

性的不能の文化史

“男らしさ”を求めた男たちの悲喜劇

原注



作品社

- この文書は、アンガス・マクラレン著『性的不能の文化史——“男らしさ”を求めた男たちの悲喜劇』（山本規雄訳，作品社，2016年刊）の原注である。本文書のPDFファイルは，作品社サイト内の以下のページから閲覧および保存が可能である。

<http://www.sakuhinsha.com/history/25897.html>

- 邦訳を [] 内に付記した。邦訳書のすべてに目を通したわけではないが，引用文の翻訳に当たって借用した場合も多い。ここに記して謝意を表する（訳者）。

序章

1 Robert D. Biggs, *Ša.zi.ga, Ancient Mesopotamian Potency Incantations* (Locust Valley, New York: J. J. Augustin, 1967), 22.

2 Goss and Company, *Hygeiana: A Non-Medical Analysis of the Complaints Incidental to Females* (London: Sherwood and Co., 1834), 59-60.

3 Michael Solomon, *The Literature of Misogyny in Medieval Spain: The Arcipresu de Talavera and the Spill* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 11. 以下の文献にも同様のことが書かれている。Steven Angelides, *A History of Bisexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

4 David D. Gilmore, *Manhood in the Making* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990); Paul R. Abrahamson and Steven D. Pinkerton, *With Pleasure: Thoughts on the Nature of Human Sexuality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995) [デイヴィッド・ギルモア『「男らしさ」の人類学』前田俊子訳, 春秋社].

5 この点に関して論じる文献は膨大な数に上るが、まず手始めに参照すべきものとして、Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

6 Charles E. Rosenberg and Janet Golden, eds., *Framing Disease: Studies in Cultural History* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992).

7 Uza Veith, *Hysteria: The History of a Disease* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965); Clare Hanson, *A Cultural History of Pregnancy: Pregnancy, Medicine and Culture, 1750-2000* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Rachele P. Maines, *The Technology of the Orgasm: "Hysteria," the Vibrator, and Women's Sexual Satisfaction* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1999) [レイチェル・P・メインズ『ヴァイブレーター—セクシュアリティ・西洋医学・理学療法』佐藤雅彦訳, 論創社]; Marilyn Yalom, *A History of the Breast* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997) [マリリン・ヤー

ロム『乳房論』平石律子訳, ちくま学芸文庫]; Sally Sheidon, "Reconceiving Masculinity: Imagining Men's Reproductive Bodies in Law," *Journal of Law and Society* 26 (1999): 129.

8 Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), 22 [トマス・ラカー『セックスの発明——性差の観念史と解剖学のアポリア』高井宏子, 細谷等訳, 工作舎]. これに対して以下も参照のこと。David M. Friedman, *A Mind of Its Own: A Cultural History of the Penis* (New York: Penguin, 2001) [デビッド・フリードマン『ペニスの歴史——男の神話の物語』井上廣美訳, 原書房]; Mels Van Oriel, *The Secret Part: A Natural History of the Penis* (Oxford: Mandrake, 2001).

第1章

1 Ovid, *Amores*, 3.7.1-6 in *The Love Poems*, ed. A. D. Melville (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 67 [オウィディウス「恋の歌」中山恒夫訳, 『ローマ恋愛詩人集』, 国文社, 所収].

2 John M. McMahon, *Paralysin Cave: Impotence, Perception, and Text in the Satyrica of Petronius* (New York: Brill, 1998), 132.

3 McMahon, *Paralysin Cave*, 97, 200; Petronius, *Satyrica*, trans. R. Bracht Branham and Daniel Kinney (London: J. M. Dent, 1996) [ペトロニウス『サテュリコン——古代ローマの諷刺小説』国原吉之助訳, 岩波文庫].

4 Catullus 16, in *The Poems of Catullus*, trans. Peter Whigham (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983) [カトゥルルス「レスビアの歌」中山恒夫訳, 『ローマ恋愛詩人集』, 国文社, 所収. ただし引用箇所は訳出されていないようである].

5 Maud W. Gleason, *Making Men: Sophists and Self-Presentation in Ancient Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 59.

6 David Cohen, *Law, Sexuality and Society: The Enforcement of Morals in Classical Athens* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 60-61.

7 Plato, "Timaeus," in *Plato*, trans. R. G. Bury (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961), 91C [プラトン「ティマイオス」種山恭子訳, 『プラトン全集』第12巻, 岩波書店, 所収]; Gleason, *Making Men*, 7; Eva C. Keuls, *The Reign of the Phallus: Sexual Politics in Ancient Athens* (New York: Harper and Row, 1985), 68 [エヴァ・C・クルズ『ファロスの王国——古代ギリシアの性の政治学』全2巻, 中務哲郎他訳, 岩波書店]; Craig Williams, *Roman Homosexuality: Ideologies of Masculinity in Classical Antiquity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 86-91.

8 Aline Rousselle, *Porneia: On Desire and the Body in Antiquity*, trans. Felicia Pheasant (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), 59; K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978), 126-32 [K・J・ドーヴァー『古代ギリシアの同性愛』中務哲郎, 下田立行訳, 青土社]; John R. Clarke, *Looking at Lovemaking: Constructions of Sexuality in Roman Art, 100 B.C. - A.D. 250* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 49.

9 A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology: The Garland of Philip and Some Contemporary Epigrams* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 2: 171; Jeffrey Henderson, *The Maculate Muse: Obscene Language in Attic Comedy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 44, 127; Richard W. Hooper, *The Priapus Poems: Erotic Epigrams from Ancient Rome* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999).

10 Martial, *Epigrams* 3.73, trans. D. R. Shackleton Bailey (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993) [マルティアーリス『マルティアーリスのエピグラマタ』全2巻, 藤井昇訳, 慶應義塾大学言語文化研究所]; Jonathan Walters, "Invading the Roman Body: Manliness and Impenetrability in Roman Thought," in Judith P. Hallett and Marilyn B. Skinner, eds., *Roman Sexualities* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 29-43; Amy Richlin, *The Garden of Priapus: Sexuality and Aggression in Roman Humor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 59.

11 Catullus, 67.26 in *The Poems of Catullus*,

trans. Peter Whigham (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983) [カトゥルルス, 前掲書。ただし引用箇所は訳出されていないようである]; Petronius, *Satyricon* 130.4 from McMahon, *Paralysin Cave*, 81 [ペトロニウス, 前掲書]; Martial, *Epigrams* 11: 46; 11: 25; 11: 61 [マルティアーリス, 前掲書]。

12 Mark Golden and Peter Toohy, eds., *Sex and Difference in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003), 122.

13 Strato, *Musa Puerilis*, 12.11; 12.216, in W. R. Paton, *Greek Anthology*, vol. 4 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1918); Thomas K. Hubbard, ed., *Homosexuality in Greece and Rome: A Sourcebook of Basic Documents* (Berkeley: University of California Press 2003), 297-98.

14 Williams, *Roman Homosexuality*, 110-12; Catherine Edwards, *The Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 71-73; Holt N. Parker, "The Teratogenic Grid," in Judith P. Hallett and Marilyn B. Skinner, eds., *Roman Sexualities* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 51.

15 Helen King, "Sowing the Field: Greek and Roman Sexology," in Roy Porter and Mikulás Teich, eds., *Sexual Knowledge, Sexual Science: The History of Attitudes to Sexuality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 29-46.

16 Eva C. Keuls, *The Reign of the Phallus: Sexual Politics in Ancient Athens* (New York: Harper and Row, 1985) [クルズ, 前掲書]; Hesiod, *Theogony*, trans. M. L. West (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 580-612 [ヘシオドス『神統記』広川洋一訳, 岩波文庫]; Hugh Lloyd-Jones, *Females of the Species: Semonides on Women* (London: Duckworth, 1975); Demosthenes, "Against Neaera," *Private Orations*, trans. A. T. Murray (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1939), 122; Richlin, *The Garden of Priapus*, 49.

17 S. C. Humphrey, *The Family, Women and Death: Comparative Studies* (London: Routledge, 1983).

18 Aristotle, *Politics*, ed. John Warrington (London: Dent, 1959), 7.1335a [アリストテレス『政治学』山

本光雄訳, 「アリストテレス全集」第15巻, 岩波書店]; S. G. Cole, "The social Function of Rituals of Maturation: The Koureion and Arkteia," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 55 (1984): 233-44; Lesley Dean-Jones, *Women's Bodies in Classical Greek Science* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 177; Plutarch, "Solon," in *Plutarch's Lives*, trans. Bernadotte Perrin (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959), 20.2-4 [プタルコス『プラターク英雄伝』河野与一訳, 第2巻, 岩波文庫].

19 Golden and Toohey, eds., *Sex and Difference*; Michel Foucault, *The Use of Pleasure*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1990) [ミシェル・フーコー『快楽の活用』, 「性の歴史」第2巻, 田村俊訳, 新潮社].

20 Giulia Sissa, *Greek Virginity*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), 45; Plato, *Timaeus*, 91b-d; 86c-d [プラトン「ティマイオス」, 同前]; Kathleen Freeman, *The Pre-Socratic Philosophers* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1949), 283; "On Generation" in Iain M. Lonie ed., *The Hippocratic Treatises* (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1981), 1.1 [ヒポクラテス「生殖について」近藤均訳, 大槻真一郎編『ヒポクラテス全集』第2巻, エンタプライズ, 所取].

21 Stephen R. L. Clark, *Aristotle's Man: Speculations upon Aristotelian Anthropology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 202; Aristotle, *Historia Animalium in The Works of Aristotle*, vol. 4, trans. D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910), 586a15f [アリストテレス『動物誌』全2巻, 島崎三郎訳, 岩波文庫]; Peter Potter, "Herophilus of Chalcidion: An Assessment of His Place in the History of Anatomy," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 50 (1976): 45-60.

22 Anthony Preus, "Science and Philosophy in Aristotle's Generation of Animals," *Journal of the History of Biology*, 3 (1970): 1-52; Prudence Allen, *The Concept of Woman: The Aristotelian Revolution, 750 BC - AD 1250* (Montreal: Eden Press, 1985); Aristotle, *Generation of Animals*, trans. A. L. Pleck (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1943), 728a-b, 738a [アリストテレス「動物発生論」島崎三郎訳, 『アリストテレス全集』

第9巻, 岩波書店, 所取]; Clark, *Aristotle's Man*, 207-10.

23 *Eumenides*, 658-62 [アイスキュロス「慈みの女神たち」呉茂一訳, 『ギリシア悲劇』第1巻, ちくま文庫, 所取], Sarah B. Pomeroy, *Goddesses, whores, wives, and slaves: women in classical antiquity* (New York: Schocken Books, 2011), 65に引用されている。また Euripides, *Orestes*, 550-58 [エウリピデス「オレストス」松本仁助訳, 『ギリシア悲劇』第4巻, 筑摩書房, 所取] も参照のこと; Plato, *Timaeus*, 91 [プラトン「ティマイオス」, 前掲書]; Freeman, *The Pre-Socratic Philosophers*, 272; Aristotle, *Generation of Animals*, 763b [アリストテレス「動物発生論」, 前掲書]; Plato, *Menexenus in The Dialogues of Plato*, trans. B. Jowett (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), 1.238 [プラトン「メネクセノス」津村寛二訳, 『プラトン全集』第10巻, 岩波書店, 所取]; 凝乳剤(レンネット)の比喩については, 旧約聖書『ヨブ記』第10章10節「汝は我を乳のごとく注ぎ/乾酪(チーズ)のごとくに凝固せしめ給いしにあらざるや」も参照のこと。

24 Seneca, *Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales*, trans. R. M. Gummere (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1925), 95.18-19 [セネカ『ルキウスへの手紙——モラル通信』塚谷肇訳, 近代文芸社]; Galen, *Cœuvres anatomiques, physiologiques et médicales*, trans. Dr. Ch. Daremberg (Paris: Baillière, 1856), 14, 15; Galen, *On the Affected Parts*, trans. Rudolph E. Siegel (New York: S. Karger, 1976), 6.5; Galen, *On Semen*, ed. and trans. Phillip de Lacy (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1992), 1.14-16, 2.2-5; Ilza Veith, *Hysteria: The History of a Disease* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 38; Rebecca Flemming, *Medicine and the Making of Roman Women: Gender, Nature, and Authority from Celsus to Galen* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Thomas Laqueur, *Solitary Sex: A Cultural History of Masturbation* (New York: Zone Books, 2003), 90-91.

25 "Whence Ariseth Barrenness in Women, and Impotency in Men?" in *The Complete Works of Plutarch* (New York: Cromwell, 1909), 3: 118, and see also 196-97 [プタルコス「哲学者たちの自然

学説誌」三浦要訳, 第5巻13章「女性〔雌〕が不妊症となり、男性〔雄〕が生殖不能となるのはどうしてか?」, 『モラリア』第11巻, 京都大学学術出版会, 所収].

26 James George Frazer, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings in The Golden Bough* (London: Macmillan, 1936), 1: 150 [J・G・フレイザー『金枝篇——呪術と宗教の研究』「呪術と王の起源」神成利男訳, 石塚正英監修, 国書刊行会, 1:117]; Firmicus Maternus, *Mathesis*, trans. P. Monat (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1997), 6.31.46; McMahan, *Paralysin Cave*, 23; Homer, *Odyssey* 15.223-42 [ホメロス『オデュッセイア』松平千秋訳, 岩波書店]; Apollodorus 1.9 in *God and Heroes of the Greeks: The Library of Apollodorus*, trans. Michael Simpson (Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 1976) [アポロドーロス『ギリシア神話』高津春繁訳, 岩波書店]; Giulia Sissa, *Le corps virginal* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1987); Gleason, *Making Men*, 65; Horace, *Satires*, trans. Rushton Fairclough (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1936), 1.8.30-32 [ホラティウス『諷刺詩』, 『ホラティウス全集』鈴木一郎訳, 玉川大学出版部, 所収].

27 McMahan, *Paralysin Cave*, 9 [マールティアリス, 前掲書]. 以下の第6巻23も参照のこと。「レスピアよ, お前は私のペニスに命令する. お前のためにいつもピンと勃っているように, と. /いいかね, ペニスは指とは訳が違うのだ. /お前がいくらなやかな手や声で迫っても, /残念なことには, お前の顔の方が威力があるのだよ」[同書].

28 *The Book of Epodes*, 8 and 12 in *The Complete Works of Horace*, trans. Charles E. Passage (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1983) [ホラティウス「エポドン」8および12, 前掲書, 所収]; Herodotus, *History of the Greek and Persian Wars*, trans. George Rawlinson, ed. W. G. Forrest (London: New English Library, 1966), 2.181 [ヘロドトス『歴史』松平千秋訳, 岩波文庫]; Martial, *Epigram*, 3.70 [マールティアリス, 前掲書]; 以下も参照のこと. Lucretius, *De Rerum natura*, trans. H. A. J. Munro (London: George Bell, 1900), 4: 1238-78 [ルクレティウス『物の本質について』樋口勝彦訳, 岩波文庫].

29 Hippocrates, *On Airs*, 22.62-69 [ヒポクラテス「空気, 水, 場所について」大槻マミ太郎訳, 『ヒポ

クラテス全集』, 前掲書, 第1巻, 所収]; Aristotle, *Generation of Animals*, 725b34-35; 726a3-8 [アリストテレス「動物発生論」, 前掲書].

30 Aristotle, *Generation of Animals*, 4.2.766b-c, 4.2.767a35 [アリストテレス「動物発生論」, 前掲書]; Aristotle, *Politics*, 7.1335b [アリストテレス「政治学」, 前掲書]; Anthony Preus, "Biomedical Techniques for Influencing Human Reproduction in the Fourth Century BC," *Arethusa* 8 (1975): 243; Plutarch, *Moralia* 623e, 652d in *Plutarch's Moralia*, vol. 8, trans. Paul A. Clement and Herbert B. Hoffleit (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969) [プルタルコス「食卓談話集」松本仁助訳, 『モラリア』第8巻, 京都大学学術出版会]; Pliny, *Natural History* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1940), 16.110 [16巻46章110], 24.72 [24巻42章72] [『プリニウス博物誌 植物篇』(原著12-19巻)および『プリニウス博物誌 植物薬劑篇』(原著20-27巻), ともに大槻真一郎他訳, 八坂書房. また『プリニウスの博物誌』中野定雄他訳, 縮刷版, 全8巻, 雄山閣]; Soranus, *Gynecology*, trans. Oswei Temkin (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1956), 1.64-65; Aelian, *On the Characteristics of Animals*, trans. A. E. Scofield (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), 15.19. ここに挙げたような薬草の効果については, 以下を参照のこと. John M. Riddle, *Dioscorides on Pharmacy and Medicine* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985), 59-63; Marie Thérèse Fontanille, *Avortement et contraception dans la médecine Greco-Romaine* (Paris: Laboratoires Searlc, 1977).

31 Ovid, *Amores*, 3.7.7-14 [オウィディウス「恋の歌」, 前掲書].

32 Christopher A. Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999); Plutarch, "Advice to Bride and Groom," in *Plutarch's Moralia*, 140.8 [プルタルコス「結婚訓」瀬口昌久訳, 『モラリア』第2巻, 京都大学学術出版会, 所収]; 以下も参照のこと. *The Fasti of Ovid*, trans. Sir James George Fraser (London: Macmillan, 1929), 2.425-6 [オウィディウス『祭暦』高橋宏幸訳, 国文社]; Plutarch, *Antony*, in *Plutarch's Lives*, 37 [『プルターク英雄伝』, 前掲書,

第11巻].

33 Aristotle, *Generation of Animals*, 725b21-22; 726a3-8 [アリストテレス「動物発生論」, 前掲書]; Aristotle, *Politics*, 7.1335a [アリストテレス「政治学」, 前掲書]; Gow and Page, *The Greek Anthology*, 1: 89.

34 Juvenal, *Satires* [ユウェナーリス『サトゥラエ——諷刺詩』藤井昇訳, 日中出版]. 以下の文献への引用より. McMahon, *Paralysin Cave*, 181.

35 Henderson, *The Maculate Muse*, 130; Richlin, *The Garden of Priapus*, 167; Martial, *Epigrams*, 11: 81 [マルティアリス, 前掲書].

36 Cn. cornelius Gallus [Maximianus the Etruscan], *Elegies of Old Age*, trans. Hovenden Walker (London: B. Crayle, 1688), 61-63, 64.

37 McMahon, *Paralysin Cave*, 181.

38 Dale B. Martin, "Contradictions of Masculinity: Ascetic Inseminators and Menstruating Men in Greco-Roman Culture," in Valeria Finucci and Kevin Brownlee, eds., *Generation and Degeneration: Tropes of Reproduction in Literature and History from Antiquity through Early Modern Europe* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 81-108; Francis Schiller, "Veneri, the Spinal Cord, and Tabes Dorsalis before Romberg: The Contribution of Ernst Horn," *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease* 163 (July 1976): 4; Rufus d'Éphèse, *Ceuvres*, 3.8.; *Ceuvres de Rufus de Éphèse*, trans. Charles Daremberg (Paris: Clmprimerie Nationale, 1879), 302, 318-23; Caelius Aurelianus, *On Acute Diseases and on Chronic Diseases*, trans. I. E. Drabkin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950), "Acute Diseases," 2.13.87, 3.5.48; "Chronic Diseases," 1.17, 1.127, 1.147, 1.178, 1.182, 2.79. See also Celsus, *De Medicina*, trans. W. G. Spencer (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1935), 1: 43-45, 67.

