, it means this is a standard translation of the Qur'an by all translators.
 - 15 Pickthall, *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran*, p. 53 (my emphasis).
 - 16 Ibid., p. 53.
 - 17 See Barlas, *'Believing Women' in Islam*.
 - 18 Caroline W. Bynum, "'... And Woman his Humanity'", in Caroline W. Bynum et al. (eds), *Gender and Religion* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1986), p. 1.
 - 19 In Ali, *The Holy Qur'an*, pp. 1083, 1089.
 - 20 See Barlas, *'Believing Women' in Islam*.
 - 21 Kate Millett, *Sexual Politics* (New York: Doubleday, 1970), p. 26.
 - 22 Wadud, *Qur'an and Woman*, p. xxi (her emphasis).
 - 23 Margaret Hodgen uses this phrase for the Bible: see Margaret Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1964), p. 446.
 - 24 In Ali, *The Holy Qur'an*, p. 178.
 - 25 Ibid., p. 461.
 - 26 See, for instance, Kecia Ali, *Sexual Ethics and Islam* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2006) and R. Rhouni, *Secular and Islamic Feminist Critiques* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

- 27 In Ali, *The Holy Qur'an*, p. 1241.
- 28 Kenneth Cragg, *The Event of the Qur'an* (Oxford: Oneworld, 1994), p. 121.
- 29 Ibid., pp. 114–15.
- 30 In Ali, *The Holy Qur'an*, p. 38.

Chapter 4

- 1 Book 1, 1259a-1260a (from the canonical version available online at <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text;jsessionid=93F5F166BAD877C4F6D1D4942E034669?doc=Perseus%3atext%3a1999.01.0057>, accessed on 16 February 2015). My own translation. Another version can be found in T. A. Sinclair (transl.), *Aristotle: Politics* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1962), pp. 49–50. All subsequent page numbers in the text refer to Sinclair's edition.
- 2 For a brilliant analysis of Aristotle on slavery, see Sara Monoson, 'Navigating Race, Class, Polis and Empire: The Place of Empirical Analysis in Aristotle's Account of Natural Slavery', in Richard Alston, Edith Hall and Laura Proffitt (eds) *Reading Ancient Slavery* (London: Bristol Classical Press, 2010), pp. 133–51.
- 3 See Marilyn Katz, 'Women, Children and Men', in Paul Cartledge (ed.), *The Cambridge Illustrated History of Ancient Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 100–38; Edith Hall, *The Return of Ulysses: A Cultural History of Homer's Odyssey* (London and Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), ch. 9; and Edith Hall, *Greek Tragedy: Suffering under the Sun* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), ch. 3.
- 4 For the Amazons, see 'Herodotus', in Tom Holland, *Herodotus: The Histories*, with an Introduction by Paul Cartledge (London: Penguin, 2013; transl.), pp. 302–4, 600; for Artemisia, see *ibid.*, p. 481.
- 5 Edith Hall, 'Deianeira Deliberates: Precipitate Decision-Making and *Trachiniae*', in Simon Goldhill and Edith Hall (eds), *Sophocles and the Greek Tragic Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 69–89.
- 6 Katz, 'Women, Children and Men', pp. 107–20.
- 7 Darrell Dobbs, 'Family Matters: Aristotle's Appreciation of Women and the Plural Structure of Society', *The American Political Science Review*, 90 (1996), pp. 74–89, p. 78.
- 8 'Herodotus' in Holland, *Herodotus: The Histories*, pp. 182–3.
- 9 See Crisp's translation: Roger Crisp, *Aristotle: The Nicomachean Ethics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000; transl.), pp. 92–3.
- 10 Arlene W. Saxonhouse, 'The Philosopher and the Female in the Political Thought of Plato', in Nancy Tuana (ed.), *Feminist Interpretations of Plato* (University Park, PA: Penn State Press 1994), pp. 67–86.
- 11 María Luisa Femenías, 'Women and Natural Hierarchy in Aristotle', *Hypatia*, 9 (1994), pp. 164–72, p. 169.

