

## ロマン主義時代における女性同士の愛、ジェンダー、セクシュアリティ

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### 1. 18 世紀まで

#### ☆女性同性愛者の両性具有説と外国説

- (1) Some think that *Hermaphrodites* are only women that have their Clitoris greater, and hanging out more than others have, and so shew like a Man's Yard, and it is so called, for it is a small exuberation in the upper, forward, and middle part of the share, in the top of the greater slit where the wings end. [...] some lewd women have endeavoured to use it as men do theirs. In the *Indies*, and *Egypt* they are frequent, but I never heard but of one in this Country, if there be any they will do what they can for sham to keep it close.

(Jane Sharp, *The Midwives Book* [1671], 44-45)

- (2) The female hermaphrodite is she who has all the parts of the woman fit for generation, and in whom the appearances of virility are imperfect. This species is characterised by those women in whom the clitoris is disengaged or free (for in the natural state, tho' it is, indeed, considerably swelled in the venereal act, yet it never quits its place to become erected; [...]) and which having the same figure with the penis of the man, yet without being perforated like it, makes them almost resemble eunuchs, who can enjoy coition without the perfect consummation of the venereal act. The Greeks called these women *τριβαδες*, whence comes, I imagine, the old French word *ribaude*, which signifies a lewd woman; such was the famous Sappho.

(Georges Arnaud, *A Dissertation on Hermaphrodites* [1750], 27-28)

#### ☆流動的な身体

- (3) *Michael Montanus* attests, that in his time a maid by a violent jump was changed into a man, her Clytoris issuing forth.

(Giovanni Benedetto Sinibaldi, *Rare Verites* [1658] 12)

- (4) You acquaint me in your Letter, that it was reported at *Rome*, that two Nuns in a Monastery, were changed in such a manner as to be suspected of Virility. Upon the Encrease of such a Report, that it came to the Pope's Ears; who, upon such an extraordinary Occasion, ordered some Cardinals to enquire into the Truth of it: That after their Search, they affirmed, that the Nuns were grown in such a manner as to have changed their Sex; in Testimony of which, you say the Cardinals commanded them to be expelled the Monastery, and that at that Time they had changed their dress, and took upon them the Employs of Men. [...] Whoever thinks that those two *Nuns* have changed their sex, is under a Mistake; all that gives any Ground for such an Opinion is, the uncommon Encrease of the *Clitoris*, which as it is used to frequent Irritations, thrusts out and enlarges its Dimensions, not unlike a humane *Penis*.

(Richard Carr, *Dr. Carr's Medicinal Epistles* [1714], 143,

145)

#### ☆自慰反対の理由

- (5) It is certain, that in some Woman, especially those who are very salacious, and have much abused themselves by SELF-POLLUTION, the *Clitoris* so vastly extended, that upon its thrusting out of the Passage, it is mistaken for a *Penis*; such have been called *Fricatrices*; by *Caelius Aurelianus*, *Tribades*; by *Pautus*, *Suwigatrices*, and accounted *Hermaphrodites*, because, as is said before, they have been able to perform the Actions of Men with other Women. *Amatus* relates of two *Turkish* Women of *Thessalonica*, and *De Castro* says he has also seen some Women at *Lisbon*, punished for the like most filthy.

(*Onania* [1759], 328)

☆ウッツ&ピリー v.ゴードン事件

- (6) They import the crime of one women giving another the clitoris, which in this country is not larger than the nipple of the breast and is, furthermore, immersed between the labia of the pudenda. Therefore, as expressed in language of the Greeks and Romans, it is a crime which, in the general case, it is impossible in this country to commit. (Lord Meadowbank to the Judges of the second Division of the Inner House of the court of Session, 9 Feb. 1811; Faderman, *Scotch* 65)

OED

- \* Tribade (from Gr. “to rub”), 1601.
- \* Tribadism, 1811-19. *Woods and Pirie v. Gordon*
- \* lesbianism, 1870.
- \* lesbian (aj.), 1890; (n.): 1925.
- \* Sapphism, 1890.      \* Sapphist, 1902.