39 Aristotle, *Historia Animalium*, 572a30 [アリストテレス『動物誌』, 前掲書]; Hesiod, *Theogony* [ヘシオドス, 前掲書]; Anne Carson, "Putting Her in Her Place: Woman, Dirt, and Desire" in David M. Halperin, John J. Winkler, and Froma I. Zcitlin, eds., *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic*

Experience in the Ancient Greek World (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 140-43.

40 Carmmina *Priapea*, CP 26, in McMahon, *Paralysin Cave*, 35.

41 Kathleen Freeman, *Ancilla to the Pre-Socratic Philosophers* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), fragment 32, 99; Michel Foucault, *The Use of Pleasure*, 130 [フーコー『快楽の活用』, 前掲書]; Allen, *The Concept of Woman*, 139.

42 H. N. Parker, "Love's Body Anatomized: The Ancient Erotic Handbooks and the Rhetoric of Sexuality," in Amy Richlin, ed., *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 90-111.

43 King, "Sowing the Field: Greek and Roman Sexology," 35; Hans Licht, *Sexual Life in Ancient Greece*, trans. J. H. Freeze (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1932), 514-15; Ovid, *Tristia*, 2.523-524 [オウィディウス『悲しみの歌／黒海からの手紙』木村健治訳, 京都大学学術出版会]; Clarke, *Looking at Lovemaking*; Thomas A. J. McGinn, "Pompeian Brothels and Social History," *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 42 (2002): 19-21.

44 上品ぶったロープ古典文庫1919年版は, マルティアリスのこのエピソードを英訳せず, イタリア語訳を収録している. Richlin, *The Garden of Priapus*, 50; Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 37, 42-45 [スエトニウス『ローマ皇帝伝』上巻, 国原吉之助訳, 岩波文庫]; Richlin, *Garden of Priapus*, 91; Ovid, *Amores*, 3.7.73-75 [オウィディウス『恋の歌』, 前掲書].

以下に引用されている. Helen King, "Sowing the Field: Greek and Roman Sexology," 35. Note that the prudish 1919 Loeb edition of Martial only provides an Italian version of the poet's reference to youths.

45 Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic*, 9-10; Suetonius, *Caligula*, 50 [スエトニウス, 前掲書, 下巻]; Plutarch, "De tuenda sanitate praecepta," in *Plutarch's Moralia*, trans. F. C. Babbitt (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1928), 134.22 [プルトルコス『健康のしるべ』瀬口昌久訳, 『モラリア』第2巻, 京都大学学術出版会, 所収. ただし邦訳を読む限りでは, 著者の指示する箇所は吐剤や下剤に

関するくだり、娼業・催淫剤に関する記述は見当たらない]; *Lucullus*, 43.1-2 in *Plutarch's Lives* [『プルターク英雄伝』, 前掲書, 第7巻].

46 “On the Nature of the Child,” in Lonie, *The Hippocratic Treatises*, 12.4 [ヒポクラテス「子供の自然性について」近藤均訳, 『ヒポクラテス全集』, 前掲書, 第2巻, 所収]; Licht, *Sexual Life in Ancient Greece*, 364-66; Riddle, *Dioscorides on Pharmacy and Medicine*; Paulus, *The Seven Books of Paulus Aegineta*, trans. Francis Adams (London: Sydenham Society, 1844), 1: 44, 46-47, 599.

47 Robert T. Gunther, ed., *The Greek Herbal of Dioscorides* (1655), trans. John Goodyer (New York: Hafner Publishing, 1959) [『ディオスコリデスの薬物誌』 鷺谷いづみ訳, エンタプライズ].

48 Jerry Stannard, “Medicinal plants and Folk Remedies in Pliny’s *Historia Naturalis*,” *History and Philosophy of the Life Sciences*, 4 (1982): 14-15.

49 Aristotle, *Historia Animalium*, 577a10-15 [アリストテレス『動物誌』, 前掲書].

50 Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic*, 19; Dominic Montserrat, *Sex and Society in Greco-Roman Egypt* (London: K. P. International, 1966), 195; *Ceuvres d’Oribase*, trans. Bussemaker and Daremberg (Paris: A L’Imprimerie Impériale, 1854), 8:39. また以下も参照のこと。Aline Rousselle, *Porneia: On Desire and the Body in Antiquity*, trans. Felicia pheasant (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), 16-17.

51 Ovid, *Amores*, 3-7.27-36; 1.14-39 [オウィディウス「恋の歌」, 前掲書].

52 John J. Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 81; Craig A. Williams, *Roman Homosexuality: Ideologies of Masculinity in Classical Antiquity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 92; Hooper, *The Priapus Poems*, 81.

53 Riddle, *Dioscorides on Pharmacy and Medicine*, 84.

54 Jane F. Gardner, “Sexing a Roman: Imperfect Men in Roman Law,” in Lin Foxhall and John Salmon, eds., *When Men Were Men: Masculinity, Power and Identity in Classical Antiquity* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 141.

55 Susan Treggiari, *Roman Marriage: “Iusti Coniuges” from the Time of Cicero to the Time of Ulpian* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), 55, 167; Gardner, “Sexing a Roman,” 143. 以下も参照のこと。

P. E. Corbett, *The Roman Law of Marriage* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930), 243-48, 53; James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1987), 36-37.

56 Seneca the Elder, *Controversiae* 2.5.14 in *Declamations*, vol.1, trans. M. Winterbottom (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974); Juvenal, *The Satires*, trans. Niall Judd (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991) [ユウェナーリス, 前掲書]; Sarah B. Pomeroy, *Spartan Women* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 45; Plutarch, “Lycurgus” in *Plutarch’s Lives*, 15.4-7 [『プルターク英雄伝』, 前掲書, 第1巻]; Juvenal, *The Satires* [ユウェナーリス, 前掲書]. 以下も参照のこと。Catullus, “Door,” in *The Poems of Catullus*, 168.

57 Freeman, *Ancilla*, fragment 276-77, p.116; *Seneca’s Morals*, ed. Roger L’Estrange (New York: J. and J. Harper, 1818), 5; Keith R. Bradley, “Child Labor in the Roman World,” *Historical Reflections / Réflexions historiques* 12 (1985): 311-25.

58 McMahon, *Paralysin Cave*, 15.

第2章

1 R. H. Helmholz, *Marriage Litigation in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 89.

2 James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1987), 457. 以下のページも参照のこと。505, 566.

3 Michel Foucault, *The Use of Pleasure*, 39 [フーコー『快楽の活用』, 前掲書]; 以下も参照のこと。Catherine Rider, *Magic and Impotence in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

4 Thomas Habinek, “The Invention of Sexuality

in the World-City of Rome,” in Thomas Habinek and Alessandro Schiesaro, eds., *The Roman Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 23-44.

5 以下も参照のこと。Lactantius, *The Divine Institutes*, trans. Mary F. MacDonald (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1964), 1.17, 6.20; Marcia L. Colish, *The Stoic Tradition from Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1985).

6 *Didache*, 2.2 [『十二使徒の教え』, 上智大学中世思想研究所編訳・監修「中世思想原典集成」第1巻「初期ギリシア教父」平凡社, 所収]; Barnabas, 10.6-8, in Robert A. Kraft, *The Apostolic Fathers*, vol. 3 (New York: Nelson, 1965) [三小田敏雄「バルナバの手紙」, 『東海大学紀要 文学部』第7号, 1965, 51-71]. 以下も参照のこと。Peter Brown, “Antiquité tardive,” in Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby, eds., *Histoire de la vie privée* (Paris: Seuil, 1985), 1: 286-95; Ramsay MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire AD 100-400* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 10-79.

7 Tertullian, *De spectaculis*, trans. T. R. Glover (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1931), 10; St. John Chrysostom, *The Homilies of St. John Chrysostom* (Oxford: Parker, 1841), 24.414; Clemente de Alejandría, *Protréptico*, trans. Consalación Isart Herlández (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1994), 4.57-61 [アレクサンドリアのクレメンティス『プロトレプティコス』(『ギリシア人への勧告』) 秋山学訳, 『文藝言語研究 文藝篇』筑波大学大学院人文社会科学研究所科芸・言語専攻, 57号, 2010, 1-82]; Clement of Alexandria, “The Instructor,” [Paedagogus] in *The Anti-Nicene Fathers*, (Grand Rapids: Erdmans, 1951), 3.4 [アレクサンドリアのクレメンティス『バイダゴゴス』(『訓導者』) 第1巻, 秋山学訳, 『文藝言語研究 文藝篇』筑波大学大学院人文社会科学研究所科芸・言語専攻, 第59号, 2011, 1-62; 同第2巻, 秋山学訳, 『文藝言語研究 言語篇』筑波大学大学院人文社会科学研究所科芸・言語専攻, 第59号, 2011, 1-74; 同第3巻, 秋山学訳, 『古典古代学』筑波大学大学院人文社会科学研究所古典古代学研究室, 第3号, 2010, 25-76]; Saint Caesarius of Arles, *Sermons*, trans. M. M. Mueller (New

York: Fathers of the Church, 1956), 51.1; 51.4.

8 Tertullian, *On the Apparel of Women in The Ante-Nicene Fathers* (Buffalo: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1885), 2.1; Elaine Pagels, *Adam, Eve, and the Serpent* (New York: Random House, 1988), 17 [バイゲルス『アダムとエバと蛇——「楽園神話」解釈の変遷』絹川久子, 出村みや子訳, ヨルダン社].

9 Saint Jerome, “On the Perpetual Virginity of the Blessed Mary Against Helvidius,” in *Dogmatic and Polemical Works*, trans. J. N. Hritzu (Washington, D. C.: catholic University of America, 1965), 42; Mathew Kuefler, *The Manly Eunuch; Masculinity, Gender Ambiguity, and Christian Ideology in Late Antiquity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 78, 161, 177.

10 Bruce S. Thornton, *Eros: The Myth of Ancient Greek Sexuality* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997); Wayne A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983) [ウエイン・A・ミークス『古代都市のキリスト教——パウロ伝道圏の社会学的研究』加山久夫監訳, ヨルダン社].

11 Uta Ranke-Heinemann, *Eunuchs for Heaven; The Catholic Church and Sexuality*, trans. John Brownjohn (New York: Andre Deutsch, 1990) [ウタ・ランケ＝ハイネマン『カトリック教会と性の歴史』高木昌史ほか訳, 三交社]; Kathryn M. Ringrose, *The Perfect Servant: Eunuchs and the Social Construction of Gender in Byzantium* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Gerard E. Caspary, *Politics and Exegesis; Origen and the Two Swords* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 59.

12 Daniel Boyarin, *Carnal Israel: Reading Sex in Talmudic Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 45.

13 Jeremy Cohen, “Be Fertile and Increase, Fill the Earth and Master It”; *The Ancient and Medieval Career of a Biblical Text* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 134, 136, 177; Boyarin, *Carnal Israel*, 140-41, 197, 220-21.

14 Ringrose, *The Perfect Servant*, 113; Clement of Alexandria, *Christ the Educator*, trans. S. P. Wood

(New York: Fathers of the Church, 1954), 173; Denise Kimber Buell, *Making Christians; Clement of Alexandria and the Rhetoric of Legitimacy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 22-26; Lactantius, "The Workmanship of God," in *The Minor Works*, tr. M. F. McDonald (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America, 1965), 42; Lactantius, *The Divine Institutes*, tr. M. F. McDonald (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1964), 42, 459.

15 Augustine, *De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione*, 2.2 [アウグスティヌス「罪の報いと赦し、および幼児洗礼」, 『アウグスティヌス著作集』第29巻「ペラギウス派駁論集(3)」, 金子晴勇, 畑宏枝訳, 教文館, 所収, 2.22]. 以下の文献への引用. Pagels, *Adam, Eve, and the Serpent*, 111 [ペイゲルス, 前掲書].

16 James Grantham Turner, *One Flesh: Paradisal Marriage and Sexual Relations in the Age of Milton* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 43-44; Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, 14, 19-20 [アウグスティヌス『神の国』全5巻, 服部英次郎訳, 岩波文庫, 第3巻, 14: 16]. 以下の文献への引用. Pagels, *Adam, Eve, and the Serpent*, 111 [ペイゲルス, 前掲書]; Pagels, *Adam, Eve, and the Serpent*, 105 [ペイゲルス, 前掲書]; Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 391 [P・ブラウン『アウグスティヌス伝』全2巻, 出村和彦訳, 教文館].

17 Brown, *Augustine of Hippo*, 502 [ブラウン『アウグスティヌス伝』, 前掲書]; Augustine, *Confessions*, in *Basic Writings of St. Augustine*, ed. Whitney Jones (New York: Random House, 1948), 4.2 [アウグスティヌス『告白』全2巻, 服部英次郎訳, 岩波文庫, 1: 93].

18 Marie-Odile Métral, *Le Mariage: Les Hésitations de l'occident* (Paris: Aubier, 1977); Dyan Elliott, *Fallen Bodies: Pollution, Sexuality, and Demonology in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 104; Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, *Christianity and Sexuality in the early Modern World: Regulating Desire, Reforming Practice* (London: Routledge, 2000), 108.

19 Percy Elwood Corbett, *The Roman Law of Marriage* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930), 246-47; Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, 116.

20 Hali Meidenhad, ed. F. J. Furnivall (London: Early English Text Society, 1922), 12; Karma Lochie, *Covert Operations: The Medieval Uses of Secrecy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 199-201; Pierre J. Payer, *Sex and the Penitentials: The Development of a Sexual Code, 550-1150* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 33, 69; Jean Gaudemet, *Le Mariage en occident: Les Mœurs et le droit* (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1987), 198; Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, 144-45, 164.

21 Mark Jordan, *The Invention of Sodomy in Christian Theology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, 224-25, 284; Thomas G. Benedek and Janet Kubinec, "The Evaluation of Impotence by Sexual Congress and Alternatives Thereto in Divorce Proceedings," *Transactions and Studies of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia* 4 (1982): 122-33.

22 Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, 236, 457.

23 *The "Summa Theologica" of St. Thomas Aquinas*, trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province (London: Burns Dates and Washbourne, 1932), Suppl.q.58a1.

24 Arthur T. McClory, "The Notion of Impotence in Canon Law" (Doctor of Canon Law diss., University of Laval, 1951), 2: 294; Pierre J. Payer, *The Bridling of Desire: Views of Sex in the Later Middle Ages* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 73.

25 John T. Noonan, *Contraception: A History of Its Treatment by the Catholic Theologians and Canonists* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1965), 284-90; John T. Noonan, *Power to Dissolve: Lawyers and Marriages in the Courts of the Roman Curia* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972); Danielle Jacquart and Claud Thomasset, *Sexuality and Medicine in the Middle Ages*, trans. Matthew Adamson (Cambridge:

Polity Press, 1988), 169.

26 Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, 291-92; Dyan Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 232, 286; Lynn Stanley, ed., *The Book of Margery Kempe* (New York: Norton, 2001), 17; Dyan Elliott, "Bernardino of Sienna versus the Marriage Debt," in Jacqueline Murray and Konrad Eisenbichler, eds., *Sex and Sexuality in the Premodern West* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 177.

27 Ranke-Heinemann, *Eunuchs for Heaven*, 207 [ランケ=ハイネマン『カトリック教会と性の歴史』前掲書]; Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, 291, 415.

28 Jacqueline Murray, "On the Origins and Role of the 'wise Woman' in Causes for Annulment on the Grounds of Male Impotence," *Journal of Medieval History* 16 (1990): 235-49; Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage*, 153-54; Helmholtz, *Marriage Litigation in Medieval England*, 53.

29 Guy de Chauliac, *Le Guidon en français, corrigé par maître Canappe* (Paris: Hierosme, 1550), 264-65; Michael Camille, "Manuscript Illumination and the Art of Copulation," in Karma Lochrie, Peggy McCracken, and James A. Schultz, eds., *Constructing Medieval Sexuality* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 72; Ruth Karras, *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 97; Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, 512.

30 McClory, "The Notion of Impotence in Canon Law," 2: 318, 382-83; James E. Risk, *Marriage-Contract and Sacrament: A Manual of the Laws of the Catholic Church on Marriage for the Use of American Lawyers* (Chicago: Callaghan and Co., 1957), 61.

31 J. A. Brundage, "Matrimonial Politics in Thirteenth-Century Aragon: Moncada v. Urgel," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 31 (1980): 271-82.

32 Peter Biller, *The Measure of Multitude: Population in Medieval Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 19, 39; Jacquart and

Thomasset, *Sexuality and Medicine*, 171; Murray, "On the Origins and Role of the 'Wise Women,'" 235-49; Jacquart and Thomasset, *Sexuality and Medicine*, 172; Gaudemet, *Le Mariage en occident*, 248.

33 Maria Bellonci, *The Life and Times of Lucrezia Borgia*, trans. Bernard and Barbara wall (London: Phoenix Press, 2000), 83 [マリニア・ベロンチ『ルクレツィア・ボルジア——ルネッサンスの黄昏』大久保昭男訳, 河出書房新社]; Ferdinand Gergorovius, *Lucretia Borgia* (New York: Appleton and Co., 1903), 108-9.

34 Guido Ruggiero, *The Boundaries of Eros: Sex Crime and Sexuality In Renaissance Italy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 146-47.

35 Lyndal Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil: Witchcraft, Sexuality, and Religion in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 1994), 95; Thomas Max Safley, *Let No Man Put Asunder: The Control of Marriage in the German Southwest: A Comparative Study, 1550-1600* (Kirksville, Missouri: The Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1984), 33.

36 Saney, *Let No Man Put Asunder*, 36.

37 Safley, *Let No Man Put Asunder*, 76-77, 132.

38 Joan Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 206; Leo Steinberg, *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and Modern Oblivion* (New York: Pantheon, 1983), 86-91; Carolyn Bynum Walker, "The Body of Christ in the Later Middle Ages: A Reply to Leo Steinberg," *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone Books, 1991), 85; Martin Irvine, "Abelard and (Re)writing the Male Body: Castration, Identity, and Remasculinization" in Jeffrey Jerome Cohen and Bonnie Wheeler, eds. *Becoming Male in the Middle Ages* (New York: Garland, 1997), 87-107.

39 Madeleine Jay, "Sexuality and Family in Fifteenth-Century France: Are Literary Sources a Mask or Mirror," *Journal of Family History* 4 (1979): 337; Jo Ann McNamara, "An Unresolved

Syllogism: The Search for a Christian Gender System,” in Jacqueline Murray, ed., *Conflicted Identities and Multiple Masculinities* (New York: Garland, 1999), 6; Robert Hellman and Richard O’Gorman, eds., *Fabliaux: Ribald Tales from the Old French* (New York: Cromwell, 1965), 24.