Chapter 5

- 1 Augustine, 'City of God', in R. W. Dyson (ed.), *Augustine. The City of God against the Pagans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 12.22. The Latin text to which I refer is that edited by B. Dombart and A. Kalb, *De Civitate Dei*, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina vols. 47 and 48 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1955). References to the *City of God* are given throughout the essay by abbreviated title (CG), book and chapter number.
- 2 For more on the intriguing implications of this passage, see Margaret R. Miles, 'From Rape to Resurrection: Sin, Sexual Difference, and Politics', in James Wetzel (ed.), *Augustine's City of God: A Critical Guide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 75–92.
- 3 Note that the Latin here rendered as 'caresses' in fact means something like 'gentle speech': another privileging of conversation.
- 4 Cicero, *De Re Publica. Selections*, ed. J. E. G. Zetzel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1.39.
- 5 This is my own translation.
- 6 Note the role played by this notion in the doctoral dissertation of Hannah Arendt, translated as *Love and Saint Augustine* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1996).
- 7 I have explored this notion more fully in Catherine Conybeare, 'The City of Augustine: On the Interpretation of *Civitas*', in Carol Harrison, Caroline Humfress, and Isabella Sandwell (eds), *Being Christian in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 139–55.
- 8 Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 177.
- 9 *Ibid.*, pp. 177, 178.
- 10 Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), p. 36.

Chapter 6

- 1 John Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstruous Regiment of Women* (Geneva, 1558), 10.v–11.r. Early English Books Online. Web. 26 June 2014. http://eebo.chadwyck.com.ezproxy.liv.ac.uk/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgimages.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=99843818&FILE=../session/1403698001_3794&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&SEARCHCONFIG=var_spell.cfg&ECCO=default&DISPLAY=AUTHOR. All subsequent quotations refer to this edition.

- 2 My emphasis.
- 3 'Dejected' here means 'cast down from high estate or dignity'.
- 4 Patrick Collinson, 'Knox, the Church and the Women of England', in Roger A. Mason (ed.), *John Knox and the British Reformations* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 74–96.

Chapter 7

- 1 William Gouge, *Of Domesticall Duties* (London: Printed by John Havliand for William Bladen, 1622). The extract is from Gouge's dedication to his readers, added to the second edition of his pamphlet. Page references to this edition will be given in brackets within the text.
- 2 Susan D. Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), pp. 7–33. Gordon J. Schochet, *The Authoritarian Family and Political Attitudes in 17th-Century England* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1975; 1988).
- 3 Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 24.
- 4 Karen Harvey, *The Little Republic: Masculinity & Domestic Authority in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 30–1, 64–72.
- 5 Brett Usher, 'Gouge, William (1575–1653)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, January 2008). [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11133>, accessed 23 May 2014].
- 6 See the 1634 edition from University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign Campus), STC12121 and the 1622 edition from the University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign Campus) (STC12119; reel 1204). The latter is the edition used in this chapter.
- 7 Laura Gowing, *Common Bodies: Women, Touch and Power in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 199.
- 8 Patricia Crawford and Sara Mendelson, *Women in Early Modern England, 1550–1720* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 135.
- 9 Amanda Flather, *Gender and Space in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press for The Royal Historical Society, 2007), pp. 31–7.
- 10 Amussen, *An Ordered Society*, p. 47.
- 11 Victoria Kahn, '“The Duty to Love”: Passion and Obligation in Early Modern Political Theory', *Representations*, 68 (1999), p. 87.
- 12 Michael J. Braddick and John Walter (2001), 'Introduction. Grids of Power: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Early Modern Society', in Michael J. Braddick and John Walter (eds), *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society: Order, Hierarchy and Subordination in Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 1–42.

Chapter 8

- 1 Robert Filmer, 'Patriarcha. The Naturall Power of Kinges Defended against the Unnatural Liberty of the People', in Johann P. Sommerville (ed.), *Filmer. Patriarcha and Other Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 1–68, pp. 4–5. Page references to this edition will be given in parentheses throughout the text.
- 2 For an overview see Cesare Cuttica, 'Sir Robert Filmer (1588–1653) and the Condescension of Posterity: Historiographical Interpretations', *Intellectual History Review*, 21 (2011), pp. 195–208.
- 3 See *ibid.*, *Sir Robert Filmer (1588–1653) and the Patriotic Monarch: Patriarchalism in Seventeenth-Century Political Thought* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), 'Introduction', pp. 1–18.
- 4 See Richard Tuck, 'A New Date for Filmer's Patriarcha', *Historical Journal*, 29 (1986), pp. 183–6; Sommerville, 'Introduction', in Johann P. Sommerville (ed.), *Robert Filmer. Patriarcha and Other Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. vii–xxxvii.
- 5 See Cuttica, *Sir Robert Filmer*, *passim*, esp. ch. 2.