## 2. 18 世紀「女性同性愛（者）」を指す用語

- \* “Lesbian Loves” (King, *The Toast* [1732], 84-85)
- \* “Tribades or Lesbians” (King, *The Toast*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. [1736], 53)
- \* “Flats,” “The Game of Flats”(Satan’s *Harvest Home*[1749], 18, 60)
- \* “Sapphic Lovers” (Plato, *The Banquet* [1762], 53)
- \* “Sapphic passion” (“The Dialogue between Sappho and Ninon de L’Enclos” [June 1773], 226 head)
- \* “Tommies” (*The Adulteress* [1773], 26); “Tommy” (*A Sapphick Epistle* [1778?], 359)
- \* “Sapphists,” “Sapphism” (1 April 1789, 9 December 1795; Thrall, *Thraliana*, 740, 949)

## 3. 「ロマンティックな友愛」

☆メアリ・ウルストンクラフト『メアリ』

- (7) Her [Mary’s] friendship for Ann occupied her heart, and resembled a passion. She had, indeed, several transient likings; but they did not amount to love. [...]

By the return of the post she received an answer; it contained some common-place remarks on her romantic friendship, as he termed it; ‘But as the physicians advised change of air, he had no objection.’

(Wollstonecraft, *Mary*[1788]; *Works* 1: 25)

☆スランゴスレンの貴婦人たち

- (8) The Runaways are caught and we shall soon see our amiable friend again whose conduct, thought it has an appearance of imprudence, is I am sure void of serious impropriety. There were no gentlemen concerned, nor does it appear to be anything more than a scheme of Romantic Friendship.

(S. Tighe to Mrs. Goddard, 2 April 1778; G. H. Bell, ed., *The Hamwood Papers*, 27)

- (9) Now with a vestal lustre glows the Vale,  
Thine, sacred Friendship, permanent as pure;  
In vain the stern authorities assail,  
In vain persuasion spreads her silken lure,  
High-born, and high-endow’d, the peerless twain,  
Pant for coy Nature’s charms ’mid silent dale, and plain.

(Anna Seward, “Llangollen Vale, inscribed the Right Honourable Lady Elenor Butler and Miss Ponsonby” [1796], lines 84-89)

- (10) Sisters in love, a love allowed to climb  
Ev’n on this earth, above the reach of time.

(William Wordsworth, “To Lady Elenor Butler and the Honble Miss Ponsonby. Composed in the grounds of Plas-Newydd,

Llangollen” [1827], lines 13-14)

#### 4. イギリス女性の同性愛疑惑

☆『サタンの感謝祭』

(11) *Sappho*, as she was one of the wittiest Women that ever the World bred, so she thought with Reason it would be expected she should make some Additions to a Science in which all Womankind had been so successful: What does she do then? Not content with our Sex, she begins Amours with her own, and teaches the Female World a new sort of Sin, call'd the Flats, that was follow'd not only in Lucian's Time, but is practis'd frequently in Turkey, as well as at Twickenham at this Day. (Satan's Harvest Home [1749], 18)

(12) ... the Ladies (in the *Nunneries*) are criminally *amorous* of each other, in a *Method* too gross for Expression. I must be so partial to my own *Country-Women*, to affirm, or, at least, hope they claim no Share of this *Charge*; but must confess, when I see two Ladies *Kissing* and *Slopping* each other, in a *lascivious Manner*, and frequently repeating it, I am shock'd to the last Degree; (Satan's Harvest Home [1749], 51-52)

☆アン・ダマー夫人への疑惑

(13) Lesbos, an Isle of the Ægean Sea, famous for the birth of Miss Sappho, who was the first young classic maid that bestowed her affections on her own sex: She wrote better poesy than either Mrs. Montague, Mrs. Greville, Miss Carter, or Miss Aikin, but yet her verses failed when she came to address the cold Phaon. So when an old maid, and unfit for man's love, she pursued the young girls of Mytelene, and seduced many. She was the first Tommy the world has upon record; but to do her justice, though there hath been many Tommies since, yet we never had but one Sappho. (A Sapphick Epistle [1778?], 5n)