40 Michael Roche, *Forbidden Friendships: Homosexuality and Male Culture in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 287n71; Shannon McSheffrey, “Men and Masculinities in Late Medieval London Civic Culture,” in Murray, ed., *Conflicted Identities*, 265; Jacques Le Goff and Jean Schmitt, eds., *Le Charivari* (Paris: Mouton, 1981); Natalie Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1975), 106-7 [ナタリー・デーモン・デーヴィス『愚者の王国異端の都市——近代初期フランスの民衆文化』成瀬駒男他訳, 平凡社].

41 Brian Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges, Medieval Finds from Excavations in London* (London: Stationery Office: 1998), 317-18; J. H. E. van Beuningen and A. M. Koldeweij, *Heilig en Profaan* (Den Haag: Rotterdam Papers, 1993), 254-62; Craig Williamson, *A Feast of Creatures: Anglo-Saxon Riddle Songs* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), 83, 104, 105; Nancy Cotton, “Castrating(W)itches: Impotence and Magic in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*,” *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 38 (1987): 20-26.

42 Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, ed., J. Halverson (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1971), 1807-8 [チョーサー『完訳カンタベリー物語』全3巻, 榊井迪夫訳, 岩波文庫, 2: 194]; Paul Delaney, “Constantinus Africanus’ *De Coitu*: A Translation,” *Chaucer Review* 4 (1969): 55-65.

43 Biller, *The Measure of Multitude*, 253; Monica H. Green, *The Trotula: A Medieval Compendium of Women’s Medicine* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2001), 122-23.

44 Patrick Singy, “Friction of the Genitals and the Secularization of Morality,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 12 (2003): 352; Albert the Great, *Man and the Beasts: De Animalibus* [books

22-26] trans. James J. Scanlan (Binghamton, N.Y.: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1987).

45 Petrus Hispanus [John XXI], *The Treasury of Healthe*, trans. Humfre Lloyd (London: Lloyd, 1558), Di-ii; Jacquart and Thomasset, *Sexuality and Medicine*, 173; Mary Frances Wack, *Lovesickness in the Middle Ages: The Viaticum and Its Commentaries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), 41; Michael Solomon, *The Literature of Misogyny in Medieval Spain: The Arcipreste de Talavera and the Spill* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 35; S. V. Larkey and T. Pyles, eds., *An Herbal*, (1525; New York: Scholars Press, 1942), 27; Philip Moore, *The Hope of Health* (London: J. Kingston, 1565); John Maplet, *A Greene Forest or a Natural Historie* (London: H. Denham, 1567), 38; and see also Dr. Christopher Wirtzung, *Praxis: Medicinae Universaia: or A General Practice of Physicke* (London: Bishop, 1598), 294; *Ram’s Little Dodeon: A Brief Epitome of a New Herbal*, trans. Henry Lyte (London: Stafford, 1606), 138.

46 Michael Camille, “Manuscript Illumination and the Art of Copulation,” in *Constructing Medieval Sexuality*, 58-90; Luke E. Maitre, *Doctor Bernard de Gordon: Professor and Practitioner* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1980), 87.

47 Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages*, 231, 237.

48 Helen Rodnite Lemay, “Antonius Guainerius and Medical Gynecology,” in Julius Kirshner and Suzanne F. Wemple, eds., *Women of the Medieval World: Essays in Honor of John H. Mundy* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985), 323-31; Arnaldus de Villa Nova, *Here is a New Boke, called the Defence of Age and Recovery of Youth*, trans. Jonas Drummond (London: Robert Wyer, 1540), Aii.

49 Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage*, 153; Solomon, *The Literature of Misogyny in Medieval Spain*, 53, 184n11.

50 Thomas Vicary, *Profitable Treatise of the Anatomie of Mans Body* (London: Henry

- Bamforde, 1577) no pagination; Thomas Cogan, *The Haven of Health* (London: Henrie Middleton, 1584), 246-47; Levine Lemnie, *The Touchstone of Complexions*, trans. Thomas Newton (London: Barth, 1581), 43; Philip Barrough, *The Method of Physick* (London: R. Field, 1617), 180; Peter Levens, *A Right Profitable Booke for All Diseases* (London: White, 1582), 102; François Rabelais, *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, trans. Burton Raffel (New York: Norton, 1990), 323-25 [フランソワ・ラブレール「ガルガンチュアとパンタグリユエル」第3巻『第三の書』宮下四朗訳, ちくま文庫, 第31章].
- 51** Henry E. Sigerist, "Impotence as a Result of Witchcraft," in *Essays in Biology in Honour of Herbert M. Evans* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1943), 539-46; Godfrid Storms, *Anglo-Saxon Magic* (Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1948), 83; Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil*, 188.
- 52** John T. McNeill and Helena M. Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance* (New York: Octagon, 1965), 119, 166, 197, 237, 291, 304, 330, 340; Georges Duby, *The Knight, the Lady and the Priest: The Making of Modern Marriage in Medieval France*, trans. Barbara Bray (New York: Pantheon, 1983), 71; John T. McNeill and Helena M. Gamer, eds., *The Corrector of Burchard of Worms in Medieval Handbooks of Penance* (New York: Octagon Books, 1965), 340; Jean Devise, *Hincmar, archevêque de Reims, 845-882* (Geneva: Droz, 1975), 1: 377-80, 400; Guibert, *The Autobiography of Guibert, Abbot of Nogent-sous-Coucy*, trans. C. C. Swinton Bland (London: Routledge, 1960), 40-44 [ジョルジュ・デュビエ『中世の結婚——騎士・女性・司祭』篠田勝英訳, 新評論].
- 53** Lucille B. Pinto, "The Folk Practice of Gynecology and Obstetrics in the Middle Ages," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 47 (1973), 513-23; Jane Bishop, "Bishops as Marital Advisors," in Kirshner and Wemple, eds., *Women of the Medieval World*, 67; Duby, *The Knight, the Lady and the Priest*, 142, 205 [デュビエ『中世の結婚』, 前掲書].
- 54** Guibert, *The Autobiography of Guibert*, 123.
- 55** Dyann Elliott, "Pollution, illusion, and Masculine Disarray: Nocturnal Emissions and the Sexuality of the Clergy," in Lochrie, McCracken, and Schultz, eds., *Constructing Medieval Sexuality*, 1-23; Elliott, *Fallen Bodies: Pollution, Sexuality, and Demonology*.
- 56** Ranke-Heinemann, *Eunuchs for Heaven*, 200; and see also 206-7 [ランケ=ハイネマン『カトリック教会と性の歴史』前掲書].
- 57** Montague Summers, ed., *The Malleus Maleficarum of Heinrich Kramer and James Sprenger* (New York: Dover Publications, 1971), 55.
- 58** Summers, ed., *The Malleus Maleficarum*, 59.
- 59** Summers, ed., *The Malleus Maleficarum*, 60.
- 60** Walter Stephens, "Witches who Steal Penises: Impotence and Illusion in Malleus Maleficarum," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 28 (1998): 495-529; Walter Stephens, *Demon Lovers* (Chicago: University of Chicago press, 2002), 312-17; Wack, *Lovesickness in the Middle Ages*, 165; Summers, ed., *The Malleus Maleficarum*, 56.
- 61** David Herlihy, *Medieval Households* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985), 31-32; Jean Bodin, *On the Demon-Mania of Witches* (1580), trans. Randy A. Scott (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 1995), 98, 100.
- 62** Charles Godfrey Leland, *The Unpublished Legends of Virgil* (London: Elliot Stock, 1899), 98. またセックスを求める女性については, 以下も参照のこと. Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Decameron*, trans. John Payne (New York: The Modern Library, 1930), 288-93 [ジョヴァンニ・ボッカッチョ『デカメロン(十日物語)』全6巻, 野上素一訳, 岩波文庫].
- 63** Jean de Coras, *Arrest memorable du Parlement de Tolose* (Lyon: Antoine Vincent, 1565), 47-48; Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983), 19-21 [ナタリー・Z・デーヴィス『帰ってきたマルタン・ゲール——16世紀フランスのにせ亭主騒動』成瀬駒男訳, 平凡社ライブラリー]; Johann Weyer, *De praestigis daemonum*, 6th ed. 1583, ed. George Mora (Binghampton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1991), 464.

- 64 Ruth Martin, *Witchcraft and the Inquisition in Venice, 1550-1650* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 53; Bodin, *On the Demon-Mania of Witches*, 100; James I, *Daemonologie* (1597; London: The Bodley Head, 1924), xiii.
- 65 Girolamo Cardano, *Opera omnia*, 2: 76-77, cited in Nancy G. Siraisi, *The Clock and the Mirror: Girolamo Cardano and Renaissance Medicine* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 221.
- 66 Siraisi, *The Clock and the Mirror*, 165.
- 67 Winfried Schleiner, "The Nexus of Witchcraft and Male Impotence in Renaissance Thought and Its Reflections in Mann's Doktor Faustus," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 84 (April 1985): 175; Weyer, *De praestigiis daemonum*, 334-35; Reginald Scot, *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, 1584 (New York: Da Capo Press, 1971), 77, 80.
- 68 Michel de Montaigne, "On the Powers of the Imagination," in *The Essays of Michel de Montaigne*, trans. M. A. Screech (London: Allen Lane, 1991), 112, 114 [ミシェル・ド・モンテーニュ「想像力について」, 『エッセー』原二郎訳, 岩波文庫, 第1巻21章, または宮下志朗訳, 白水社, 第1巻20章].
- 69 Montaigne, "On the Powers of the Imagination," 115 [モンテーニュ「想像力について」, 前掲書].

第3章

- 1 Frances Mossiker, *Madame de Sévigné: A Life and Letters* (New York: Knopf, 1983), 95; Madame de Sévigné, *Correspondance* (Paris: Gallimard, 1925), 1: 1047.
- 2 David Lindley, *The Trials of Frances Howard: Fact and Fiction at the Court of King James* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 99; Ramble Cotgrave, *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (London: Adam Islip, 1611); Thomas Middleton, *The Witch*, ed. Elizabeth Schafer (New York: N. N. Norton, 1994), 20 (台詞はこの版による)[1.2.155-9].
- 3 Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*

(Oxford: Lichfield and Short, 1621), 287 [ロバート・バートン『恋愛解剖学』斎藤美洲訳, 桃源社, および以下も参照のこと. Vincent Tagereau, *Discours sur L'impuissance de l'homme et de la femme* (Paris: Srayet and Rousset, 1612), 142; Martin, *Witchcraft and the Inquisition in Venice*, 107, 127.

4 John Nada, *Carlos the Bewitched: The Last Spanish Hapsburg, 1661-1700* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1962), 222, 235.

5 John Pechey, *The Compleat Midwife's Practice Enlarged* (London: Rhodes, 1698), 243; Nicholas Culpeper, *A Directory for Midwives* (London: Peter Cole, 1660), 89; Jane Sharp, *The Complete Midwife's Companion: or the Art of Midwifery Improved* (London: Simon Miller), 101; and see also Thomas Lupton, *A Thousand Notable Things of Sundry Sortes* (London: Hughe Spooner, 1579), 20; Abbé Jean Baptiste Thiers, *Traité des superstitions anciennes et modernes* (1679; Amsterdam: Bernard, 1723), 324; Keith Christiansen, "Lorenzo Lotto and the Tradition of Epithalamic Paintings," *Apollo* (September 1986): 166-73.

6 John Webster, *The Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft* (London: S. M., 1677), 246; Joseph Bajada, *Sexual Impotence: The Contribution of Paolo Zacchia, 1584-1659* (Rome: Editrice Pontifica Universita Gregoriana, 1988), 121; Thiers, *Traité des superstitions anciennes et modernes*, 2: 319-34; Giancarlo Carabelli, *In the Image of Priapus* (London: Duckworth, 1996); Julia Peakman, *Mighty Lewd Books: The Development of Pornography in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 109-10.

7 *Works of Robert Herrick*, ed., Alfred Pollard (London: Lawrence and Bullen, 1891), 1: 10.

8 Daniel Defoe, *Conjugal Lewdness: or, Matrimonial Whoredom — A Treatise Concerning the Use and Abuse of the Marriage Bed* (London: J. Warner, 1727), 152; Robert Burns, "Address to the Deil," *The Poems and Songs of Robert Burns*, ed., James Kinsley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 1:170, lines 61-62 [ロバート・バーンズ「悪魔にも

の申す」山田修訳，ロバート・バーンズ研究会編訳『ロバート・バーンズ詩集』国文社，所収〕。以下も参照のこと。Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Jasmin's Witch* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1987) [E・ル＝ロワ＝ラデュリ『ジャスミンの魔女——南フランスの女性と呪術』杉山光信訳，新評論]。

9 Levinus Lermius, *The Secret Miracles of Nature in Four Books* (1658), cited in Alexandra Shepherd, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 60; Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, 317 [バートン，前掲書]; John Downe, *Four Treatises Tending to Diswade All Christians* (London: Hall, 1613), 151.

10 Angus McLaren, *Reproductive Rituals: The Perception of Fertility in England from The Sixteenth Century to the Nineteenth Century* (London: Methuen, 1984), 19-20; Winfried, *Medical Ethics in the Renaissance* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1995), 135-36; Ambroise Paré, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. J.-F. Malgaigne (Paris: J.-B. Baillière, 1841), 1: 161; 2: 636.

11 Louys de Serres, *Discours de la nature, causes, signes, & empchemens de la conception, & de la Sterilité des femmes* (Lyon: Antoine Chard, 1625), 93-94.

12 De Serres, *Discours de la nature*, 225; see also Alain Molinier, "Pérenniser et concevoir," in Jean Delumeau et Daniel Roche, eds., *Histoire des Pères et de la paternité* (Paris: Larousse, 2000), 93.

13 Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 55; and see also Kathleen M. Crowther-Heyck, "Be Fruitful and Multiply: Genesis and Generation in Refonnation Germany," *Renaissance Quarterly* 55 (2002): 904-35.

14 Sinibaldus, *Rare Verities: The Cabinet of Venus Unlocked* (London: P. Briggs, 1657), 39-43; Michael Etmüller, *Etmullerus Abridg'd: or, A Compleat System of the Theory and Practice of Physic, Being a Description of All Diseases Incident to Men, Women and Children* (London: E. Harris

1699), 572-74; Philip Barrough, *The Method of Physick* (London: R. Field, 1617), 180.

15 Helkiah Crooke, *Microcosmographia* (London: R. C., 1651), 156; John Pechey, *The Compleat Midwife's Practice Enlarged*, 22, 26.

16 Sharp, *The Complete Midwife's Companion*, 18; Anon., *Compleat Midwifes Practice* (London: Nathaniel Brooke, 1656), 1: 24, 26, 39; 2: 67; John Sadler, *The Sick Woman's Private Looking-Glasse* (London: Griffin, 1636), 119.

17 Anon., *Compleat Midwifes Practice*, 20; *Aristotle's Master-Piece* (London: Booksellers, 1694); *Aristotle's Masterpiece* (London: D. P., 1740?), 11; *Aristotle's Last Legacy* (London: Booksellers, 1776), 26-28; *The Works of Aristotle the famous philosopher containing his Complete Masterpiece* (Derby: Thomas Richardson, c. 1840), 5.

18 A Physician [Nicolas de Venette], *Conjugal Love Reveald*, 7th ed. (London: Thomas Hinton, 1720?), 117; Nicolas de Venette, *Conjugal Love; or, The Pleasures of the Marriage Bed* (London: The Booksellers, 1770?), 50, 105, 154-55, 184.

19 Edward Ward, *The Whole Pleasures of Marriage* (London: Norris, 1710), 61; *The Works of William Shakespeare* (New York Oxford University Press, 1904), 866 [シェイクスピア『マクベス』福田恒存訳，新潮文庫]。

20 Robert T. Gunther, ed., *The Greek Herbal of Dioscorides*, trans. John Goodyer (1655) (New York: Hafner Publishing, 1959); Nicholas Culpeper, *Galen's Art of Physick* (London: P. Cole, 1652), 41-44; Nicholas Culpeper, *The English Physician Enlarged* (London: J. Churchill, 1714), 25, 85, 90, 91, 160, 214, 215, 227; and see also Anon., *Complete Midwife's Practice Enlarged* (London: Nathaniel Brook, 1663), 254, 312-13.

21 *Now or Never: Or, A New Parliament of Women* (London: George Norton, 1656). 6; Thomas Otway, *The Soldier's Fortune in The Works of Thomas Otway*, ed. J. C. Ghosh (Oxford:arendon Press, 1932), act 5, lines 599-601; Elizabeth Blackwell, *A Curious Herbal* (London: Harding, 1737), 2: 102; Sir George Etherege, *She Would*

If She Could, ed. charlene M. Taylor (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971).

22 Susan Dwyer Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), 99-105.

23 Bernard Capp, *When Gossips Meet: Women, Family, and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 198; Peter M. Moogk, "'Thieving Buggers' and 'Stupid Sluts': Insults and Popular Culture in New France," *William and Mary Quarterly* 26 (1979): 536; Roger Thompson, *Unfit for Modest Ears: A Study of Pornographic, Obscene, and Bawdy Works Written or Published in England in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century* (London: Macmillan, 1979), 103.

24 Charles Sedley, "The Happy Pair" (1702), lines 267-71, in *The Poetical and Dramatic Works of Sir Charles Sedley*, ed. V. de Sola Pinto (London: Constable and Company, 1928), 1: 63-73.

25 Thompson, *Unfit for Modest Ears*, 106; Sinibaldus, *Rare Verities*, 19.

26 John Henry Meibomius, *A Treatise of the Use of Flogging in Medicine and Venery* (Paris: Isidore Lisieux, 1898); *Fifteen Real Comforts of Matrimony* (London: Benjamin Alsop, 1683), 46; Anon. [John Armstrong], *The Economy of Love: A Poetical Essay* (London: T. Cooper, 1737), lines 529-31; and see also Thompson, *Unfit for Modest Ears*, 105; Schleiner, *Medical Ethics in the Renaissance*, 140-47.

27 "A Satyr on Charles II" (circa 1673), in David M Vieth, ed., *The Complete Poems of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), 61, lines 28-31.

28 Katherine B. Crawford, "The Politics of Promiscuity: Masculinity and Heroic Representation at the Court of Henry IV," *French Historical Studies* 26 (2003): 225-52.

29 John Ehnnan, *The Younger Pitt* (New York: Dutton, 1969), 1: 108.

30 *The Women's Petition against Coffee, Representing to Public Consideration the Grand Inconueniencies Accruing to their Sex from the*

Excessive Use of that Drying, Enfeebling Liquor (London, 1674), 3; *Aristotle's Last Legacy, Unfolding the Mysteries of Nature in the Generation of Man* (London, 1741), 90; and see also Judith C. Mueller, "Imperfect Enjoyment at Market Hill: Impotence, Desire, and Reform in Swift's Poems to Lady Acheson," *English Literary History* 66 (1999): 51-70.