Chapter 9

- 1 Algernon Sidney, *Discourses Concerning Government*, Revised Edition, ed. Thomas G. West (Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 1996). Subsequent references to this text will appear in brackets within the body of the chapter.
- 2 Johann P. Sommerville ed., *Filmer. Patriarcha and Other Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. vii–xxxvii.
- 3 Michael P. Winship, 'Algernon Sidney's Calvinist Republicanism', *Journal of British Studies*, 49 (2010), p. 15, pp. 753–73, p. 767.
- 4 *Ibid.*, pp. 767–8. This paragraph quotes Winship quoting Sidney.
- 5 Algernon Sidney, 'Apology in the Day of His Death', in Joseph Robertson (ed.) *Sydney on Government: the Works of Algernon Sydney* (London, 1772), p. 30.
- 6 Algernon Sidney, *The Very Copy of a Paper Delivered to the Sheriffs* (London, 1683), p. 40.
- 7 Jonathan Scott, *Algernon Sidney and the Restoration Crisis 1677–83* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
- 8 Robert Blencowe, ed. *Sydney Papers* (London, 1823), pp. 270–1; on this context in general see Jonathan Scott, *Algernon Sidney and the English Republic 1623–77* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), esp. ch. 4, and Scott, *Restoration Crisis*, esp. ch. 5.
- 9 Quoted in Scott, *Restoration Crisis*, p. 91.

- 10 Gilbert Burnet, *History of My Own Time*, 2 volumes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1823), vol. 2, p. 341.
- 11 Quoted in Scott, *Restoration Crisis*, p. 256 (and see pp. 254–7 in general).

Chapter 10

- 1 John Locke, 'Some Thoughts Concerning Education', in J. W. Yolton and J. S. Yolton (eds), *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), §41. Hereafter cited in the text by section number.
- 2 John Locke, 'Two Treatises of Government', in P. Laslett (ed.), *Locke: Two Treatises of Government* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). Hereafter cited in the text by treatise and paragraph number.
- 3 Jay Fliegelman, *Prodigals and Pilgrims: The American Revolution against Patriarchal Authority, 1750–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 4, 38.
- 4 Robert Filmer, 'Patriarcha', in Johann P. Sommerville (ed.), *Filmer. Patriarcha and Other Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 6–12; Gordon Schochet, *The Authoritarian Family and Political Attitudes in 17th-Century England: Patriarchalism in Political Thought* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1988), chs. 8, 13.
- 5 Andrew Franklin-Hall, 'Creation and Authority: The Natural Law Foundations of Locke's Account of Parental Authority', *Canadian Journal of Philosophy*, 42 (2012), pp. 261–6.
- 6 See, for example, Nancy J. Hirschmann and Kirstie M. McClure (eds), *Feminist Interpretations of John Locke* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007). See also David Foster, 'Taming the Father: John Locke's Critique of Patriarchal Fatherhood', *Review of Politics*, 56 (1994), pp. 643–4.
- 7 John Steinbeck, *Of Mice and Men* (London: Penguin, 2000).
- 8 John Locke, 'An Essay Concerning Human Understanding', in Peter H. Nidditch (ed.), *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), II.xviii.18, II.xx.18; John Locke, 'Pleasure and Pain. The Passions', in W. von Leyden (ed.), *Essays on the Law of Nature and Associated Writings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 266.
- 9 John Locke, 'Of Study', in James Axtell (ed.), *The Educational Writings of John Locke* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), p. 417; John Locke, 'Of the Conduct of the Understanding', in Ruth Grant and Nathan Tarcov (eds), *Some Thoughts Concerning Education and of the Conduct of the Understanding* (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett, 1996), §3. For the relationship between friendship and conversation see Richard Yeo, 'Locke on Conversation with Friends and Strangers', *Parergon*, 26 (2009), pp. 11–37.
- 10 Isaac Barrow, 'Sermon VII', in *Sermons Preached upon Several Occasions* (London, 1679), pp. 240–1; Robert Sanderson, 'Sermon X', *Twenty Sermons* (London, 1660), pp. 202–5.