(14) There is a strange Propensity now in England for these unspeakable Sins. M<sup>rs</sup> Damer a Lady much suspected for liking her own Sex in a criminal Way, had Miss Farren the fine comic Actress often about her last Year; (17 June 1790; Thrall, *Thraliana* 2: 770)

(15) House of Miss Rathbone's is now supposed to have been but a Cage of unclean Birds, living in a sinful Celibàt. Mercy on us! Colonel Barry is with Lord Moyra; he had a good Escape of Miss Trefusis if all be true.\*

\* Why was Miss Weston so averse to any Marriage I am wondering; --and why did Miss Trefusis call Colonel Barry *Hylas* of all names? And why did Miss Weston make such an *Ado* about little Sally Siddons's Wit & Beauty & Stuff? The Girl is just like every other Girl--but Miss Weston did use to like every Girl so. (23 January 1794; Thrall, *Thraliana* 2: 868)

(16) Whereas 'tis now grown common to suspect Impossibilities— (such I think 'em) —whenever two Ladies live too much together;\* the Queen of France was all along accused, so was Raucoux the famous Actress on the Paris Stage; & 'tis a Joke in London now to say such a one visit M<sup>rs</sup> Damer. Lord Derby certainly insisted on Miss Farren's keeping her at Distance & there was a droll but bitter Epigram made while they used to see one another often—

Her little Stock of private Fame  
Will fall a Wreck to public Clamour  
If Farren herds with her whose Name  
Approaches very near to *Damn her*.

\* Its odd that y<sup>c</sup> Roman Women did not borrow that horrible Vice from Greece—it has a Greek name now & is call'd Sapphism, but I never did hear if it in Italy where the Ladies are today exactly what Juvenal described them in his Time—neither better nor worse than I can find. M<sup>rs</sup> Siddons has told me that her Sister was in personal Danger once from a female Fiend of this Sort; & I have no Reason to disbelieve the Assertion. Bath is a Cage of these unclean Birds I have a Notion, and London is a Sink for every Sin.

(9 December 1795; Thrale, *Thraliana* 2: 949)

☆スランゴスレンの貴婦人たちへの疑惑

(17) I cannot help thinking that surely it was not platonic. Heaven forgive me, but I look within myself & doubt. I feel the infirmity of our nature & hesitate to pronounce such attachment uncemented by something more tender still than friendship.

(3 August 1822; Lister, *I Know* 210)

(18) Miss Butler and Miss Ponsonby have retired from society into a certain Welch Vale.

Both Ladies are daughters of the great Irish families whose name they retain.

Miss Butler, who is of the Ormonde family had several offers of marriage, all of which she rejected. Miss Ponsonby, her particular friend and companion, was supposed to be the bar to all matrimonial union, it was thought proper to separate them and Miss Butler was confined. [...]

Miss Butler is tall and masculine, she wears always a riding habit, hangs her hat with the air of a sportsman in the hall, and appears in all respects as a young man, if we except the petticoats which she still retains.

Miss Ponsonby, on the contrary, is polite and effeminate, fair and beautiful. [...]

Miss Ponsonby does the duties and honours of the house, while Miss Butler superintends the gardens and the rest of the grounds.

(“Extraordinary Female Affection,” *General Evening Post* [24 July 1790], qtd. in Mavor, *Ladies* 73-74)

(19) Miss Butler and Miss Ponsonby, now retired from the society of men into the wilds of a certain Welch Vale, bear a strange antipathy to the male sex, whom they take every opportunity of avoiding.

Both ladies are daughters of the great Irish families whose names they retain.

(“Extraordinary Female Affection,” *The Town and Country Magazine* 22 [August 1790]: 363)

## 5. アン・リスターの日記

☆性的アイデンティティ

(20) I love, & only love, the fairer sex & thus beloved by them in turn, my heart revolts from any other love than theirs.