31 *Polly Peachum's Jest* (London: J. Roberts, 1728), 43; P. M. Zall, *A Nest of Ninnies: And Other English Jestbooks of the Seventeenth Century* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), xv, 260; and see also *The Puzzle: Being a Choice Collection of Conundrums* (London: Jonathan Carpenter, 1745); *Cambridge Jest: Being Wit's Recreation* (Newcastle, 1750), 6, 16-17; *A Whetstone for Dull Wits* (Newcastle, 1765), 1, 8; *Wit Newly Revived, Being a Book of Riddles* (Newcastle, InS), 7; *The Trial of Wit, or, A New Riddle-Book* (Glasgow, 1782), 2, 8; *The Merry Andrew; or, Macaroni Jester* (London, 1786), 6, 12, 16, 28.

32 Laurence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy* (London: Penguin, 1976) [ロレンス・スターン『紳士トリストラム・シャンディの生涯と意見』朱牟田夏雄訳, 「筑摩世界文学大系」第21巻, 筑摩書房], and see also R. F. Brissenden, *Virtue in Distress: Studies in the Novel of Sentiment from Richardson to Sade* (London: Macmillan, 1974), 208-9; Felicity A. Nussbaum, *The Limits of the Human: Fictions of Anomaly, Race, and Gender in the Long Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 101-5; Judith C. Mueller, "Fallen Men: Representations of Male Impotence in Britain," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 28 (1999): 85-102; Karen Harvey, *Reading Sex in the Eighteenth Century: Bodies and Gender in English Erotic Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 137-39.

33 Gordon Williams, *A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature* (London: Athlone Press, 1994), 1: 125, 173-74, 395, 551-52, 566-67; Julie Coleman, *Love, Sex, and Marriage: A Historical Thesaurus*

- (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999), 200-201; P. J. Leroux, *Dictionnaire comique, satyrique, critique, burlesque, libre et proverbial* (Paris: [A Pampelune] 1786); Thompson, *Unfit for Modest Ears*, 106-7; Roger Thompson, ed., *Samuel Pepys's Penny Merriments* (London: Constable, 1976), 260-63; Edward Ward, *Nuptial Dialogues and Debates: or, An Useful Prospect of the Felicities and Discomforts of a Marry'd Life, Incident to all Degrees, from the Throne to the Cottage* (London: T. Norris, 1710), 43. サミュエル・ビーブスは、「自分に子供ができないことについて」ご婦人方に意見を求めたところ、温かい飲物だとか子づくりに良い性交体位などのことを、うれしそうに話してくれたと、1664年7月26日付の日記に書いている。Henry B. Wheatley, ed., *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (New York: Random House, 1946), 1: 942.
- 34** Anon., *The Ten Pleasures of Marriage* (London: 1682), 50, 51, 68; *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle* (Paris: Piene Larousse, 1866-90), 9: 61; and see also Raymond Stephanson, *The Yard of Wit: Male Creativity and Sexuality, 1650-1750* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 207-10, 250, n.103.
- 35** Anon., *Roxburghe Ballads* (London, 1774), 1: 28-29; Lisa Jardine, *Still Harping on Daughters: Women and Drama in the Age of Shakespeare* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1983), 123; Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*, 5-11; Kenneth A. Lockridge, *On the Sources of Patriarchal Rage: The Commonplace Books of William Byrd and Thomas Jefferson and the Gendering of Power in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 1992), 6-19; Thompson, *Unfit for Modest Ears*, 109.
- 36** Niccolò Machiavelli, *Mandragola*, trans. Anne and Henry Paolucci (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1957) [マキアヴェッリ「マンドラーゴラ」脇功訳, 『マキアヴェッリ全集』第4巻, 筑摩書房]; Sinibaldus, *Rare Verities*, 16-17; Elizabeth A. Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (London: Longman, 1999), 68-71; Daniel Defoe, *Conjugal Lewdness: or, Matrimonial Whoredom — A Treatise Concerning the Use and Abuse of the Marriage Bed* (London: Warner, 1727), 131; John Marten, *A Treatise of All the Degrees and Symptoms of the Venereal Disease* (London: S. Crouch, 1708), 424-25; Charles Ancillon, *Eunuchism Display'd* (London: E. Curl, 1718), 168-69, 216, 219, 220.
- 37** Anon., *Roxburghe Ballads*, 8: 190-91; and see Joy Wiltenburg, *Disorderly Women and Female Power in the Street Literature of Early Modern England and Germany* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992), 148-51.
- 38** Anon., *Roxburghe Ballads*, 2: 447; J. Woodfall Ebsworth, ed., *Roxburghe Ballads* (Hertford: Ballad Society, 1871-99), 8: 670.
- 39** Ebsworth, *Roxburghe Ballads*, 8,3: 679-81.
- 40** Marjorie Garber, "Out of Joint," in David Hillman and Carla Mazzio, eds., *The Body in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 1997), 27; *Aristotle's Masterpiece* (London: D. P., 1740?), 43; Anon., *Roxburghe Ballads*, 1: 46-47.
- 41** *Fifteen Real Comforts of Matrimony* (London: Benjamin Alsop, 1683), 37, 42, 45, 48.
- 42** David M. Turner, *Fashioning Adultery: Gender, Sex and Civility in England, 1660-1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 88; *An Essay Upon Improving and Adding to the Strength of Great Britain and Ireland by Fornication Justifying the Same from Scripture and Reason* (Dublin, 1735), 16.
- 43** Anon., *Roxburghe Ballads*, 2: 410.
- 44** *Fifteen Real Comforts of Matrimony*, 79.
- 45** Anon., *Roxburghe Ballads*, 3: 196; Ebsworth, *Roxburghe Ballads*, 8,1: 197.
- 46** John Garfield, *The Wandering Whore (1660-1661)* (University of Exeter: The Rota, 1977), 13; *Polly Peachum's Jest* (London: J. Roberts, 1728), 12.
- 47** *The Fumbler's Rant* (Glasgow: J and M Rohertson, 1808), 2.
- 48** Thomas Hamilton, Earl of Haddington, *A Select Choice of Humorous Poems in the Lucious Taste* (London: P. Wicks, 1770), 15.
- 49** Robert Gould, *A Satyr Against Wooing: With a View of the Ill Consequences that attend it* (London,

1698), 8.

50 *The Works of Mr. Robert Gould* (London: Lewis, 1709), 2: 53. グールドは、「パースのチェンバレン氏に捧ぐ」という作品のなかで、回春を求めて温泉療法を用いる人のことを描いている。

51 George Etherege, "The Imperfect Enjoyment," in *The Works of George Etherege*, ed. A. Wilson Verity (London: Nimmo, 1888), 397-99; イギリスでのもっと早い例については、次の文献に16世紀の諷刺作家トマス・ナッシュおよび16～17世紀の詩人トマス・キャンピオンの作品が引用されている。Lindley, *The Trials of Frances Howard*, 100-102.

52 Vieth, ed., *The Complete Poems of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester*, 38.

53 William Wycherley, *The Complete Works of William Wycherley*, ed. Montague Summers (London: Nonesuch Press, 1924), 3: 201-2; 4: 249-50.

54 Cited in Angeline Goreau, "Two English Women in the Seventeenth Century," in Philippe Ariès and André Béjin, eds., *Western Sexuality: Practice and Precept in Past and Present Times*, trans. Anthony Forster (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), 111; and see also Brandford K. Mudge, *The Whore's Story: Women, Pornography, and the British Novel, 1684-1830* (Oxford University Press, 2000), 133.

55 Felicity A. Nussbaum, *The Brink of All We Hate: English Satires on Women, 1660-1750* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1984), 57-76; Leo Braudy, "Remembering Masculinity: Premature Ejaculation Poetry of the Seventeenth Century," *Michigan Quarterly Review* 33 (1994): 177-201; Crébillon fils (Claude-Prosper Jolyot de Crébillon), *The Sofa* (1742) [クレビヨン『ソファ』伊吹武彦訳, 世界文学社], in Michel Feher, ed., *The Libertine Reader: Eroticism and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century France* (New York: Zone Books, 1997), 255.

56 Thomas Hamilton, Earl of Haddington, *A Select Choice of Humorous Poems in the Lucious Taste*, 43, 168-69, 196-97.

57 *The Whore: A Poem. Written by A Whore of Quality* (1782?), cited in Fiona Pitt-Kethley, *The*

Literary Companion to Sex (New York: Random House, 1992), 252.

58 Mary de la Rivière Manley, *The Royal Mischief* (London: R. Bentley, F. Saunders, J. Knapton and R. Wellington, 1696), 5-1, 46.

59 Ben Jonson, *Epicoene*, ed. Edward Partridge (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), 164-65 [ベン・ジョンソン『もの言わぬ女——エピソード』柴田稔彦訳, 「ベン・ジョンソン戯曲選集」第3巻, 国書刊行会]. フランスのインボテンツ喜劇作品としては、クレビヨン・フィスの『網じゃくし』を参照のこと。Claude-Prosper Jolyot de Crébillon, *L'Ecumoire ou Tanzaï et Néadarné* (Paris: Le Devin, 1930), 66-68.

60 William Wycherley, *The Country Wife*, ed. James Ogden (New York: Norton, 1991).

61 Turner, *Fashioning Adultery*, 102; Giles Slade, "The Two-Backed Beast: Eunuchus and Priapus in 'The Country Wife,'" *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Theatre Research* 7 (1992): 23-34. Somewhat similar is Mme de Beauharnais' *L'Abélard supposé* (1780) cited in Angelica Goodden, *The Complete Lover: Eros, Nature, and Artifice in the Eighteenth-Century French Novel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 18-19.

62 William Gouge, *Of Domestic Duties: Eight Treatises* (London: Edward Brewster, 1634), 182-83.

63 Edmund S. Morgan, *Religion and Domestic Relations in Seventeenth-Century New England* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1980), 34-35; John Demos, *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 94; Richard Godber, *Sexual Revolution in Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 58-61; Martin Duberman, "Male Impotence in Colonial Pennsylvania," *Signs* 4 (1978): 401; Thomas A. Forster, "Deficient Husbands: Manhood, Sexual Incapacity, and Male Marital Sexuality in Seventeenth-Century New England," *William and Mary Quarterly* 56 (1999): 727; Lyle Koehler, *A Search for Power: The "Weaker Sex" in Seventeenth-Century New England* (Urbana: University of

- Illinois Press, 1980), 78-84; Anne S. Lombard, *Making Manhood; Growing Up Male in Colonial New England* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003).
- 64** Antonia Fraser, *The Weaker Vessel: Woman's Lot in Seventeenth-Century England* (New York: Random House, 1985), 296; Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England, 1570-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 172-73; Lindley, *The Trials of Frances Howard*, 98-104.
- 65** Anon., *Cases of Divorce for Several Causes* (London: E. Curll, 1723), 9; George Abbot, *The Case of Impotency, As Debated in England, in that Remarkable Tryal, 1613, between Robert Earl of Essex, and Lady Frances Howard, who, After Eight Years Marriage, commenc'd a Suit Against him for Impotency* (London: Curll, 1719), 2 vols.
- 66** Anon., *Cases of Divorce for Several Causes*, 55; John Crawford, *The Cases of Impotency and Virginitie Fully Discuss'd* (London: Thomas Gammon, 1732); Peter Wagner, "The Pornographer in the Courtroom: Trial Reports About Cases of Sexual Crimes and Delinquencies as a Genre of Eighteenth-Century Erotica," in Paul-Gabriel Boucé, ed., *Sexuality in Eighteenth-Century England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982), 125; and see also Peter Wagner, *Eros Revived: Erotica of the Enlightenment in England and America* (London: Paladin, 1990).
- 67** A. D. Harvey, *Sex in Georgian England: Attitudes and Prejudices from the 1720s to the 1820s* (London: Duckworth, 1994), 152; Laura Gowing, *Common Bodies: Women, Touch and Power in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 43; Cynthia B. Herrup, *A House in Gross Disorder; Sex, Law, and the 2nd Earl of Castlehaven* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 137-38; Ralph Strauss, *The Unspeakable Curll* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1927), 40-41.
- 68** Anon., *The Cases of Impotency Debated in the late Famous Tryal at Paris* (London: E. Curll, 1714), vol. 1, appendix, x2.
- 69** Mueller, "Fallen Men: Representations of Male Impotence in Britain," 87.
- 70** Herrup, *A House in Gross Disorder*, 138; Lawrence Stone, *Broken Lives: Separation and Divorce in England, 1660-1857* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 132, 133.
- 71** Joseph Bajada, *Sexual Impotence; The Contribution of Paolo Zacchia, 1584-1659* (Rome: Editrice Pontifica Universita Gregoriana, 1988), 104; Adrien de Bussy De Lamer and Germain Fromageau, *Le Dictionnaire des cas de conscience* (Paris: Coignard, 1733), 2: cols. 42, 66.
- 72** Jean Verdier, *La jurisprudence de la médecine, de la chirurgie, et de la pharmacie, en France* (1762-63; Paris: J. B. Bailliere, 1834), 101; Pierre Darmon, *Damning the Innocent: A History of the Persecution of the Impotent in pre-Revolutionary France*, trans. Paul Kean (New York: Viking, 1986), 54 [ピエール・ダルモン『性的不能者裁判——男の性の知られざる歴史ドラマ』辻由美訳, 新評論].
- 73** Darmon, *Damning the Innocent*, 60, 63 [ダルモン, 前掲書].
- 74** Anon. (Jean Bouhier?), *Traité de la dissolution du mariage pour cause d'impuissance* (Luxembourg: Kragt, 1735), 20, 95.
- 75** Darmon, *Damning the Innocent*, 197-98 [ダルモン, 前掲書].
- 76** David Hunt, *Parents and Children in History: The Psychology of Family Life in Early Modern France* (New York: Basic Books, 1970), 162, 170.
- 77** Peter Cryle, *Geometry in the Bedroom: Configurations of French Erotic Narrative* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 100.
- 78** Molinier, "Perenniser et concevoir," 93.
- 79** A Merry Allegorico-Botanico-Vadinal Piece: or, *The Natural History of the Arbor Vitae: or The Tree of Life* (London: Gardeners, 1732); *Dn__Sw__t's Medley* (Dublin: The Booksellers, 1749).
- 80** Laura Cowing, *Common Bodies: Women, Touch and Power in Seventeenth-Century England* (Yale University Press, 2003), 114-16; Elizabeth Foyster, "A Laughing Matter? Marital Discord and Gender Control in Seventeenth-Century

England" *Rural History* 4 (1993): 5-21; Norman N. Holland, *Laughing: A Psychology of Humor* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 17.

第4章

1 マーテンについては、以下を参照のこと。
Ralph Strauss, *The Unspeakable Curl* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1927), 26-28.

2 John Marten, *A Treatise of All the Degrees and Symptoms of the Venereal Disease* (London: S. Crouch, 1708), 165; John Marten, *Gonosologium Novum; or, A New System of All the Secret Infirmities and Diseases, Natural, Accidental, and Venereal in Men and Women* (London: N. Crouch, 1709), 21, 55.

3 Marten, *Gonosologium Novum*, 33, 39, 40, 61.

4 Marten, *Gonosologium Novum*, 33, 38, 39, 40, 61.

5 Marten, *Gonosologium Novum*, 42, 50-1, 59.

6 Marten, *Gonosologium Novum*, 34; Michael Etmüller, *Etmullerus Abridg'd: or, A Compleat System of the Theory and Practice of Physic, Being a Description of All Diseases Incident to Men, Women and Children* (London: E. Harris 1699), 567; Marten, *A Treatise of All the Degrees*, 418; Thomas W. Laqueur, *Solitary Sex*, 29.

7 David Stevenson, "Recording the Unspeakable: Masturbation in the Diary of William Drummond," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 9 (2000): 223-39; James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1987), 26; Roy Porter, "Mixed Feelings: The Enlightenment and Sexuality in Eighteenth-Century Britain," in Paul Gabriel Boucé, ed., *Sexuality in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982), 17; Jean Stegers and Anne van Neck, *Masturbation: The History of a Great Terror*, trans. Kathryn A. Hoffman (New York: Palgrave, 2001); Michael Stolberg, "Self-Pollution, Moral Reform, and the Venereal Trade:

Notes on the Sources and Historical Context of Onania (1716)," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 9 (2000): 37; Michael Stolberg, "An Unmanly Vice: Self-Pollution, Anxiety, and the Body in the Eighteenth Century," *Social History of Medicine* 13 (2000): 1-21.

8 *Onania; or the Heinous Sin of Self-Pollution*, 8th ed. (London: Thomas Crouch, 1723), 18-19.

9 Anon. [Louis de la Caze], *L'Idée de l'homme physique et moral* (Paris: Guérin and Delatour, 1755), 292-300; Mr **** [Jean-Philippe Dutoit-Mambrini], *De l'Onanisme; ou discours philosophique et moral sur la luxure artificielle & sur tous les crimes relatifs* (Lausanne: Antoine Chapuis, 1760), 35, 43.

10 S. A. D. Tissot, *Onanism. Or, a Treatise upon the Disorders produced by Masturbation: or, the Dangerous Effects of Secret and Excessive Venery* (London: B. Thomas, 1766), 80 [サミュエル＝オーギュスト・ティソ『オナニスム』阿尾安泰他訳, 「十八世紀叢書」第6巻, 国書刊行会]; and see also Tissot's "Manstupration ou Manustupration," *Encyclopedie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts, et de métiers par une société des gens de lettns* (Geneve, 1772), 10: 51-54 [著者はこれをティソの執筆によるものとしているが、以下の邦訳の訳者解説によれば、作者は「医師のメニユレ・ド・シャンポー (1739-1815) と考えるのが適当」とのこと。『百科全書』項目「自慰行為」阿尾安泰他訳, 「十八世紀叢書」第6巻, 国書刊行会]。

11 Anne C. Vila, *Enlightenment and Pathology: Sensibility in the Literature and Medicine of Eighteenth-Century France* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 94-107; Jesse Foot, *Observations upon the New Opinions of John Hunter in his late Treatise on the Venereal Disease* (London: T. Beckett, 1786), 138, 200.