- 11 For a list of attributes, see Vivienne Brown, 'The "Figure" of God and the Limits to Liberalism: A Rereading of Locke's "Essay" and "Two Treatises"', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 60 (1999), pp. 83–100.
- 12 John Locke, 'The Reasonableness of Christianity', in J. C. Higgins-Biddle (ed.), *The Reasonableness of Christianity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), p. 129; 'A Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St Paul', in A. W. Wainwright (ed.), *A Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles of St Paul* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), vol. 1, p. 127n, and vol. 2, p. 519n.
- 13 John Locke, 'A Letter Concerning Toleration', in James Tully (ed.), *A Letter Concerning Toleration* (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett, 1983). See Hymn, 'What a Friend We Have in Jesus'.

Chapter 11

- 1 Mary Astell, 'Reflections on Marriage', in Patricia Springborg (ed.), *Astell: Political Writings*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 1–80, p. 61. Subsequent parenthetical citations in this essay refer to this edition.
- 2 Ibid., pp. 17–18. This passage is taken from the preface to the 3rd edition, 1706. Emphases in original.
- 3 Mary Astell, *Letters Concerning the Love of God* (London: Printed for Samuel Manship ... and Richard Wilkin, 1695), p. 1.
- 4 Mary Astell, *Moderation Truly Stated, or, a Review of a Late Pamphlet, Entitul'd, Moderation a Vertue* (London: Printed by J. L. for Rich. Wilkin, 1704), p. 59. See also 'An Impartial Enquiry into the Origins of Rebellion', in *Astell: Political Writings*, ed. Springborg, pp. 129–97.
- 5 John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. John Bowle (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 405.
- 6 Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Men; with, a Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 117, 292.
- 7 Mary Astell, *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies*, ed. Patricia Springborg (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2002), p. 203.

Chapter 12

- 1 The passage is transcribed from the original issue of *An Essay on Man*, Epistle IV (London: J. Wilford, 1734), pp. 202–39 in Pope's original numbering. Other quotations from the poem as a whole are also keyed to the first published texts. The most scholarly modern edition is Alexander Pope, *An Essay on Man*, ed. Maynard Mack,

- The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope, III.i. (London: Methuen, 1950). This is based on later, revised texts, with slightly different numbering.
- 2 See Howard Erskine-Hill, 'Pope on the Origins of Society', in Pat Rogers and G. S. Rousseau (eds), *The Enduring Legacy: Alexander Pope Tercentenary Essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 79–93, p. 93.

Chapter 13

- 1 Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile or on Education*. Introduction, translation and notes by Allan Bloom (New York: Basic Books, 1979), book V, pp. 407–8. All quotations from Rousseau's *Emile* in this chapter are taken from Allan Bloom's 1979 translation. Page numbers given in parentheses refer to this edition.
- 2 Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 'Discourses on Political Economy', in Victor Gourevitch ed., *Rousseau. The Social Contract and Other Later Political Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 4.
- 3 This approach is what Susan Moller Okin has called Rousseau's 'functionalist method', in Susan Moller Okin, *Women in Western Political Thought* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979), p. 235.
- 4 Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (New York: Everyman's Library, 1992), p. 42.
- 5 On the various interpretations of Rousseau's apparent contradiction, see E. H. Botting, *Family Feuds: Wollstonecraft, Burke and Rousseau on the Transformation of the Family* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006).
- 6 Rousseau, 'Discourses on Political Economy', p. 5.
- 7 The distinction between domestic and political economy is made in the preamble to the 'Discourses on Political Economy', pp. 3–5.
- 8 Rousseau, 'The Social Contract' (I, 2), in Gourevitch (ed.), *Rousseau. The Social Contract*, p. 43.
- 9 See Aurélie Du Crest, *Modèle familial et pouvoir monarchique (XVIe-XVIIe siècles)* (Aix-en-Provence: Presses Universitaires d'Aix-Marseille, 2002), pp. 353–6.
- 10 Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *Notions claires sur les gouvernements* (Amsterdam, 1787), p. 150 (my translation).