(29 Jan. 1821 ; Lister, *I Know* 145)

☆性行為

(21) Two kisses last night, one almost immediately after the other, before we went to sleep ... Felt better, but was so shockingly how last night I cried bitterly but smothered it so that M—scarcely knew of it.

(12 July 1822; Lister, *I Know* 194)

(22) I kissed her lips & forehead several times & on coming away put my tongue a very little into her mouth. She said, tho' without the least appearance of anger, that I had forgotten myself. I said it was much more difficult to forget myself a little than to remember myself so well, meaning that I had not forgotten myself much—might easily have done more. She begins to stand closer to me. I might easily press queer to queer. Our liking each other is now mutually understood and acknowledged.

(12 Nov. 1824; Lister, *No Priest* 48)

☆教えられた感情 v. 自然な感情

(23) She said I did not know her feeling; the objection, the horror she had to anything unnatural, I shewed her I understood her & then observed upon my conduct & feelings being surely natural to me inasmuch as they were not taught, not fictitious, but instinctive. (17 September 1823; Lister, *I Know* 297)

(24) Then went to the Manor school & became attached to Eliza Raine. Said how it [Anne's preference for, or sexual attraction to, women] was all nature. Had it not been genuine the thing would have been different. [I] said I had though much, studied anatomy, etc. Could not find it out. Could not understand myself. it was all the effect of the mind. No exterior formation accounted for it. Alluded to their being an internal correspondence or likeness of some of the male or female organs of generation. Alluded to the stones not slipping thro' the ring till after birth, etc. She took all this very well. I said ladies could often hear from a man what they could not from a woman & she could from me what she could not from Mrs Mackenzie. She allowed this, saying it depended on how she loved them. Got on the subject of Saffic[sic] regard. [I] said there was artifice in it. It was very different from mine & would be no pleasure to me. (13 Nov. 1824 ; Lister, *No Priest* 49)

(25) Mrs Barlow came to me & staid till 4-50. Sat talking for some time. It did me harm to sit on my knee. It was all for my sake she refused, At last she consented. Sapphic love was again mentioned. I spoke rather more plainly. It was something Mrs Middleton had said that had made her comprehend what I had said about artifice[the use of a phallus?]. I mentioned the girl at a school in Dublin that had been obliged to have surgical aid to extract the thing. (14 Nov. 1824; Lister, *No Priest* 50)

☆サッポアの同性愛の教え

(26) What did Sappho of Lesbos teach her girls, except how to love?

(Ovid, *Songs of Sadness*, *test.* 49; Campbell 43)

☆ピックフォード嬢との社交の場

(27) There was no parallel between a case like this & the Sixth Satire of Juvenal. The one was artificial & inconsistent, the other was the effect of nature & always consistent with itself. [...] 'Now,' said I, 'the difference between you & me is, mine is theory, yours practice. I am taught by books, you by nature. I am very warm in friendship, perhaps few or none more so. My manners might mislead you but I don't, in reality, go beyond the utmost verge of friendship. Here my feelings stop. If they did not, you see from my whole manner & sentiments, I should not care to own it. Now do you believe me?' 'Yes,' said she, 'I do.' (5 August 1823; Lister, *I Know* 273)

☆バーロウ夫人との社交の場

(28) [I] said we were a cold-blooded family in this particular. Warm as I was in other things, this one passion was wanting. I went to the utmost extent of friendship but this was enough. I should like to be instructed in the other (between two women) & would learn when I could but it would be of no use to me. I had no inclination. (15 Oct. 1824; Lister, *No Priest* 33)

☆男性的な雰囲気

(29) The people generally remark, as I pass along, how much I am like a man. I think they did it than usual this evening. At the top of Cunneen Lane, as I went, three men said, as usual, 'That's a man' & one axed[sic] 'Does your cock stand?' (28 June 1818; Lister, *I Know* 48-49)