12 G. Archibald Douglas, *The Nature and Causes of Impotence in Men, and Barrenness in Women Explained* (London: P. Brett, 1772), 18, 21; *Domestic Medicine* cited in Ludmilla Jordanova, "Interrogating the Concept of Reproduction in the Eighteenth Century," in Faye D. Ginsberg and Rayna Rapp, eds., *Conceiving the New World*

- Order: The Global Politics of Reproduction* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 380; William Buchan, *Observations Concerning the Prevention and Cure of the Venereal Disease* (London: T. Chapman, 1796), 220, 221; Christopher William Hufeland, *The Art of Prolonging Human Life* (London: J. Bell, 1797), 1: 168; 2: 13, 16 [クリストフ・ヴィルヘルム・フーフェラント『長寿学——長生きするための技術』井上昌次郎訳, どうぶつ社].
- 13** David Stevenson, *The Beggar's Benison: Sex Clubs of Enlightenment Scotland* (East tinton: Tuckwell Press, 2001).
- 14** John Floyer, *The History of Cold Bathing Both Ancient and Modern with appendix by Dr. Edward Baynard* (London: William and John Innys, 1722), 26.
- 15** John Archer, *Every Man His Own Doctor* (London: Peter Lillicrap, 1671), 103; A Physician, *The Ladies Physical Directory* (London: By the author, 1739), 60, 61, 63, 65, 67.
- 16** William Brodum, *A Guide to Old Age, or, A Cure for the Indiscretions of Youth* (London: Myers, 1795), 2 vols.; "Collection of Advertisements of Patent and Proprietary Medicines," circa 1790-1810 (British Library); Ebenezer Sibley, *The Medical Mirror or, Treatise on the Impregnation of the Human Female* (London: 1794); Samuel Solomon, *A Guide to Health* (West Derby: J. Speed, 1817), 167, 168. And see also William H. Helfand, "Samuel Solomon and the Cordial Balm of Gilead," *Pharmacy in History* 31.4 (1989): 151-59.
- 17** James Hodson, *Nature's Assistant to the Restoration of Health* (London: J. Matthews, 1794), 123.
- 18** Dr. James Graham, *A Lecture on the Generation, Increase and Improvement of the Human Species* (London: Smith, 1783), 58; Roy Porter, *Health for Sale* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), 146-82.
- 19** *The Works of William Harvey*, trans. Robert Willis (London: Sydenham Society, 1965), 362.
- 20** Howard Adelman, *Marcello Malpighi and the Evolution of Biology* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966), 2: 861; Clara Pinto-Correia, *The Ovary of Ege: Egg and Sperm and Preformation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 43; Regnier de Graaf, *On the Human Reproductive Organs*, trans. H. D. Jocelyn and B. P. Setchell (Oxford: Blackwell, 1972), 12, 15, 29, 31-32, 44. And see also H. D. Jocelyn and B. P. Setchell, eds., "Regnier de Graaf on the Human Reproductive Organs," *Journal of Reproduction and Fertility*, suppl. 17 (1972): 47-50.
- 21** Edward G. Ruestow, "Images and Ideas: Leeuwenhoek's Perception of the Spermatozoa," *Journal of the History of Biology* 16 (1983): 189; Peter J. Bowler, "Preformation and Pre-Existence in the Seventeenth Century: A Brief Analysis," *Journal of the History of Biology* 4 (1971): 221-44; Albrecht von Haller, *First Lines of Physiology* (Edinburgh: Charles Elliot, 1786), 1: 428, 2: 176, 177, 178, 181; and see also Sander Gilman, *Sexuality: An Illustrated History* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1989), 194-97 [サンダー・L・ギルマン『「性」の表象』大瀧啓裕訳, 青土社].
- 22** Monsieur Pomet, *A Compleat History of Druggs* (London: R. Bonwicke, 1712), 79; A Physician, *Speculations on the Mode and Appearances of Impregnation in the Human Female* (Edinburgh, 1789), 43; F. E. Fodéré cited in Michael Ryan, *The Philosophy of Marriage* (London: Churchill, 1837), 331; F. E. Fodéré, "Impuissance," *Traité de médecine légale* (Paris: Mame, 1813), 366; F. N. L. Poynter, "Hunter, Spallanzani, and the History of Artificial Insemination," in G. L. Stevenson and R. P. Multhauf, eds., *Medicine, Science and Culture: Historical Essays in Honor of Oswei Temkin* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1968); and see also Jean A. Mainil, "Dans les règles du plaisir: Médecine et obscénité au siècle des lumières," (Ph. D. diss., University of Michigan, 1994); Mary Fissell, "Gender and Generation: Representing Reproduction in Early Modern England," *Gender and History* 7 (1995): 433-56.
- 23** Estelle Cohen, "The Body as a Historical Category: Science and Imagination, 1660-1760,"

in Mary Winkler and Letha B. Cole, eds., *The Good Body: Asceticism in Contemporary Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 67-90.

24 John Cleland, *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* (1749; New York: Putnam's, 1963), 55-56; Marquis de Sade, *Justine or the Misfortunes of Virtue*, trans. Helen Weaver (New York: Bell Publishing, 1966), 18 [サド『ジュスチーンまたは美徳の不幸』植田祐次訳, 岩波文庫, 第1部「徴税請負人デュポール」].

25 Cleland, *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*, 51; De Sade, *Justine or the Misfortunes of Virtue*, 188-89 [サド『ジュスチーンまたは美徳の不幸』植田祐次訳, 岩波文庫, 第2部「ジェルナンド伯爵」].

26 Antoine Hotman, *Traicté de la Dissolution du Mariage par l'impuissance et froideur de l'homme ou de sa femme* (Paris: Mamert Patisson, 1581); Ambroise Paré, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. J.-F. Malgaigne (Paris: J.-B. Baillière, 1841) 3:668; and see also Thomas G. Benedek and Janet Kubinec, "The Evaluation of Impotence by Sexual Congress and Alternatives Thereto in Divorce Proceedings," *Transactions and Studies of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia* 4 (1982): 134-53; Monique Cuillieron, "Les causes matrimoniales des officialites de Paris au Sikle des Lumieres, 1726-1789," *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 66 (1988): 527-35.

27 Vincent Tagereau, *Discours sur l'impuissance de l'homme et de la femme* (Paris: Brayet and Rousset, 1612), 32, 91, 124, 192. ランジェ侯爵については, 以下を参照のこと. *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle* (Paris: Pierre Larousse, 1866-90), 9: 611.

28 Erasmus Darwin, *The Temple of Nature* (1803; London: Scolar Press, 1973), 33; Porter, "Mixed Feelings: The Enlightenment and Sexuality in Eighteenth-Century Britain," 6; Linda Walsh, "Arms to Be Kissed a Thousand Times: Reservations About Lust in Diderot's Art Criticism," in Gill Perry and Michael Rossington, eds., *Femininity and Masculinity in Eighteenth-Century Art* (Manchester University Press, 1994).

29 Pierre Bayle, "Quellenec," in *The Dictionary Historical and Critical of Mr. Peter Bayle* (London:

Midwinter, 1737), 4:799.

30 *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné*, 8: 333; またウィリアム・ハーヴィーがブシェ・ダルジスに先立って, 次のように言っていたことも参照のこと. 「事実, 欲望は実現されることがなければ, だんだんとなくなっていく. だから禁欲を実践している人の睾丸が縮んだり, ペニスが腹のなかに引っ込んだりする. そのような人たちは完全に冷感症である」. Gweneth Whitteridge, ed., *The Anatomical Lectures of William Harvey* (London: Livingstone, 1964), 185; Antoine Gaspard Boucher d'Argis, *Principes sur la nullité du mariage pour cause d'impuissance* (London, 1756), 120-42; Voltaire, *A Philosophical Dictionary* (New York: E. R. Durmont, 1901), 1: 182, 185, 187.

31 "Congrès aboli," *Causes célèbres et intéressantes*, ed. François Gayot de Pitaval (Amsterdam: J. F. Bassompierre, 1775), 8: 191-270; "Refutation de l'apologie du congrès," *Causes célèbres et intéressantes*, ed. François Gayot de Pitaval, 11:204-371. 鑑定ではインポテンツ以外のことが証明されることもあった. 1765年に実施されたときには, グラン・ジャン嬢が男性ではなく, 女性であることが判明した. そのため彼女が他の女性との間で交わっていた結婚は, 無効解消された. *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle* (Paris: Pierre Larousse, 1866-90), 9: 611.

32 *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné*, 8:334; Daniel Teysseire, *Obèse et impuissant: Le dossier médicale d'Elie-de-Beaumont, 1765-1776* (Grenoble: Editions Jerome Millon. 1995), 29, 43, 120.

33 Teysseire, *Obèse et impuissant*, 60-1.

34 *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné*, 8: 333.

35 Thomas A. Forster, "Deficient Husbands: Manhood, Sexual Incapacity, and Male Marital Sexuality In Seventeenth-Century New England," *William and Mary Quarterly* 56 (1999): 740; "Congrès aboli," 8: 191-270.

36 *Boswell's London Journal, 1762-1763*, ed. Frederick A. Pottle (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1950), 117, 139; Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Confessions*, trans. Christopher Kelly in *Collected Writings of Rousseau*, (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1995), 269 [ルソー『告白』桑原

武夫訳, 岩波文庫, 中, 第7巻].

37 John Hunter, *A Treatise on the Venereal Disease* (London: The author, 1786), 200-203. ハンターは, 1週間も禁欲すれば, 通常は治ると言っている。William Buchan, *Observations Concerning the Prevention and Cure of the Venereal Disease* (London: T. Chapman, 1796), 228.

38 Michael McKeown, "Historicizing Patriarchy: The Emergence of Gender Difference in England, 1660-1760," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 28 (1995): 295-322; Michael Stolberg, "An Unmanly Vice: Self-Pollution, Anxiety, and the Body in the Eighteenth Century," *Social History of Medicine* 13 (2000): 19; Joanne Bailey, *Unquiet Lives: Marriage and Marriage Breakdown in England, 1660-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 163-66.

39 "Factum D****, Marie-Anne P.," *Recueil de pièces et mémoires pour les maîtres en l'art & science de chirurgie*, 10 (1771): 6, 8; François Fodéré, "Impuissance," *Traité de médecine légale* (Paris: Mame, 1813), 1: 359-93; Jean Verdier, *La jurisprudence de la médecine, de la chirurgie, et de la pharmacie en France* (1762-63; Paris: J-B. Baillière, 1834), 102; Jeffrey Merrick, "Impotence in Court and at Court," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 25 (1996): 188-93.

40 Pierre Roussell, *Système physique et morale de la femme* (Paris: Vincent, 1775); P. G. Cabanis, *Rapports du physique et du moral de l'homme* (Paris: Crapart, Caille, et Ravier, 1802); Ludmilla Jordanova, *Sexual Visions: Images of Gender in Science and Medicine Between the Eighteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 27; and see also Marlene Legates, "The Cult of Womanhood in Eighteenth-Century Thought," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 10 (1976): 21-39; Katherine M. Rogers, *The Troublesome Helpmate: A History of Misogyny in Literature* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1966); Sarah Maza, *Private Lives and Public Affairs: The Causes Célèbres of Prerevolutionary France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

41 Tim Hitchcock, *English Sexualities, 1700-1800* (London: st. Martin's Press, 1997), 39-40; Robert B. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society, 1650-1850: The Emergence of separate Spheres?* (London: Longman, 1998), 68-71.

42 William Byrd, *The London Diary (1717-1721) and Other Writings*, ed. Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), 182; and see also 221, 250, 253, 324; Shawn Usa Maurer, *Proposing Men: Dialectics of Gender and Class in the Eighteenth-Century Periodicals* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998); George E. Haggerty, *Men in Love: Masculinity and Sexuality in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).

43 *The Poems of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochesur*, ed. Keith Walker (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984), 41-42; Nicholas Murray, *World Enough and Time: The Life of Andrew Marvell* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1999), 196-97; A. D. Harvey, *Sex in Georgian England: Attitudes and Prejudices from the 1720s to the 1820s* (London: Duckworth, 1994), 137.

44 Philip Carter, "Men About Town: Representations of Foppery and Masculinity in Early Eighteenth-Century Urban Society," in Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus, eds., *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England: Roles, Representations and Responsibilities* (London: Longman, 1997), 39; G. J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 340-41; S. A. D. Tissot, *De la santé des gens de lettres* (Lausanne: Grasset, 1769); Marten, *Gonosologium Novum*, 39; Etmüller, *Etmüllerus Abridgd.*, 571.

45 David M. Turner, *Fashioning Adultery: Gender, Sex and Civility in England, 1660-1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

46 ヨーゼフは兄弟に送った手紙にこう書いている。「ルイは独りのときは勃起も射精もするのだ。だがお務めとなるとまったく駄目なのだ」。Derek Beales, *Joseph II: In the Shadow of Maria Theresa, 1741-1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

1987), 1: 374; Lawrence Brockliss and Colin Jones, *The Medical World of Early Modern France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 632.

47 Antoine de Baecque, *Le Corps de l'histoire: métaphores et politique, 1770-1800* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1993), 46, 47, 58, 67, 68; Merrick, "Impotence in Court and at Court," 194-98; Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 50; Antoine de Baecque, "The 'Livres remplis d'horreur': Pornographic Literature and Politics at the Beginning of the French Revolution," in P. Wagner, ed., *Erotica and the Enlightenment* (New York: Peter Lang, 1991), 123-65; Joan Landes, *Visualizing the Nation: Gender, Representation, and Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 66.

48 James Thomas Flexner, *Washington; The Indispensable Man* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1974), 42, 367; Richard Brookhiser, *Founding Father: Rediscovering George Washington* (New York: Free Press, 1996), 164.

第5章

1 Mary Luytens, *Millais and the Ruskins* (London: John Murray, 1967), 230; see also 156, 193, 218, 229, 260-63; and see also Phyllis Rose, *Parallel Lives: Five Victorian Marriages* (New York: Knopf, 1983); Jennifer M. Lloyd, "Conflicting Expectations in Nineteenth-Century British Matrimony: The Failed Companionate Marriage of Effie Gray and John Ruskin," *Journal of Women's History* 11 (1999): 86-109.

2 Frederick Kirchoff, *William Morris: The Construction of a Male Self, 1856-1872* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1990), 66, 74, 148; Susan Chitty, *The Beast and the Monk: A Life of Charles Kingsley* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1974), 86; Luytens, *Millais and the Ruskins*, 263; Trev Lynn Broughton, *Men of Letters, Writing Lives: Masculinity and Literary Auto/Biography in the*

Late Victorian Period (New York: Routledge, 1999), 144-45.

3 Peter Gay, *The Bourgeois Experience: Education of the Senses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984) [ピーター・ゲイ『官能教育』篠崎実他訳, 全2巻, みすず書房]; M. Jeanne Peterson, *Family, Love, and Work in the Lives of Victorian Gentlemen* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 41-45.

4 Michael Mason, *The Making of Victorian Sexuality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 126.

5 Ben Barker-Benfield, "The Spermatic Economy: A 19th Century View of Sexuality" in Michael Gordon, ed., *The American Family in Social-Historical Perspective* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978), 374-402; Karen Dubinsky, *The Second Greatest Disappointment: Honeymooning and Tourism at Niagara Falls* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1999).

6 Joan Scott, "Statistical Representations of Work: The Politics of the Chamber of Commerce's Statistique de l'industrie à Paris, 1847-48," in Steven Lawrence Kaplan and Cynthia J. Koepf, eds., *Work in France: Representations, Meaning, Organization and Practice* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), p.361, n.83; Alain Corbin, *Le Temps, le désir l'horreur* (Paris: Aubier, 1991), 91-105 [アラン・コルバン『時間・欲望・恐怖——歴史学と感覚の人類学』小倉孝誠他訳, 藤原書店].

7 Kim Townsend, *Manhood at Harvard: William James and Others* (New York: Norton, 1996), 59.

8 William Acton, *The Functions and Disorders of the Reproductive Organs* (London: John Churchill, 1857), 84; William Acton, *The Functions and Disorders of the Reproductive Organs*, 3rd ed. (London: John Churchill, 1862), 102-3.

9 James George Beaney, *The Generative System and Its Functions in Health and Disease* (Melbourne: F. F. Bailliere Publisher, 1875), 358; Walter Hamilton Acland Jacobson, *The Diseases of the Male Organs of Generation* (London: J. and A. Churchill, 1893), 489; Harry Campbell, *Differences in the Nervous Organization of Man and Woman*

(London: Lewis, 1891), 153, 201-2; R. W. Shufeldt, "The Treatment of Psychological Impotency," *New Albany Medical Herald*, (Nov., 1898): 308.

10 Robert Ultzmann, *The Neuroses of the Genito-Urinary System in the Male*, trans. Gardner W. Allen (Philadelphia: F. A. Davis Co., 1902), 152.

11 Eugene Fuller, *Disorders of the Male Sexual Organs* (London: Young J. Pentland, 1895), 135.

12 R. J. Culverwell, *Medical Counsellings* (London: Sherwood and Co., 1841), 255; William A. Hammond, *Sexual Impotence in the Male and Female* (Detroit: George S. Davis, 1887), 82, 83; Shufeldt, "The Treatment of Psychological Impotency," 308, 309.

13 Pierre Garnier, *Impuissance physique et morale* (1883) cited in Stephen Kern, *Anatomy and Destiny: A Cultural History of the Human Body* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1975), 106-7 [スティーヴン・カーン『肉体の文化史——体構造と宿命』喜多迅鷹, 喜多元子訳, りぶらりあ選書, 法政大学出版局]; Carl Degler, *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 259-61.

14 William Buchan, *A Treatise on the Prevention and Cure of the Venereal Disease* (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1808), 285; Louis Seraine, *De la Santé des gens mariés* (Paris: F. Savy, 1865), 248; Hammond, *Sexual Impotence in the Male and Female*, 236, 237.

15 Charles Knowlton, *Fruits of Philosophy* (Mount Vernon: Peter Pauper Press, 1937), 89; Sylvester Graham, *A Lecture to Young Men on Chastity* (1834; London: Strange, 1843), xix; J. L. Curtis, *Manhood: The Causes of its Premature Decline with Directions for its Perfect Restoration* (London: Author, 1840), and its French translations *De la Virilité* (Paris, 1847) and *Guide médical du mariage* (Paris: F. Brachet, 1868); *Lami discret* (Paris: R. and L. Parry, 1854), 44; George M. Beard, *Sexual Neurasthenia* (New York: E. B. Treat, 1884), 103; F. R. Sturgis, *Sexual Debility in Men* (London: Rebman, 1901), 285, 287; Richard J. Ebbard, *How to Restore Life-Giving Energy* (London: Modern Medical Publishing Company, 1903), 80.

16 *Lexicon Balatronicum: A Dictionary of Buckish Slang, University Wit, and Pickpocket Eloquence* (London: C. Chappel, 1811); *The Letters of William Hazlitt*, ed. Hersche Moreland Sikes (London: Macmillan, 1978), 116; S. M. Waddams, *Sexual Slander in Nineteenth-Century England: Defamation in the Ecclesiastical Courts, 1815-1855* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 140.

17 *The Ri-tum Ti-Tum Songster* (London: West, 1837), 3-5, 44-46, 29-30; *The Rambler's Flash Songster* (London: West, 1865), 12, 23-24. この作品は、大英図書館では次の作品と合冊になっている。*The Flash Chaunter, The Cuckold's Nest, and The Cockchafer*; J. S. Bratton, *The Victorian Popular Ballad* (London: Macmillan, 1975), 159, 161, 184; Marie-Véronique Gauthier, *Chanson, sociabilité et grivoiserie au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Aubier, 1992), 248; Martine Segalen, *Mari et femme dans la société paysanne* (Paris: Fiammarion, 1980), 138.

18 Auguste Debay, *Hygiène et physiologie du mariage* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1881), 261-62; John Cowan, *The Science of a New Life* (New York: Cowan and Co., 1880), 103; Léon Roger-Milès, *Nos Femmes et nos enfants: Choses sanglantes et criminalite* (Paris: E. Flammarion, 1893), 10-11 cited in Ann Louis Shapiro, *Breaking the Codes: Female Criminality in Fin-de-Siècle Paris* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 200; Robert W. Taylor, *A Practical Treatise on Sexual Disorders* (London: Henry Kimpton, 1897), 96.