Chapter 14

- 1 Immanuel Kant, 'What is Enlightenment?', in Pauline Kleingeld (ed.) *Towards Perpetual Peace and Other Writings on Politics, Peace, and History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), hereafter: 2006a, pp. 35–6. This translation is based on

- the Akademie edition of Kant's works and uses the original pagination. Subsequent page references to this and other works by Kant will appear in brackets within the text.
- 2 Immanuel Kant, *Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), hereafter: 2006b, p. 209. Page numbers refer to the Akademie edition of Kant's works.
 - 3 Immanuel Kant, *The Metaphysics of Morals* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 279. Page numbers refer to the Akademie edition of Kant's works.
 - 4 Immanuel Kant, *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 229. Page numbers refer to the Akademie edition of Kant's works.
 - 5 Kant contrasts this civilized condition with a barbaric one in which 'the woman is a domestic animal' (2006b: 304). One feature of civilized societies, then, is that they treat women like subjects, rather than objects – even if women's subjecthood is ultimately confined to the household.
 - 6 Kant 2006b, p. 209.
 - 7 There were exceptions, of course: as Pauline Kleingeld has pointed out, we know that Kant was acquainted with learned women like Emilie de Châtelet and Mme Dacier, whom he mentions in *The Beautiful and the Sublime*. Thus, Kleingeld argues, it seems fair to argue that Kant could have thought differently – and the important thing is that he did not (Pauline Kleingeld, 'The Problematic Status of Gender-Neutral Language in the History of Philosophy: The Case of Kant', *The Philosophical Forum*, 25 (1993), pp. 134–50, pp. 143–4).
 - 8 See Rae Langton, 'Duty and Desolation', *Philosophy*, 67 (1992), pp. 481–505.
 - 9 See Theodor von Hippel, *On Marriage* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1994); and *ibid.*, *On Improving the Status of Women* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1979).

Chapter 15

- 1 Mary Wollstonecraft, *Mary, A Fiction* (London, 1788), p. 86.
- 2 *Ibid.*, pp. 87–9.
- 3 Wollstonecraft inserts a 'to' after 'Near' in Chapter IV (87).
- 4 William Blackstone, *The Commentaries of Sir William Blackstone, Knt. on the Laws and Constitution of England*, ed. William Curry (London: W. Clarke and Son, 1796). ECCO (Eighteenth-Century Collections Online), accessed on 12 December 2013, p. 77.
- 5 Thomas Paine, *The Age of Reason, Being an Investigation of True and Fabulous Theology* (Barrois: n.p., 1794). ECCO (Eighteenth-Century Collections Online), accessed on 10 February 2010, p. 82.

- 6 The notion that it is natural for some segments of society to wield power over others developed long before the late eighteenth century. Significantly, Robert Filmer's *Patriarcha; or the Natural Power of Kings* (1680) proposed that the king of a country should be regarded as a beneficent father, naturally disposed to do right by his 'children' and also naturally wiser than the rest of society by being born a patriarch.
- 7 Ashley Tauchert suggests that *Mary* depicts a lesbian love affair in 'Escaping Discussion: Liminality and the Female-Embodied Couple in Mary Wollstonecraft's *Mary, A Fiction*', *Romanticism on the Net: An Electronic Journal Devoted to Romantic Studies*, 18 (2000), (no pagination), accessed on 21 April 2011. Other critics have found such evidence elsewhere in Wollstonecraft's life and work. See, for example, Claudia Johnson's *Equivocal Beings: Politics, Gender, and Sentimentality in the 1790s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), p. 54; and Katherine Binhammer's 'The "Singular Propensity" of Sensibility's Extremities: Female Same-Sex Desire and the Eroticization of Pain in Late-Eighteenth-Century British Culture', *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, 9 (2003), pp. 471–98.
- 8 Oddly, too, Henry's mother seems to consider Henry as a husband, since she claims she will be a 'widow' when he dies.