☆「紳士」としての自己認識、「姦淫」

(30) Yet my manners are certainly peculiar, not all masculine but rather softly gentleman-like. I know how to please girls. (4 October 1820; Lister, *I Know* 136)

(31) I felt that she was another man's wife. I shuddered at the thought & at the conviction that no *soffistry* [*sic*] could gloss over the criminality of our connection. [...] What is M—'s match but legal prostitution? And alas, what is her connection with me? Has she more passion than refinement? More plausibility than virtue? (18 Nov. 1819; Lister, *I Know* 104-05)

(32) She seemed very affectionate & fond of me. Said I was her only comfort. She should be miserable without me ... [I said] 'This is adultery to all intents & purposes.' 'No, no,' said she. 'Oh, yes, M--. No casuistry can disguise it.' 'Not this then, but the other.' 'Well,' said I, choosing to let the things turn her own way. 'I always considered your marriage legal prostitution. (20 August 1823; Lister, *I Know* 281)

☆男性的欲望

(33) Foolish fancying about Caroline Greenwood, meeting her on Skircoat Moor, taking her into a shed there is there & being connected with her. Supposing myself in men's clothes & having a penis, tho' nothing more. (7 May 1821; Lister, *I Know* 151)

☆新聞中傷記事(1835年1月)への反応

(34) Washington took coffee with us, and with some humming and ah-ing, pulled out of his pocket today's Leeds Mercury containing among the marriages of Wednesday last: 'Same day, at the Parish church H-x, Captain Tom Lister of Shibden Hall to Miss Ann Walker, late of Lidget, near the same place.' I smiled and said it was very good--read it aloud to A—who also smiled and then took up the paper and read the skit to my aunt, and on returning the paper to W—begged him to give it to us when he had done with it--he said he would and seemed agreeably surprised to find what was probably meant to annoy, taken so quietly and with such mere amusement—said not a word of it to my father and Marian, with them 1/2 hour till 8 1/4—then came upstairs—A—*did not like the joke—suspects the Briggs—so does my aunt*. (Original underlines) (10 January 1835; Liddington, *Female Fortune* 143)

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### ウッズ&ピリー v.ゴードン事件 *Woods and Pirie v. Gordon* (1811-19)

1804年、マリアン・ウッズと一歳年下のジェーン・ピリーはエジンバラで女子寄宿学校を開く。生徒数14名のうち5人が通学生。寄宿生は二つの大きな寝室に、5人と4人に分かれて寝る。二人の女教師も監督のために寄宿生と同じ寝室に分かれて寝ていた。寄宿生のジェーン・カミング（イギリス人とインド人のハーフ）は、ある夜、ピリーと共有のベッドに寝ているとき、ウッズがこっそりはいってきてピリーと(裁判での女生徒側の申し立ての表現では)「みだらで犯罪的な行為」をしているのを目撃した。1810年11月女生徒の祖母でエジンバラの有力な貴族のレディ・カミング・ゴードンはそれを聞いて孫をすぐさま退学させるとともに、他の生徒の家族にもそうするよう勧めたので、二、三日中で学校がからになった。そこで、ウッズとピリーは翌年5月にレディ・ゴードンに対し、名誉毀損の訴えを起こした。裁判ははじめ1811年の判決では一票差でゴードン側が勝った。1812年の控訴審では一票差でウッズとピリー側が勝ち、そして1819年のイングランドの上院での判決でも勝った。

### アン・ダマー *Anne Damer, née Conway* (1749-1828)

ホイッグ党派の貴族の一人娘。1767年にジョン・ダマーと結婚。7年間の別居後、1776年に夫が多額の借金を残して自殺。その後彫刻家として活躍。ホレス・ウォルポールと親交を続け、ジョセフィーヌに招かれてナポレオンに会った。作家メアリ・ベリー、女優エリザベス・ファレンなどとの関係が噂になった。