19 Cowan, *The Science of a New Life*, 369; Auguste Debay, *Histoire naturelle de l'homme et de la femme* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1868), 322; Bram Dijkstra, *Evil Sisters: The Threat of Female Sexuality and the Cult of Manhood* (New York: Knopf, 1996); Cyndy Hendershot, *The Animal Within: Masculinity and the Gothic* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 25.

20 Dr. L. J. Kahn, *Nervous Exhaustion: Its Cause and Cure* (New York: Kahn, 1870), 19-20; William H. Parker, *The Science of Life; or, Self-Preservation* (Boston: Peabody Medical Institute, 1881), 162; Albert H. Hayes, *The Science of Life, or, Self Preservation* (Boston: Peabody Medical Institute,

1868), 180, 181; and see also the *Lancet* 96 (August 13, 1870): 22-225.

21 Richard von Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, 12th ed. (1903) in Luey Bland and Laura Doan, eds., *Sexology Uncensored: The Documents of Sexual Science* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998), 46; Alexandre Parent-Duchâtelet, *De la prostitution dans la ville de Paris* (Paris: Baillière, 1836), 2 vols.

22 Frederick Hollick, *The Male Generative Organs in Health and Disease* (New York: T. W. Strong, 1851), 215.

23 Michael Ryan, *Lectures on Population, Marriage, and Divorce* (London: Renshaw and Rush, 1831), 13; Thomas Laycock, *Mind and Brain, or, The Correlations of Consciousness and Organization* (Edinburgh, Sutherland and Knox, 1860), 2: 303-4.

24 Taylor, *A Practical Treatise on Sexual Disorders*, 78-79; Debay, *Hygiène et physiologie du mariage*, 263; Seraine, *De la santé des gens mariés*, 293.

25 Shufeldt, "The Treatment of Psychological Impotency," 310.

26 R. W. Shufeldt, "Impotency; Medically and Legally Considered," *Pacific Medical Journal* 48 (Jan., 1905): 5.

27 James Richard Smyth, "Impotence and Sterility," *Lancet* 36 (Aug. 23, 1841): 783.

28 O. S. Fowler, *Amativeness; or, Evils and Remedies of Excessive and Perverted Sexuality* (Manchester: John Heywood, 1851), 10, 12; Debay, *Histoire naturelle de l'homme et de la femme*, 321.

29 James G. Kiernan, "Sex Transformation and Psychic Impotence," *American Journal of Dermatology* (1905): 68, 70; Hammond, *Sexual Impotence in the Male and Female*, 14, 40, 67; Jean Lorrain, *Monsieur de Phocas*, trans. Frands Amery (London: Dedalus/Hip-pocrene, 1994), 35, 57 [ジャン・ロラン『フォカス氏』篠田知和基訳, 月刊ペン社]; Sturgis, *Sexual Debility in Men*, 265, 313; and see also Jay Hatheway, *The Gilded Age Construction of Modern American Homophobia*

(London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

30 Alfred Binet, "Fetichisme dans l'amour," *Revue philosophique* 24 (1887): 143-67, 252-74; Hammond, *Sexual Impotence in the Male and Female*, 41, 80-81; Paolo Mantegazza, *Hygiène de l'amour* (Paris: A La Librairie Illustrée, 1887), 154-55; Robert A. Nye, "The Medical Origins of Sexual Fetishism," in Emily Apter and William Pietz, eds., *Fetishism as Cultural Discourse* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 13-30.

31 Richard von Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis: A Medico-Forensic Study* (New York: Pioneer Publications, 1945), 13; and see also Jean-Martin Charcot and Valentin Magnan, "Inversion du sens genital," *Archives de neurologie* 3 (1882): 54-57.

32 Kiernan, "Sex Transformation and Psychic Impotence," 70; Hippolyte Bernheim, "De la psychothérapie dans les impotences et aberrations génésiques," *Revue médicale de l'est* 35 (1903): 225-29.

33 Chandak Sengoopta, "A Mob of Incoherent Symptoms? Neurasthenia in British Medical Discourse, 1860-1920," in Marijke Gijswijt-Hofstra and Roy Porter, eds., *Cultures of Neurasthenia: From Beard to the First World War* (New York: Rodopi, 2001), 97-116; Janet Oppenheimer, "Shattered Nerves"; *Doctors, Patients, and Depression in Victorian England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 42, 143, 144; and see also Barbara L. Marshall, "Snips and Snails and Theorists' Tales: Classical Sociological Theory and the Making of 'Sex,'" *Journal of Classical Sociology* 2 (2002): 135-55.

34 Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); see also C. K. Mills, *Mental Overwork and Premature Disease Among Public and Professional Men* (Washington: Smithsonian Misc. Collections, 1885); David Frisby, *Fragments of Modernity: Theories of Modernity in the Work of Simmel, Kracauer, and Benjamin* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1986), 72-74; William T. Belfield,

Diseases of the Urinary and Male Sexual Organs (New York: William Wood and Company, 1884), 335.

35 George M. Beard, *American Nervousness: Its Causes and Consequences* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1881), 153-54; George M. Beard, *Sexual Neurasthenia* (New York: E. B. Treat, 1884); Irving C. Rosse, "Sexual Incapacity in its Medico-Legal Relations," in R. A. Witthaus and Tracy C. Becker, eds., *Medical Jurisprudence: Forensic Medicine and Toxicology* (New York: William Wood, 1894), 2: 395; A. Bassett Jones and J. Llewellyn, *Malingering or the Simulation of Disease and Mental Disease* (London: Heinemann, 1917), 532.

36 Beard, *Sexual Neurasthenia*, 26; C. H. F. Routh, *On Overwork and Premature Mental Decay: Its Treatment* (London: Bailliere, Tindall, and Cox, 1886), 24; S. A. K. Strahan, *Marriage and Disease* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Tri.lbner and Co., 1892); Binswanger cited in Doris Kaufman, "Neurasthenia in Wilhelmine Germany: Culture, Sexuality, and the Demands of Nature," in Marijke Gijswijt-Hofstra and Roy Porter, eds., *Cultures of Neurasthenia from Beard to the First World War* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), 167; Hammond, *Sexual Impotence in the Male and Female*, 23; Fernand Levillain, *La Neurasthénie* (Paris: Maloine, 1891), 98-99.

37 G. Frank Lydston, *Impotence and Sterility with Aberrations of the Sexual Function and Sex-Gland Implementation* (Chicago: Riverton Press, 1917), 122; Victor G. Vecki, *Sexual Impotence* (Philadelphia and London: W. B. Saunders Company, 1912), 91.

38 Richard Quain, *A Dictionary of Medicine* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1885), 690; Hayes, *The Science of Life, or, Self Preservation*, 170; Taylor, *A Practical Treatise on Sexual Disorders*, 96; Charles Féré, *The Evolution and Dissolution of the Sexual Instinct* (Paris: Carrington, 1904) cited in Robert A. Nye, *Sexuality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 174; Raymond Gamel cited in Frank Proschan,

"Syphilis, Opiomania, and Pederasty": Colonial Constructions of Vietnamese (and French) Social Diseases," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 11 (2002): 625; and see also Ruth Bernard Yeazell, *Harems of the Mind: Passages of Western Art and Literature* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); Ann Stoler, "Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in Twentieth-Century Colonial Cultures," *American Ethnologist* 16 (1989): 54-55; Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in Colonial Conquest* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The 'Manly Englishman' and the 'Effeminate Bengali' in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).

39 Maurice de Fleury, *Les grands symptômes neurasthéniques: Pathogénie et traitement* (Paris: Alcan, 1901), 199-210.

40 Claudia Durst Johnson, "Impotence and Omnipotence in *The Scarlet Letter*," *New England Quarterly* 66 (1993): 594-612; D. A. Miller, "1839: Body *Bildung* and Textual Liberation," in Denis Holier, ed., *A New History of French Literature* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989), 681-83.

41 Claire de Duras, *Olivier ou le secret*, ed. Denise Virieux (Paris: José Corti, 1971), Anka Muhlstein, *A Taste for Freedom: The Life of Astolphe de Custine*, trans. Theresa Waugh (New York: Helen Marx Books, 1996), 163-65.

42 Stendhal [Henri Beyle], *Armance, or, Scenes from a Parisian Salon in 1827* (London: Merlin Press, 1960), 212-13, 214, 215 [スタンダール「アルマンス」小林正、富永明夫訳、『新潮世界文学』第6巻(「スタンダール」第2巻)、新潮社、所収]; Stendhal, *Correspondance*, eds. Henri Martineau and V. del Litto (Paris: Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1967), 2:96-98.

43 Paul Désalmand, *Cher Stendhal: Un pari sur la gloire* (Charenton-Le-Pont: Presses de Valmy, 1999), 217-222; Stendhal, *De l'amour*, ed. Henri Martineau (Paris: Le Divan, 1927), 168-75 [スタンダール「恋愛論」鈴木昭一郎訳、『スタンダール全集』

第8巻, 人文書院, 所収] .

44 Michel Folman, *Les impuissants de génie* (Paris: Debresse, 1956), 84; Honoré de Balzac, *Massimilla Doni* (Librairie José Corti, 1964), 92; Jean Lorrain, *Dans l'oratoire* (Paris: Dalou, 1888), 45.

45 Jean-Pierre Bertrand, Michel Biron, Jacques Dubois, and Jeannine Paque, *Le Roman célibataire: D'À Rebours à Paludes* (Paris: José Corti, 1996); Marie Bonaparte, *The Life and works of Edgar Allan Poe* (London: Imago Publishing, 1949), 79, 219, 397, 656.

46 Gabrielle Houbre, *La discipline de l'amour: L'éducation sentimentale des filles et des garçons à l'âge du romantisme* (Paris: Plon, 1997), 113; Charles Bernheimer, *Figures of ill Repute: Representing Prostitution in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989); Gustave Flaubert, *Correspondance*, ed. Jean Bruneau (Paris: Gallimard, 1973), 3: 409; Maurice Le Blond, *Essai sur le naturisme* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1896) quoted in Jean Pierrot, *L'Imaginaire décadent, 1880-1900* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1977); イギリスにおいて, フランスにおけるボードレールに相当するのがアルジャーノン・チャールズ・スウィンバーンである。スウィンバーンについては, 以下を参照のこと。Jean Overton Fuller, *Swinburne: A Critical Biography* (Chatto and Windus, 1968), 178-79; Théophile Gautier, *Romans, contes et nouvelles*, ed. Pierre Laubriet (Paris: Gallimard, 2002), 1017; Pierrot, *L'Imaginaire décadent, 1880-1900*, 158; see also Barbara Spackman, *Decadent Genealogies: The Rhetoric of Sickness from Baudelaire to D'Annunzio* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989); Folman, *Les impuissants de génie*, 40.

47 Ernest Raynaud, in *La Méléée symboliste* (Paris: La Renaissance du Livre, 1918), 1: 65; Jacques de Nittis, *Vénus ennemie* (Paris: Editions de la Revue Blanche, 1900); Henri Stofft, "Une impuissance érectile en 1900," *Histoire des sciences médicale* 26 (1992): 179-87; Alfred Vallette, *Le Roman d'un homme sérieux* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1994), 46.

48 Cazals cited in Auriant [Alexandre Hadjivassillou], *Souvenirs sur Madame Rachilde* (Paris: A l'Ecart, 1989), 9; Frank Wedekind, *Diary of an Erotic Life*, ed. Gerhard Hay, trans. W. E. Yuill (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 67; Joseph Gérard, *La Grande névrose* (Paris: Flammarion, 1889), 437.

49 Paul Bourget, *Essais de psychologie contemporaine*, 99-106 [ポール・ブルジェ『現代心理論集—デカダンス・ベシミズム・コスモポリタニズムの考察』平岡昇, 伊藤なお訳, 法政大学出版社局]; Emily Apter, introduction to Octave Mirbeau's "Selections" in Asti Hustvedt, ed., *The Decadent Reader: Fiction, Fantasy, and Perversion from Fin-de-Siècle France* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 974; Richard Noël, *A laube du symbolisme: hydropathes, fumistes et décadents* (Paris: Nizet, 1961), 256-57; Max Nordau, *Degeneration* (1895; London: Heineman, 1913), 18; Robert Baldick, *La vie de J. K. Huysmans* (Paris: Editions Denoël, 1958), 89 [ロバート・バルティック『ユイスマンス伝』岡谷公二訳, 学研].

50 Regenia Gagnier, *Idylls of the Marketplace: Oscar Wilde and the Victorian Public* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986), 160; Leon Edel, *Henry James: The Untried Years: 1843-1870* (Philadelphia, New York: J. B. Lippincott Company: 1953), 175-76, 183; Elaine Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siècle* (New York: Penguin, 1990), 148.

51 Margaret Waller, *The Male Malady: Fictions of Impotence in the French Romantic Novel* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1993), 3.

52 Sally Peters, *Bernard Shaw: The Ascent of the Superman* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 118; Eugène Terrailon, *L'Honneur, sentiment et principe moral* (Paris: Alcan, 1912), 171-78; Carolyn A. Conley, *The Unwritten Law: Criminal Justice in Victorian Kent* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 299-300.

53 John Glaister, "The Medico-Legal Aspects of Impotency in the Sexes," *The Practitioner*, 45 (1915): 23-30; Irving C. Rosse, "Sexual Incapacity in its Medico-Legal Relations," Witthaus and

Becker, *Medical Jurisprudence*, 2: 393; Marcellin-Casimir Michal, *Considérations médico-légales sur l'impuissance* (Montpellier: Martel, 1814); Jean-Paul Branlard, *Le Sexe et l'état des personnes: aspects historique, sociologique et juridique* (Paris: Librairie Générale de Droit et de Jurisprudence, 1993), 299-300.

第6章

- 1 J. A. Murray, "Ligation of the Dorsal Vein of the Penis for Functional Impotence, with a Report of Five Cases" *Journal of the American Medical Association* (hereafter *JAMA*) 29 (oct. 9, 1897): 733.
- 2 Ornella Moscucci, *The Science of Women: Gynaecology and Gender in England, 1800-1929* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 1. 1891年のアメリカ医師会会議で、泌尿器学会が男性科という分科を創設したが、何の成果も挙げられなかった。これについては、以下を参照のこと。 *JAMA*, 17 (1891): 63.
- 3 *Toronto Daily Mail*, Oct. 20, 1892; John F. Kasson, *Houdini, Tarzan, and The Perfect Man: The White Male Body and the Challenge of Modernity in America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001), 49; Harvey Green, *Fit for America: Health, Fitness, Sport, and American Society* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), 252; *Le Sourire*, Aug. 25, 1899; F. B. Courtenay, *Revelations of Quacks and Quackery* (London: H. Bailliere, 1865), 8.
- 4 R. and L. Perry and Co., *Silent Friend* (London: By the Authors, 1847); Goss and Company, *Hygeiana: A Non-Medical Analysis of the Complaints Incidental to Females* (London: Sherwood and Co., 1834), 59-60; Goss and Company, *The Aegis of Life: A Non-Medical Commentary on the Indiscretions Arising from Human Frailty* (London: Goss and Company, 1830); Sylvester Graham, *A Lecture to Young Men on Chastity* (London: Strange, 1843), 54; Walter De Roos, *The Medical Adviser* (London: By the Author, 1850), 30-38; Samuel LaMert, *Self-preservation: A Medical Treatise on Nervous & Physical Debility, Spmnatorrhœa, Impotence & Sterility with Practical Observations on the use of the Microscope in the Treatment of the Diseases of the Generative System* (London: Reynell & Weight, 1855). *La Préservation personnelle: traité médicale sur les maladies des organes de la génération* (Paris: Ledoyen and Laroque, 1848); Samuel LaMert, *La Préservation personnelle*, traduit de l'anglais par M. J. M. et D. D. M. (Paris: Laroque Jeune, 1860); William H. Parker, *The Science of Life; or, Self-Preservation* (Boston: Peabody Medical Institute, 1881), 110; Albert H. Hayes, *The Science of Life, or, Self Preservation* (Boston: Peabody Medical Institute, 1868), 206.
- 5 William Acton, *The Functions and Disorders of the Reproductive Organs in Childhood, Youth, Adult Age, and Advanced Life Considered in their Physiological, Social and Moral Relations*, 3rd ed. (London: John Churchill, 1862), 209; *Handbook of Dr. Kahn's Museum* (London: W. Snell, 1863); L. J. Kahn, *Nervous Exhaustion: Its Cause and Cure* (New York: Kahn, 1870).
- 6 *Lancet* 36 (Sep. 25, 1841): 923-24; 41 (Dec. 9, 1843): 329; John Corry, *The Detector of Quackery* (London: Crosby, 1802), 58; Golding Bird, *Urinary Deposits, Their Diagnosis, Pathology, and Therapeutical Indications* (London: John Churchill, 1857), 379; Reginald Harrison, *Lectures on the Surgical Disorders of the Urinary Organs* (London: Churchill, 1887), 530; Olive Anderson, *Suicide in Victorian and Edwardian England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 187.
- 7 Harrison, *Lectures*, 529; Homer Bostwick, *A Treatise on the Nature and Treatment of Seminal Diseases, Impotency, and Other Kindred Affections* (New York: Burgess, Stringer and Co., 1848), 10; Acton, *The Functions and Disorders of the Reproductive Organs*, 1st ed. (1857), 92.
- 8 Michael Ryan, *Lectures on Population, Marriage, and Divorce* (London: Renshaw and Rush, 1831), 10, 13; R. J. Culverwell, *Medical Counsellings* (London: Sherwood and Co., 1841), 243-285;

Acton, *The Functions and Disorders of the Reproductive Organs* (1875, 6th ed.), 87; Frederick Hollick, *The Male Generative Organs in Health and Disease* (New York: T. W. Strong, 1851), 199; James George Beaney, *The Generative System and Its Functions in Health and Disease* (Melbourne: F. F. Bailliere Publisher, 1875), 212.

9 Augustus Gardner, *The Causes and Curative Treatment of Sterility* (New York: De Witt and Davenport, 1856), 59; Acton, *The Functions and Disorders of the Reproductive Organs*, 1st ed. (1857), 72; Félix Roubaud, *Traité de l'impuissance et de la stérilité chez l'homme et chez la femme* (Paris: J.-B. Baillière, 1855), 256; Louis Seraine, *De la santé des gens mariés* (Paris: F. Savy, 1865), 249.

10 Dr. Rauland (Félix Roubaud), *Le Livre des époux* (Paris: La Librairie Nouvelle, 1852), 114-35; Beaney, *The Generative System*, 218; George Harley, *The Urine and Its Derangements* (London: Churchill, 1872), 276; R. W. Shufeldt, "Impotency; Medically and Legally Considered" *Pacific Medical Journal* 48 (Jan. 1905): 6.