Chapter 16

- 1 Prosper Enfantin at a Saint-Simonian meeting, 21 November 1831, in: Religion Saint-Simonienne, *Réunion Générale de la Famille: Séances des 19 et 21 Novembre* (Paris: Imprimerie d'Éverat, 1831), pp. 55–6. Subsequent references to this source will be made in brackets within the text.
- 2 Robert B. Carlisle, *The Proffered Crown: Saint-Simonianism and the Doctrine of Hope* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), p. 58.
- 3 Pamela Pilbeam, *Saint-Simoniens in Nineteenth-Century France: From Free Love to Algeria* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2014), p. 16.
- 4 Christophe Prochasson, *Saint-Simon ou l'anti-Marx: figures du saint-simonisme français XIXe–XXe siècles* (Paris: Perrin, 2005), p. 127.
- 5 Carlisle, *The Proffered Crown*, p. 90. See Carlisle's remarks on the 'continuity of thought between Saint-Simon and his disciples': *ibid.*, p. 233.
- 6 Simon Altmann, David Siminovitch and Barrie Ratcliffe, 'Olinde Rodrigues and His Times', in Simon Altmann and Eduardo Ortíz (eds), *Mathematics and Social Utopias in France: Olinde Rodrigues and His Times* (Providence, RI: American Mathematical Society, 2005), pp. 5–38.
- 7 See e.g. turnouts of 1,500–2,000 for events in Nancy and Metz: Carlisle, *The Proffered Crown*, p. 141.
- 8 Claire G. Moses, 'Saint-Simonian Men/Saint-Simonian Women: The Transformation of Feminist Thought in 1830s' France', *Journal of Modern History*, 54 (1982),

- pp. 240–67, p. 248. Pilbeam suggests that in September 1841, half of the 220 ‘faithful’ in Paris were female: Pilbeam, *Saint-Simonians in Nineteenth-Century France*, p. 34. On Saint-Simonism’s appeal to women, see also Christine Planté, ‘Les féministes saint-simoniennes: possibilités et limites d’un mouvement féministe en France au lendemain de 1830’, in Jean René Derré (ed.), *Regards sur le Saint-Simonisme et les Saint-Simoniens* (Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 1986), pp. 73–102.
- 9 Naomi J. Andrews, *Socialism’s Muse: Gender in the Intellectual Landscape of French Romantic Socialism* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2006), p. xvi.
 - 10 Pamela Pilbeam, *French Socialists Before Marx: Workers, Women and the Social Question in France* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill/Queen’s University Press, 2000), p. 79.
 - 11 Jeremy Jennings, *Revolution and the Republic: A History of Political Thought in France since the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 351.
 - 12 Paola Ferruta, ‘Euphrasie and Olinde Rodrigues: The “Woman Question” within Saint-Simonism’, in Altmann and Ortitz, *Mathematics and Social Utopias in France*, p. 87. On 13 February 1832, Rodrigues presented his *Bases de la loi morale proposées à l’acceptation des femmes*. In his approach to women’s rights, he differed from Enfantin, who focused on morality and ‘had nothing to say about ending the exploitation of women by educating them or by paying women a living wage’: Pilbeam, *Saint-Simonians in Nineteenth Century*, p. 51.
 - 13 Moses, ‘Saint-Simonian Men/Saint-Simonian Women’, p. 258. The former Saint-Simonian Eugénie Niboyet also founded a newspaper: Lucette Czyba, ‘L’œuvre lyonnaise d’une ancienne saint-simonienne: Le Conseiller des Femmes (1833–4) d’Eugénie Niboyet’, in Derré, *Regards sur le Saint-Simonisme et les Saint-Simoniens*, pp. 103–43.