### スランゴスレンの貴婦人たち

#### **Ladies of Llangollen = Elenor Butler (1739-1829)+Sarah Ponsonby (1755-1831)**

二人は、1768年、アイルランド南東部のキルケニーで初めて出会った。バトラーはキルケニー城の末娘であり、幼くして両親を亡くしたポンソンビィは同地の寄宿学校に入ったばかりであった。フランスの修道院で教育を受けたことがあるバトラーは、たちまち16歳年下のポンソンビィの良き指導者であるとともに非常に親しい友人になった。1773年にポンソンビィが寄宿学校を出て、ウッドストックにある父方の従姉のレディ・ベティ・ファウンズの邸宅に身を寄せたあとは、二人は密かに手紙を交わし続け、やがて一緒に住む決心をする。最初の「駆け落ち」は1778年の3月の終わり、男性の衣に身をつつんでこっそりとそれぞれの家を抜け出したが、見つかって連れ戻された。だが、5月のはじめに二人は再び「駆け落ち」を決行し、北ウエールズのスランゴスレンに身を落ち着けることができた。バトラーが39歳、ポンソンビィが23歳の時である。そして、1780年からプラス・ネウィズ(ウエールズ語で「新しい場所」の意)と名付けた田舎家で、片方が亡くなるまで片時も離れることなく一緒に暮らした。1809年、アイルランド以来の召使メアリ・カーライルが亡くなると、三角柱の墓を建設し、二人もそこに入った。1829年6月2日にバトラー死亡(90歳)。1831年12月8日にポンソンビィ死亡(76歳)。

### アン・リスター *Anne Lister* (1791-1840)

西ヨークシャー州ハリファックス生まれのジェントリ階級の独身女性。兄が1813年に亡くなったため、かわりにシブデン・ホール の推定相続人になり、1815年から伯父と叔母(二人とも独身)と一緒にそこに住み始めた。1826年の伯父の死後は、叔母とその地所の共同所有者になり、地主としての仕事や石炭採掘事業に携わった。伯母の死は1836年。当時の女性としては並はずれて学識があり、自国の文学だけでなく、ギリシャ語、ラテン語、フランス語、代数、幾何学、修辭学、歴史などにも造詣が深かった。またヨーロッパ各国を訪れてはその地の上流階級の人々と交流をもった。アン・ウォーカーとロシアを旅行している最中に熱病に罹り、49歳の生涯を終えた。

リスターがセクシュアリティ研究でにわかに注目を浴びるようになったのは、彼女が多くの女性たちとの性的な関係を逐一日記に記していたからである。彼女の日記は 400 万語という膨大な量に加えて、その 6 分の 1 が暗号で書かれていたため、ほとんどが 200 年近く埋もれたままであったが、1988 年に 1817 年 3 月から 1824 年 8 月までの日記の一部が解読され、出版された (*I Know My Own Heart*)。それ以降、1824 年 8 月から 1826 年 10 月まで (*No Priest But Love*, 1992)、1806 年 8 月から 1810 年 2 月、1819 年 8 月から 12 月、1832 年秋 (*Presenting the Past*, 1994)、1832 年 8 月から 1833 年 4 月、1833 年 12 月から 1836 年 5 月 (*Female Fortune*, 1998)、1832 年 4 月から 12 月 (*Nature's Domain*, 2003) の日記の一部が解読・出版されている。TV ドラマの原作である *I Know My Own Heart* の改訂版 (*The Secret Diaries of Miss Anne Lister*, 2010) は、1816 年 4 月から 1824 年 8 月までを所収。

リスターの恋人たち

Eliza Raine (1791-1869)

Isabella Norcliffe (Tib) (1785-1846)

Mrs Marianna Percy Lawton (1790-1868; *née* Belcombe, married Charles Lawton, 1816)

Miss Brown

Ellen Rawson

Emma Rawson

Anne Belcombe (Marianna's sister)

Mlle de Sans ... in Paris

Mlle de Boyve ... in Paris

Mrs Maria Barlow (1786-?) ... in Paris

Madame de Rosny ... in Paris

Mrs Harriet Milne (*née* Belcombe, Marianna's sister)

Ann Walker (1803-?)