11 William A. Hammond, *Sexual Impotence in the Male and Female* (Detroit: George S. Davis, 1887), 129; Auguste Debay, *Histoire naturelle de l'homme et de la femme* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1868), 328; Robert W. Taylor, *A Practical Treatise on Sexual Disorders* (London: Henry Kimpton, 1897), 96; Thomas Low Nichols, *Esoteric Anthropology* (The Mysteries of Man) (Malver: T. L. Nichols, 1873), 89; B. G. Jefferis and J. L. Nichols, *Search Lights on Health* (Naperville, Ill.: J. K. Nichols, 1894), 305, 390; and see also Kevin J. Mumford, "'Lost Manhood' Found: Male Sexual Impotence and Victorian Culture in the United States," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 3 (1992): 39.

12 James H. Dunn, "Impotence in the Male and Its Treatment," *Northwestern Lancet* 5 (Nov. 1, 1885): 445; Walter cited in Michael Mason, *The Making of Victorian Sexuality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 47; Roubaud, *Traité de l'impuissance*, 1: 311.

13 R. J. Culverweil, *Lecture to Young Men on Chastity and Its Infringements* (London:

Sherwood, 1847), 36; Jean Stengers and Anne van Neck, *Histoire d'une grande peur: La masturbation* (Brussels: Editions de l'université de Bruxelles, 1984), 27; Jayme A. Sokolow, *Eros and Modernization: Sylvester Graham, Health Reform, and the Origins of Victorian Sexuality in America* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1983), 77-99; Ed Cohen, *Talk on the Wilde Side: Toward a Genealogy of a Discourse on Male Sexualities* (London: Routledge, 1993), 35-68.

14 Samuel W. Gross, *A Practical Treatise on Impotence, Sterility, and Allied Disorders of the Male Sexual Organs* (London: Henry Kimpton, 1881), 64; Ryan, *Lectures on Population*, 14; James Richard Smyth, *Miscellaneous Contributions to Pathology and Therapeutics* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co., 1844), 208; Hollick, *The Male Generative Organs*; Hammond, *Sexual Impotence*, 94; Robert Ultzmann, *The Nervoses of the Genito-Urinary System in the Male*, trans. Gardner W. Allen (Philadelphia: F. A. Davis, 1890), 154; W. Frank Glenn, "Impotence in the Male," *Southern Practitioner*, June 1892, 240.

15 François Lallemand, *On the Causes, Symptoms and Treatment of Spennatorrhoea*, trans. Henry J. McDougall (London: John Churchill, 1851); Richard Dawson, *An Essay on Spermatorrhoea and Urinary Deposits* (London: Aylotte and Jones, 1851); Beaney, *The Generative System*, 231; George Drysdale, *The Elements of Social Science* (London: Truelove, 1875), 99; and see also Thésée Pouillet, *La Spermatorrhée* (Paris: Delahaye, 1877).

16 William Buchan, *A Treatise on the Prevention and Cure of the Venereal Disease* (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1808), 292; John L. Milton, *Practical Remarks on the Treatment of Spermatorrhoea and some forms of Impotence* (London: S. Highley, 1854).

17 Samuel Solomon, *A Guide to Health* (West Derby: J. Speed, 1817), 167, 168; Henry Beasley, *The Druggist's General Receipt Book* (London: John Churchill, 1850), 150; E. Senate, *The Medical Monitor, Containing Observations on the Effects of Early Dissipation* (London: By the author, 1810);

Walter De Roos, *The Medical Adviser* (London: By the author, 1850), 48, 54.

18 Sylvester Graham, *A Lecture to Young Men on Chastity* (London: Strange, 1843), 61-62.

19 Harvey Green, *Fit for America: Health, Fitness, Sport, and American Society* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), 266; Courtenay, *Revelations of Quacks and Quackery*, 18; M. H. Utley, *Didactic Elucidations, respecting the Original Sin, or the Sin of Imagination, and its Consequences, Morally, Physically and Mentally* (Montreal, 1874).

20 Acton and Maudsley cited in Trev Lynn Broughton, *Men of Letters, Writing Lives: Masculinity and Literary Auto/Biography in the Late Victorian Period* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 149-50, 191n.13; Dawson, *An Essay on Spennatorrhoea*, 125; Hayes, *The Science of Life*, 183; Nichols, *Esoteric Anthropology*, 290.

21 Acton, *The Functions and Disorders of the Reproductive Organs*, 2nd ed. (1867), 160-62; Culverwell, *Lecture to Young Men*, 89; Seraine, *De la santé des gens mariés*, 302; Jean-Alexis Belliol, *Conseils aux hommes affaiblis* (Paris: Dentu, 1877); Auguste Debay, *Hygiène et physiologie du mariage* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1881), 272.

22 Jefferis and Nichols, *Search Lights on Health*, 401-2; Nichols, *Esoteric Anthropology*, 181; John Cowan, *The Science of a New Life* (New York: Cowan and Co., 1869); Bernarr Macfadden, *The Virile Powers of Superb Manhood* (New York: Physical Culture Publishing Company, 1900), 15.

23 Hollick, *The Male Generative Organs*, 302-20; Joseph Morel de Rubempré, *Les Secrets de la génération* (Paris: Roy-Terry, 1830), 293-97; Glenn, "Impotence in the Male," 242.

24 William T. Belfield, *Diseases of the Urinary and Male Sexual Organs* (New York: William Wood and Company, 1884), 339; Stead cited in Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 100; Roubaud, *Traité de l'impuissance*, 213; and see also Debay, *Hygiène et physiologie du mariage*, 268-87.

25 Rauland, *Le Livre des époux*, 224; Hollick, *The Male Generative Organs*, 216; John J. Caldwell, "Impotence and Sterility — Their Causes and Treatment by Electricity and Damiana, etc.," *Virginia Medical Monthly*, 1879, 441; Julius Althus, *On Impotency and Its Treatment by Electricity* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1896); Ultzmann, *The Neuroses of the Genito-Urinary System*, 153; Hammond, *Sexual Impotence in the Male and Female*, 200-201, 207; 真空ポンプについてはSeraine, *De la santé des gens mariés*, 307を参照.

26 T. B. Curling, *A Practical Treatise on the Diseases of the Testis* (London: John Churchill and Sons, 1866), 399; Culverwell, *Lecture to Young Men*, 54-55; George Drysdale, *The Elements of Social Science* (London: Truelove, 1875), 81; Paolo Mantegazza, *Hygiène de l'amour* (Paris: A La Librairie Illustrée, 1887); Joseph W. Howe, *Excessive Venerly, Masturbation, and Continence* (New York: Benningham, and Co., 1883), 184; Gross, *A Practical Treatise on Impotence*, 64.

27 Dawson, *An Essay on Spermatorrhoea*, 48; Hammond, *Sexual Impotence in the Male and Female*, 26, 96; Charles E. Rosenberg, "Sexuality, Class and Role in Nineteenth-Century America," in Elizabeth H. Pleck and Joseph H. Pleck, eds., *The American Man* (Engle-wood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1980), 230; Freddy Mortier, Willem Colen, and Frank Simon, "Inter-Scientific Reconstructions in the Discourse on Masturbation, 1760-1950," *Paedagogica Historica* 30 (1994): 839-40.

28 James Paget, *Clinical Lectures and Essays* (London: Longman Green, 1875), 268-92; Gross, *A Practical Treatise on Impotence*, 28.

29 George G. Gascoyen, "On Spermatorrhoea and Its Treatment," *British Medical Journal* 1 (Jan.-June, 1872): 67-69, 95-96; William A. Roberts, *A Practical Treatise on Urinary and Renal Diseases* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1885), 169-71.

30 Dunn, "Impotence in the Male and Its Treatment," 446; E. R. Palmer, "A Contribution to the Physiology of Sexual Impotence" *New York Medical Journal* 10 (July 2, 1892): 5.

- 31** James Richard Smyth, "Impotence and Sterility," *Lancet* 36 (Aug. 23, 1841): 783; Hammond, *Sexual Impotence in the Male and Female*, 182; Debay, *Hygiène et physiologie du mariage*, 260; Acton, *The Functions and Disorders of the Reproductive Organs*, 2nd ed. (1867), 149; M. E. Descourtilz, *De l'impuissance et de la stérilité* (Paris: Masson et Yonet, 1831), 2: 130-33; Roubaud, *Traité de l'impuissance*, 1: 186; and see also Gail Pat Parsons, "Equal Treatment for All: Medical Remedies for Male Sexual Problems," *Journal of the History of Medicine* 32 (1977): 55-71; Ellen Bayuk Rosenman, "Body Doubles: The Spermatorrhea Panic," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 12 (2003): 392-93.
- 32** Roubaud, *Traité de l'impuissance*, 1:144; Acton, *The Functions and Disorders of the Reproductive Organs*, 6th ed. (1875), 86; Glenn, "Impotence in the Male," 239; Hollick, *The Male Generative Organs*, 200.
- 33** Bransford Lewis, "A Materialistic View of Sexual Impotence," *Medical News* 61 (Nov. 19, 1892): 571-72.
- 34** Hammond, *Sexual Impotence in the Male and Female*, 183; Gilbert Ballet, *Neurasthenia*, trans. P. Campbell Smith (London: Kimpton, 1911), 364; Henry M. Lyman, *The Practical Home Physician* (1893), 531, cited in John S. and Robin Haller, *The Physician and Sexuality in Victorian America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1974), 231; and see also Richard Quain, *A Dictionary of Medicine* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1885), 690-91.
- 35** Ultzmann cited in Ballet, *Neurasthenia*, 365; Ryan, *Lectures on Population*, 34; Mason, *The Making of Victorian Sexuality*, 184.
- 36** Maurice M. Tinterow, *Foundations of Hypnosis from Mesmer to Freud* (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1970), 556, 564; Hippolyte Bernheim, "De la psychothérapie dans les impotences et aberrations génésiques," *Revue Médicale de l'est*, 35 (1903): 225-29.
- 37** Ryan, *Lectures on Population*, 14, 26; Descourtilz, *De l'impuissance*, 1: 328.
- 38** Austin Flint, *A Treatise on the Principles and Practices of Medicine* (Philadelphia: Henry Lea, 1881), 940-41; Gross, *A Practical Treatise on Impotence*, 62, 65, 66; George M. Beard, *Sexual Neurasthenia* (New York: E. B. Treat, 1884), 90-91; Belfield, *Diseases of the Urinary and Male Sexual Organs*, 339.
- 39** Gross, *A Practical Treatise on Impotence*, 32; Acton, *The Functions and Disorders of the Reproductive Organs*, 1st ed. (1857), 90; Ultzmann, *The Neuroses of the Genito-Urinary System in the Male*, 149; Lewis, "A Materialistic View of Sexual Impotence," 570-73.
- 40** Stephen Kern, *Anatomy and Destiny*, 105 [カーン『肉体の文化史』, 前掲書]; Christopher David O'Shea, "Visions of Masculinity: Home-Health Advice Literature, Medical Discourse and Male Sexuality in English-Canada, 1870-1914," (Ph. D. diss., University of Guelph, 2003), 183-201; Angela Gugliotta, "'Dr. Sharp and His Little Knife': Therapeutic and Punitive Origins of Eugenic Vasectomy — Indiana, 1892-1921," *Journal of the History of Medicine* 53 (1998): 373.
- 41** F. R. Sturgis, "On the Physical Causes of Sexual Debility in the Male, as Distinguished from the Psychological Causes," *Canada Lancet* 26 (1893-94): 260; Ultzmann, *The Neuroses of the Genito-Urinary System in the Male*, 148; Eugene Fuller, *Disorders of the Male Sexual Organs* (London: Young J. Pentland, 1895); J. S. Wooten, "Ligation of the Dorsal Vein of the Penis as a Cure for Atonic Impotence," *Texas Medical Journal* 18 (1902-3): 325-28; and see also G. Frank Lydston, "The Surgical Treatment of Impotence," *American Journal of Medicine* 15 (1903): 1571; Murray, "Ligation of the Dorsal Vein of the Penis," 733.
- 42** Glenn, "Impotence in the Male," 241; Gross, *A Practical Treatise on Impotence*, 41; Taylor, *A Practical Treatise*, 83-84; P. C. Remondino, *History of Circumcision* (Philadelphia: F. A. Davis Co., 1900), 206-13, 327n79; and see David L. Gollaher, *Circumcision: The World's Most Controversial Surgery* (New York: Basic Books, 2000); Robert A. Darby, *Surgical Temptation: The Demonization*

of the Foreskin and the Rise of Circumcision in Britain (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

43 G. Frank Lydston, *Impotence and Sterility* (Chicago: Riverton Press, 1917), 90.

44 Gross, *A Practical Treatise on Impotence*, 87; Ultzmann, *The Neuroses of the Genito-Urinary System In the Male*, 140; Mantegazza, *Hygiène de la amour*, 129-30.

第7章

1 Ernest Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926) [ヘミングウェイ『日はまた昇る』高見浩訳, 新潮文庫], 15, 17. このテーマに対するヘミングウェイの関心と、彼自身の器官(「ミスター・スクルーピ」と呼んでいた)については、以下を参照のこと。Kenneth Lynn, *Hemingway* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987), 327-29, 398-401, 457-61, 513, 519.

2 Gabriel Chevallier, *La Peur* (1930; Paris: Le Livre Club du Libraire, 1951), 96; Jean-Yves Le Naour, *Misères et tourments de la chair durant la Grande Guerre: les mœurs sexuelles des français, 1914-1918* (Paris: Aubier, 2002), 311-19; Ernst Toller, *Hinkemann* (1923) in *Seven Plays* (New York: Liveright Publishing, 1936) [エルンスト・トラー「独逸男ヒンケマン」北村喜八訳, 『コレクション・モダン都市文化』第30巻「表現主義」ゆまに書房, 所取]; Patrice Petro, *Joyless Streets: Women and Melodramatic Representation in Weimar Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989); Richard W. McCormick, *Gender and Sexuality in Weimar Modernity: Film, Literature, and 'New Objectivity'* (New York: Palgrave, 2001).

3 Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (London: Reaktion Books, 1996); Kevin White, *The First Sexual Revolution: The Emergence of Male Heterosexuality in Modern America* (New York: New York University Press, 1993); Maurizia Boscagli, *Eye on the Flesh: Fashions of Masculinity*

in the Early Twentieth Century (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1996); Michael Kane, *Modern Men: Mapping Masculinity in English and Gennan Literature, 1880-1930* (London: Cassell, 1999); James Joyce, *Ulysses* (London: Bodley Head, 1937), 687 [ジェイムズ・ジョイス『ユリシーズ』全4巻, 丸谷才一, 永川玲二, 高松雄一訳, 集英社文庫]; ロレンス自身のインポテンツと、彼が男性にも更年期があることを信じていた点については、以下を参照。Jeffrey Meyers, *D. H. Lawrence: A Biography* (London: Macmillan, 1990), 331-32, 341; David Ellis, *D. H. Lawrence, Dying Game, 1921-1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 355-56, 507-8.

4 Charles A. Mercier, "A Problem in Diagnosis" *Lancet* 167 (Mar. 10, 1906): 670-71.

5 Sigmund Freud, "On the Universal Tendency to Debasement in the Sphere of Love," (1912) [フロイト「性愛生活が誰からも貶められることについて」須藤訓任訳, 『フロイト全集』(以下『岩波版全集』と略記) 第12巻, 岩波書店, 所取], *Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. James Strachey (London: Hogarth Press, 1953) (以下SEと略記), 11: 179.

6 Freud, "On the History of the Psycho-Analytic Movement," (1914) [フロイト「精神分析運動の歴史のために」福田覚訳, 『岩波版全集』第13巻, 所取], SE, 14:15.

7 Freud, "Observations on Transference-Love," [フロイト「転移性恋愛についての見解」道齋泰三訳, 『岩波版全集』第13巻, 所取], cited in Paul Roazen, *Freud and His Followers* (New York: Knopf, 1975), 54.

8 Elisabeth Roudinesco, *Histoire de la psychanalyse en France* (Paris: Seuil, 1986), 1: 32.

9 Freud, review of Maxim Steiner's *The Psychical Disorders of Male Potency* (1913) [フロイト「マクシミリアン・シュタイナー博士著『男性能力の心的障害』への序言」道齋泰三訳, 『岩波版全集』第13巻, 所取], SE, 12:345; "Inhibitions, Symptoms and Anxiety" (1926) [フロイト「制止、症状、不安」大宮勤一郎, 加藤敏訳, 『岩波版全集』第19巻, 所取], SE, 20:88.

10 Freud, "Extracts from Fliess Papers" (1892-

1899), *SE*, 1: 180, 181, 198-99.

11 Freud, "On the universal Tendency to Debasement in the Sphere of Love" (1912) [フロイト「性愛生活が誰からも貶められることについて」, 前掲書], *SE*, 11: 183.

12 Freud, "On the universal Tendency to Debasement in the Sphere of Love" (1912) [フロイト「性愛生活が誰からも貶められることについて」, 前掲書], *SE*, 11: 182, 185; Wilhelm Reich, *Early Writings*, trans. Philip Schmitz (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1975), 77.

13 Freud, "On the universal Tendency to Debasement in the Sphere of Love" (1912) [フロイト「性愛生活が誰からも貶められることについて」, 前掲書], *SE*, 11: 184-85, 188.

14 Freud, "Some Psychological Consequences of the Anatomical Distinction Between the Sexes" (1925) [フロイト「論稿 解剖学的な性差の若干の心的帰結」大宮勘一郎訳, 『岩波版全集』第19巻, 所収], *SE*, 19: 257; "Fetishism" (1927) [フロイト「フェティシズム」石田雄一訳, 『岩波版全集』第19巻, 所収], *SE*, 21: 154; "Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality" (1905) [フロイト「性理論のための三篇」渡邊俊之訳, 『岩波版全集』第6巻, 所収], *SE*, 7: 195; "Leonardo da Vinci and a Memory of Childhood" (1910) [フロイト「レオナルド・ダ・ヴィンチの幼年期の想い出」甲田純生, 高田珠樹訳, 『岩波版全集』第11巻, 所収], *SE*, 11: 96; but see also Karen Horney, "Dread of Women," in *Feminine Psychology* (New York: Norton, 1967), 133-46; Sarah Kofman, *L'Enigme de la femme, la femme dans les textes de Freud* (Paris: Galilée, 1980) [サラ・コフマン『女の謎—フロイトの女性論』鈴木晶訳, せりか書房, 2000].

15 Freud, "Obsessive Actions and Religious Practices" (1907) [フロイト「強迫行為と宗教儀礼」道旗泰三訳, 『岩波版全集』第9巻, 所収], *SE*, 9: 121 (ただしここに挙げられている症例に非常によく似た話がオウィディウスに既に見られる。Ovid, *Amores* [オウィディウス「恋の歌」, 前掲書], 3.7.83-84 in *The Love Poems*, ed. A. D. Melville (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). そのここでは、恋人がインポテンツになってしまった若い女性の立場で歌われている。「男を受け入れなかったこ

とを 下女たちに知られぬように／彼女は水を使ってこの恥をごまかした); "The Interpretation of Dreams" (1900) [フロイト「夢解釈」新宮一成訳, 『岩波版全集』第4-5巻, 所収], *SE*, 4: 187, 291; 精神分析医が、患者からはっきりとインポテンツに悩んでいると聞くことは稀であるという点については、以下を参照のこと。Wilhelm Stekel, *Impotence in the Male*, trans. Oswald H. Boltz (1923; New York: Liveright, 1927), 1: 42.