Chapter 17

- 1 ‘The Kreutzer Sonata’, in Leo Tolstoy (ed.), *The Devil and Cognate Tales* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), p. 136, pp. 206–7. Subsequent page references to this edition are made in brackets within the text.
- 2 Amy Mandelker, *Framing Anna Karenina: Tolstoy, the Woman Question and the Victorian Novel* (Columbus: Ohio University Press, 1993), p. 32.
- 3 Leo Tolstoy, *What Then Must We Do?* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), p. 352.
- 4 Ernest Crosby’s Russian Journal, Box 4, MS218, Michigan State University Library.
- 5 *The Diaries of Sofia Tolstoy*, transl. Cathy Porter (London: Alma Books, 2009), p. 117.
- 6 Peter Ulf Møller, *Postlude to the Kreutzer Sonata: Tolstoj and the Debate on Sexual Morality in Russian Literature in the 1890s* (Leiden and New York: E. J. Brill, 1988), pp. 93–4.
- 7 *Ibid.*, pp. 103–4.

- 8 Ibid., pp. 115–27.
- 9 Leo Tolstoy, ‘On Marriage’, *The New Age*, 16 December 1897, pp. 173–4. See also *The New Age* for 23 December 1897, 30 December 1897, and 6 January 1898.
- 10 Prince Galitzen, ‘Thou Shalt Do No Murder’, in Mrs James Gregor (ed.), *Whose Was the Blame? A Woman’s Version of the Kreutzer Sonata* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co, 1894), pp. 3–47.
- 11 Gregor, *Whose Was the Blame?*, pp. 51–174.
- 12 Møller, *Postlude*, pp. 177–80. For a survey of ‘counter-literature’ see *ibid.*, pp. 163–80.
- 13 Charlotte Alston, *Tolstoy and His Disciples: The History of a Radical International Movement* (London: I B Tauris, 2013), pp. 180–7.

Chapter 18

- 1 Henrik Ibsen, ‘Hedda Gabler’, in *Ibsen: The Complete Major Prose Plays*, transl. Rolf Fjelde (New York: New American Library, 1978), p. 762. Subsequent quotations will be drawn from this translation and placed parenthetically in the text.
- 2 Joan Templeton, *Ibsen’s Women* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 231.
- 3 See *ibid.*, Gail Finney, *Women in Modern Drama: Freud, Feminism, and European Theater at the Turn of the Century* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989); and Ross Shideler, *Questioning the Father: From Darwin to Zola, Ibsen, Strindberg, and Hardy* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), as well as Ross Shideler, ‘The Patriarchal Prison in *Hedda Gabler* and *Dödsdansen*’, in Faith Ingwersen and Mary Kay Norseng (eds), *Fin(s) de Siècle in Scandinavian Perspective: Studies in Honor of Harald S. Naess* (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1993), pp. 78–90.
- 4 Thomas H. Johnson (ed.), *The Complete Poems of Emily Dickinson* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Col., 1961), p. 370.
- 5 *The Fact of a Doorframe: Selected Poems 1950–2001* (New York: Norton, 2002), p. 78.

Chapter 19

- 1 ‘Pavlatche’ is the Czech word for the long balcony in the inner courtyard of old houses in Prague.
- 2 The English version of Kafka’s *Brief an den Vater* follows the translation of Ernst Kaiser and Eithne Wilkins reprinted in: *Franz Kafka: The Sons*, intro. Mark Anderson (New York: Schocken 1980). This passage can be found on p. 119. Subsequent references to this edition will be made in brackets within the text.
- 3 Thomas Anz, *Franz Kafka* (München: C. H. Beck, 1989), pp. 32 ff.

- 4 Gerhard Dienes and Ralf Rother (eds), *Die Gesetze des Vaters. Hans Gross. Otto Gross. Sigmund Freud. Franz Kafka* (Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 2003).
- 5 Franz Kafka, *Tagebücher*, ed. Hans-Gerd Koch, Michael Müller and Malcolm Pasley (Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer, 2002), p. 461.
- 6 See the description in Hans Dieter Zimmermann, *Kafka für Fortgeschrittene* (München: C. H. Beck, 2004), pp. 15 ff. and Peter-André Alt, *Franz Kafka: Der ewige Sohn. Eine Biographie* (München: C. H. Beck, 2003), p. 563.
- 7 Franz Kafka, *Briefe an Milena*, augmented edition by Jürgen Born and Michael Müller (Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer, 1986), p. 85.
- 8 Kafka, *Tagebücher*, p. 223.
- 9 Franz Kafka, *Briefe an Felice* (Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer, 1976), p. 598.
- 10 Klaus Wagenbach, *Franz Kafka* (Reinbek b. Hamburg: Fischer, 1964), p. 81.

Chapter 20

- 1 *Bodas de sangre/Blood Wedding* by Federico García Lorca copyright © Herederos de Federico García Lorca, from *Obras Completas* (Galaxia/Gutenberg, 1996 edition). English Translations by Federico Bonaddio copyright © Federico Bonaddio and Herederos de Federico García Lorca. All rights reserved. For information regarding rights and permissions of all of Lorca's works in Spanish or in English, please contact lorca@artslaw.co.uk or William Peter Kosmas, Esq., 8 Franklin Square, London W14 9UU, England.
- 2 Federico García Lorca, 'Bodas de sangre', in Federico García Lorca, *Obras*, III: Teatro, 1. Ed. Miguel García-Posada (Madrid: Akal, 1985), Act I, scene ii, pp. 307–413, pp. 367–8, 379–80. All subsequent page numbers appear in parentheses in the text. All translations are the author's own, although he has also consulted the following published versions: 'Blood Wedding', in *Plays: One*, intro. Gwynne X. Edwards (London: Methuen Drama, 1987); Federico García Lorca, *Blood Wedding*, trans. David X. Johnston (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1989); Federico García Lorca, *Blood Wedding*, trans. Brendan Kennelly (Newcastle: Bloodaxe Books, 1996); and Federico García Lorca, *Blood Wedding*, trans. Paul Burns and Salvador Ortiz-Carboneres, Aris & Phillips Hispanic Classics (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2009).
- 3 David Gilmore, *Aggression and Community. Paradoxes of Andalusian Culture* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1987), pp. 144–5.
- 4 *Ibid.*, p. 127.
- 5 See Gilmore, *Aggression and Community*, pp. 134, 140, and Julian Pitt-Rivers, 'Honour and Social Status', in J. G. Peristany (ed.), *Honour and Shame. The Values of Mediterranean Society* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1965), pp. 21–77, p. 42.
- 6 Gilmore, *Aggression and Community*, p. 134.

- 7 Reed Anderson, 'The Idea of Tragedy in García Lorca's *Bodas de sangre*', *Revista Hispánica Moderna*, 38 (1974–5), pp. 174–88, pp. 182–3.
- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 186.

Chapter 21

- 1 Angela Carter, *The Passion of New Eve* (London: Virago, 1976), p. 53. All page references to this text will be given in parentheses throughout the chapter.
- 2 'Thealogy' refers to a distinct discourse that dates from the mid-1970s: it seeks to challenge patriarchal accounts of divinity and privileges a feminist and female-centred spirituality which worships goddesses rather than gods. For a fuller introduction to this term, see Melissa Raphael, *Introducing Thealogy: Discourse on the Goddess* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999).
- 3 David Punter, *The Hidden Script: Writing and the Unconscious* (London: Routledge, 1985), p. 37.
- 4 Lorna Sage, *Angela Carter* (Plymouth: Northcote House Publishers, 1994), p. 39.
- 5 See Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (London: Vintage, 1957).
- 6 Aidan Day, *Angela Carter: The Rational Glass* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), p. 113.
- 7 See Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex* (London: Vintage, 1949).
- 8 For a fuller digest of French feminism and its differences from Anglo-American feminism see Toril Moi, *Sexual/Textual Politics* (London: Routledge, 1985).
- 9 Hélène Cixous, 'The Laugh of the Medusa', *Signs*, 1 (1976), pp. 875–93.
- 10 Sarah Gamble, *The Fiction of Angela Carter: A Reader's Guide to Essential Criticism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), p. 92.
- 11 Angela Carter, *The Sadeian Woman: An Exercise in Cultural History* (London: Virago, 1979), p. 5.
- 12 Day, *Angela Carter: The Rational Glass*, p. 117.

Conclusion

- 1 In pre-modern texts we also find a fourth, master–slave/servant relationship, as slaves or servants might live within the same household as legal dependants of their masters.
- 2 John Locke, *Locke: Two Treatises of Government*, ed. Peter Laslett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
- 3 Joan Thirsk, 'Younger Sons in the Seventeenth Century', *History*, 54 (1969), pp. 358–77.