16 Freud, "Fragment of an Analysis of a Case of Hysteria" (1905) [フロイト「あるヒステリー分析の断片 [ドーラ]」渡邊俊之, 草野シュワルツ美穂子訳, 『岩波版全集』第6巻, 所収], *SE*, 7: 47.

17 Freud, "Psychopathology of Everyday Life" (1901) [フロイト「日常生活の精神病理学」高田珠樹訳, 『岩波版全集』第7巻, 所収], *SE*, 6: 206.

18 Freud, "The Interpretation of Dreams" [フロイト「夢解釈」, 前掲書], *SE*, 5: 364, 472-73.

19 Freud, "Extracts from the Fliess Papers," *SE*, 1: 262. フロイトは、男性には性的な周期があるというヴィルヘルム・フリースの考えに同調して、自分は28日毎にインポテンツになると断言している。Jeffrey Moussaieff Masson, ed., *The Complete Letters of Sigmund Freud to Wilhelm Fliess* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985), 215. ヴィルヘルム・シュテークルも、試験の夢がセックスの失敗への不安に関係しているという考え方に賛同している。「神経症患者の試験に対する不安は、性的な恐怖を表わしていることがしばしばある。[……] こうした患者の大半は、インポテンツでもある。女性に対する恐怖は、試験官に対する恐怖と一致しているのだ」(Wilhelm Stekel, *Conditions of Nervous Anxiety and Their Treatment*, trans. Rosalie Gabler [1923; London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1950], 245); Ernest Jones, *Sigmund Freud, Life and Work* (London: Hogarth Press, 1955) [アーネスト・ジョーンズ『フロイトの生涯』竹友安彦, 藤井治彦訳, 紀伊國屋書店(ただしライオネル・トリリングおよびスティーヴン・マーカスによる再編集版からの邦訳であり、この引用箇所は採録されていないようである)], 2: 431; フロイトからヴィルヘルム・フリースへの1897年10月31日付書簡, "Extracts from the Fliess Papers," *SE*, 1: 267; エンマ・ユングからフロイトへの1911年11月

- 6日付書簡, in *The Freud/Jung Letters*, ed. William McGuire (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974) [『フロイト＝ユング往復書簡』W・マクガイアー, W・ザウアーレンダー編, 金森誠也訳, 全2巻, 講談社学術文庫], 456.
- 20** Freud, "Civilized' Sexual Morality and Modern Nervousness" (1908) [フロイト『『文化的』性道徳と現代の神経質症』道籙泰三訳, 『岩波版全集』第9巻, 所収], *SE*, 9: 201.
- 21** Reich, *Early Writings*, 201-2; and see also Stekel, *Conditions of Nervous Anxiety*, 249; Karl Abraham, *Clinical Papers and Essays on Psycho-Analysis*, trans. Hilda C. Abraham (London: Hogarth Press, 1955), 63.
- 22** Stekel, *Impotence in the Male*, 1: 11; 男性のなかには, 性行為を遂行するためにはフェティッシュが必要な人もあるという点については, 以下を参照のこと。Wilhelm Stekel, *Sexual Aberrations: The Phenomena of Fetishism in Relation to Sex*, trans. S. Parker (1923; New York: Livedght, 1930), 1: 202, 312-13; また女性に対するシュテケルの治療法については, 以下を参照のこと。Stekel, *Frigidity in Woman* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1926) [シュテケル『性の分析—女性の冷感症』全2巻, 松井孝史訳, 三笠書房, 1955-6].
- 23** Paul E. Stepanky, *In Freud's Shadow: Adler in Context* (London: Analytic Press, 1983), 90, 116; Henry V. Dicks, *Clinical Studies in Psychopathology* (London: Edward Arnold, 1947), 167.
- 24** Otto Fenichel, *The Psychoanalytic Theory of Neurosis* (New York: Norton, 1945), 170, 172.
- 25** Ernest Jones, *Papers on Psycho-Analysis* (London: Bailliere, Tindall and Cox, 1918), 550; Theodor Reik, *Of Love and Lust* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Co., 1941), 430, 434.
- 26** Reik, *Of Love and Lust*, 431; Israel S. Wechsler, *The Neuroses* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders, 1929), 267; and see also John F. W. Meagher, *A Study of Masturbation and the Psychosexual Life* (London: Bailliere, Tindall and Cox, 1929).
- 27** Freud, "On the universal Tendency to Debasement in the Sphere of Love" (1912) [フロイト「性愛生活が誰からも貶められることについて」, 前掲書], *SE*, 11: 187.
- 28** Wilfred Harris, "Impotence in Men," *Practitioner* 95 (July, 1915): 9; Wechsler, *The Neuroses*, 208; Jones, *Papers on Psycho-Analysis*, 552-53; Meagher, *A Study of Masturbation*, 45; Dicks, *Clinical Studies in Psychopathology*, 163-64.
- 29** Stekel, *Impotence in the Male*, 2: 183, 250-51; and see also Wilhelm Stekel, *Compulsion and Doubt*, trans. Emil Gutheil (1927; London: Peter Nevill Ltd., 1950), 392-97; Wilhelm Stekel, *Marriage at the Crossroads*, trans. Allen D. Garman (New York: William Godwin, 1931) [シュテケル『近代の結婚』堀秀彦訳, 実業之日本社], 95; Stekel, *Technique of Analytical Psychotherapy*, trans. Eden and Cedar Paul (New York: W.W. Norton, 1940), 159; Wilhelm Stekel, *The Homosexual Neurosis*, trans. James S. van Teslaar (1921; New York: Emerson Books, 1945).
- 30** Sandor Ferenczi, "De l'impuissance psychosexuelle," *Psychoanalyse 1. Œuvres complètes 1908-1912* (Paris: Payot, 1968).
- 31** Wilhelm Stekel, *The Autobiography of Wilhelm Stekel* (New York: Liveright, 1950), 107-8, 123; Stekel, *Conditions of Nervous Anxiety*, 248, 254; Stekel, *Marriage at the Crossroads* [シュテケル『近代の結婚』, 前掲書], 48; Stekel, *Technique of Analytical Psychotherapy*, 62; Stekel, *Impotence in the Male*, 1: 11, 46.
- 32** Stekel, *Technique of Analytical Psychotherapy*, 39; Wilhelm Stekel, *Auto-Erotism: A Psychiatric Study of Onanism and Neurosis*, trans. James S. Teslaar (1921; New York: Liveright Publishing, 1950); Stekel, *Impotence in the Male*, 1: 56, 116.
- 33** R. G. Gordon, *The Neurotic Personality* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, and Co., 1927), 218-19; T. A. Ross, *The Common Neuroses* (London: Edward Arnold, 1937), 116, 117.
- 34** Stekel, *Impotence in the Male*, 1: 205.
- 35** Stekel, *Impotence in the Male*, 1: 38; Thomas Szasz, *Karl Kraus and the Soul Doctors* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976), 103. ヴィルヘルム・ライヒは, ある患者に対して, もしもあなたが奥様とセックスをするなら, そのときあなたは, 本当は同性愛的空想によって性的に興

奮しているのです、という暗示を与えて、その患者を完全にインポテンツにしてしまったと告白している (Reich, *Early Writings*, 205).

36 André Tridon, *Sex Happiness* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1922); Ira S. Wile and Mary Day Winn, *Marriage in the Modern Manner* (New York: Century Co., 1929); Charles Clinton, *Married Sweethearts: The Role of Sex Behavior in Marriage* (New York: Macfadden Book Co., 1933); Michael Hau, *The Cult of Health and Beauty in Germany: A Social History, 1890-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 78.

37 June Rose, *Marie Stopes and the Sexual Revolution* (London: Faber and Faber, 1992) [ジューン・ローズ『性の革命——マリー・ストープス伝』上村哲彦, 立本秀洋, 松田正貴訳, 関西大学出版部. この段落だけでなく、本章のストープスからの引用および伝記的事実に関する記述の訳出に当たって、この邦訳書を参考にした箇所は多い], 76-78; Ruth Hall, *Passionate Crusader: The Life of Marie Stopes* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977), 38, 89-95; ストープスに対して同情的に書かれた評伝として、以下も参照。Keith Briant, *Passionate Paradox: The Life of Marie Stopes* (New York: Norton, 1962).

38 作家アントニア・ホワイトの1921年の結婚が無効解消された件については、以下を参照のこと。Susan Chitty, *Now to My Mother: A Very Personal Memoir of Antonia White* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1985), 14-18.

39 Marie Carmichael Stopes, *Married Love: A New Contribution to the Solution of Sex Difficulties* (London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1920) [マリー・ストープス『結婚愛』平井潔訳, 現代教養文庫, 社会思想社], 18; マリー・ストープスから劇作家アルフレッド・ストロ [1863-1933] への1927年11月7日付書簡, in Lewis Sawin, "Alfred Sutro, Marie Stopes, and her Vectia," *Theatre Research International*, 10 (85): 66-67.

40 ロンドン大学キングズカレッジ教授だったゲイツは、1942年から57年まで、ハーヴァード大学の特別研究員でもあった。Ruggles Gates Papers, King's College, London; *Dictionary of National Biography, 1961-1970* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981),

424-25; Elazar Barkan, *The Retreat of scientific Racism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 168-76; Nancy Stepan, *The Idea of Race* (London: Macmillan, 1982), 168-69; 差出人不明のゲイツ宛書簡 (1936年4月3日付), Ruggles Gates Papers.

41 Paul B. Rich, *Race and Empire in British Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 112-13.

42 1962年4月24日付のゲイツの書簡。Stopes Papers, British Museum, Add Ms 59848.

43 Rose, Marie Stopes [ローズ『性の革命』, 前掲書], 79.

44 Orson S. Fowler, *Creative and Sexual Science* (Philadelphia: National Publishing Co., 1870), 70; J. B. Keswick, *Woman: Her Physical Culture* (Scarborough: L. N. Fowler, 1895), 2: 68; 以下も参照のこと。Gay, *The Bourgeois Experience*, vol. 1 [ゲイ『官能教育』, 前掲書]; Carl N. Degler, "What Ought To Be and What Was: Women's Sexuality in the Nineteenth Century," *American Historical Review*, 79 (1974): 1467-90; Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Rereading Sex: Battles over Sexual Knowledge and Suppression in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Knopf, 2002), 111-12.

45 Matie Stopes, *Enduring Passion* (London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1928) [ストープス「永遠なる情熱」, 『結婚愛・永遠なる情熱——性問題解決への新しい寄与』武神輝夫, 平野武雄訳, 金園社, 所収], 39; Marie Stopes, *Marriage in My Time* (London: Rich and Cowan, 1935), 57. ドーラ・ラッセルはストープスのロマンティズムを笑いはしなかったが、妻はたいてい夫のセックスを「退屈だ」と感じていると言っている。彼女の結婚が終わった理由の一部には、夫のパートランド・ラッセルのインポテンツもあった。以下を参照のこと。Dora Russell, *The Tamarisk Tree* (London: Elek, 1975), 168; Dora Russe11, *Hypatia or Woman and Knowledge* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trebner and Co., 1925), 74; Stephen Brooke, "The Body and Socialism: Dora Russell in the 1920s," *Past and Present* 189 (November 2005), 149.

46 Stopes, *Married Love* [ストープス『結婚愛』, 前掲書], 80; Stopes, *Enduring Passion* [ストープ

ス「永遠なる情熱」, 前掲書], 91; Marie Stopes, *The Human Body* (New York: Blue Ribbon Books, 1926) [マリイ・ストープス『ヒューマンボデー』藤井健二訳, 家庭研究会], 222. ベルリンでは性科学者のイヴァン・プロッホ (1872-1922) が, 女性から直接聞き取りを行なった結果, 女性の40%は冷感症であり, 妻に性欲がないのは夫の不能のせいであると主張した. Ute Frevert, *Women in German History: From Bourgeois Emancipation to Sexual Liberation* (Oxford: Berg, 1989), 132.

47 Stopes, *The Human Body* [ストープス『ヒューマンボデー』, 前掲書], 226; Stopes, *Enduring Passion* [ストープス『永遠なる情熱』, 前掲書], 40, 41, 43, 52, 65. ストープスは, 未婚者も含めて女性の一部は, カプセル入りの性腺抽出物を処方してもらった方が良いのではないかと提案している.

48 Edward Carpenter, *Love's Coming of Age* (1896; London: George Allen and Unwin, 1948) [カーペンター『愛の哲学』寺沢芳隆訳, 創元文庫], 30; Jessamyn Neuhaus. "The Importance of Being Orgasmic: Sexuality, Gender, and Marital Sex Manuals in the United States, 1920-1963," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 9 (2000): 447-73.

49 Savory (*Marriage: Its Science and Ethics*) cited in Michael Gordon. "From an Unfortunate Necessity to a Cult of Mutual Orgasm: Sex in American Marital Education Literature, 1830-1940," in James M. Henslin, ed., *Studies in the Sociology of Sex* (New York: Appleton Century Crofts, 1971), 53-77; W. F. Robie, *Rational Sex Ethics: Further Investigations* (Boston: Gorham Press, 1919); Charles William Malchow, *The Sexual Life* (St. Louis: C. V. Mosby, 1907). 176; Tridon, *Sex Happiness*, 171; C. B. S. Evans, *Man and Woman in Marriage* (London: John Lane the Bodley Head Ltd., 1932), 49.

50 Evans, *Man and Woman in Marriage*, 61; Tridon, *Sex Happiness*, 167.

51 Bernard Bernard, *Sex Conduct in Marriage* (Chicago: Health and Life Publications, 1926); and see also G. Courtney Beale, *Wise Wedlock: The Complete Treatise on Birth Control and Marriage* (London: Health Promotion Ltd., 1921), 76, 85-88; Le Mon Clark, *Emotional Adjustment*

in Marriage (London: Henry Kimpton, 1937), 125; Joseph Collins, *A Doctor Looks at Love and Life* (London: Brentano's, 1926), 33-35; Helena Wright, *The Sex Factor in Marriage* (London: Noel Douglas, 1930) [ヘレナ・ライト「結婚における性の要因」青木尚雄訳, 『正しい夫婦生活』, 『家庭性学全書』第3巻, 季節風書店, 所収], 17, 31-32. マーガレット・サンガーによれば, 「それをできるのは彼だけである. なぜなら妻の欲望は, 彼女が愛する者によってしか目覚めることはないからだ」. Margaret Sanger, *Happiness in Marriage* (New York: Brentano's, 1926), 125; and see also Leland Foster Wood, *Foundations of Happiness in Marriage* (Providence, R.I.: The Roger Williams Press, 1934).

52 R. L. Dickinson and L. Beam, *A Thousand Marriages: A Medical Study of Sex Adjustment* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1932), 126; Sanger, *Happiness in Marriage*, 93; Peter Laipson, "Kiss without Shame, for She Desires It: Sexual Foreplay in American Marital Advice Literature, 1900-1925," *Journal of Social History*, 3 (1996): 507-12.

53 Isabel E. Hutton, *Hygiene of Marriage* (London: William Heinemann, 1923), 32-33; M. J. Exner, *The Sexual Side of Marriage* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1932) [M・J・エクスナー「結婚の性的面」青木尚雄訳, 性問題研究会編『世界性学全集』第12巻, 河出書房, 1957, 所収], 86, 122; Evans, *Man and Woman in Marriage*, 58; Tridon, *Sex Happiness*, 158; Wright, *The Sex Factor in Marriage* [ライト「結婚における性の要因」, 前掲書], 72; Th. H. van de Velde, *Fertility and Sterility in Marriage: Their Voluntary Promotion and Limitation* (London: Heinemann, 1931) [Th・H・ヴァン・デ・ヴェルデ『完全なる結婚』第3部—受胎・不妊・陰萎』原一平訳, 穂高書房], 225. ストープスとサンガーは, 女性が性的に満足するために必要な時間は, 少なくとも20分から30分であるということによって一致している.

54 Stekel, *Marriage at the Crossroads* [シュテケル『近代の結婚』, 前掲書], 2; Sanger, *Happiness in Marriage*, 27; Stopes, *Enduring Passion* [ストープス『永遠なる情熱』, 前掲書], 33.

- 55 マリー・ストープスからアルフレッド・ストロへの1927年11月7日付書簡, in Sawin, "Alfred Sutro," 66-67.
- 56 Stopes, *Enduring Passion* [ストープス「永遠なる情熱」, 前掲書], 55-56; William J. Robinson and Leo Jacobi, *Sex Morality; Past, Present and Future* (New York: Critic and Guide Company, 1912), 27.
- 57 Stopes, *Enduring Passion* [ストープス「永遠なる情熱」, 前掲書], 58, 60, 76; C. S. Whitehead and C. A. Hoff, *Ethical Sex Relations or the New Eugenics* (Chicago: John A. Hertel CO., 1928), 109; Sanger, *Happiness in Marriage*, 32, 153, 167-69.
- 58 ストープスは50代後半のとき, 2人目の夫に愛人をつくる権利を認めさせ, 書類に署名させた。その後すぐに彼女は25歳のキース・ブライアントとの情事を始めた。以下を参照のこと。Hall, *Passionate Crusader*, 277-78; Stopes, *Married Love* [ストープス『結婚愛』, 前掲書], 84; and see also Leslie D. Weatherhead, *The Mastery of Sex through Psychology and Religion* (London: Student Christian Movement, 1934), 230.
- 59 Stopes, *Enduring Passion* [ストープス「永遠なる情熱」, 前掲書], 81, 111, 189; ストープスが男性に対して助言している手紙については, 以下を参照のこと。Lesley A. Hall, *Hidden Anxieties: Male Sexuality, 1900-1950* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1991) and Lesley A. Hall, "Perspective: The Age-old and Hidden Tonnets of Impotence," *British Journal of Sexual Science* 22, no.6 (Nov.-Dec. 1995): 24-26.
- 60 Rose, *Marie Stopes* [ローズ『性の革命』, 前掲書], 76; Dr. Eynon, *Manuel de l'amour conjugal* (Paris: Librairie Artistique et Médicale, 1909), 128-144; Havelock Ellis, *Psychology of Sex* (New York: Emerson, 1933), 260.
- 61 W. F. Robie, *Rational Sex Ethics* (Boston: Gorham Press, 1916), 220; Hutton, *Hygiene of Marriage*, 56-59; 「[夫がインポテンツである] そのような夫婦が, 必ずしも幸福の点で平均以下であるとは限らない」というハヴロック・エリスの言葉も参照。Havelock Ellis, *Psychology of Sex*, 259; Phyllis Grosskurth, *Havelock Ellis: A Biography* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1980), 286.
- 62 Oppenheim cited in White, *The First Sexual Revolution*, 71; Joseph Tenenbaum, *The Riddle of Sex* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1930), 237; Katharine Bement Davis, *Factors in the Sex Life of Twenty-two Hundred Women* (New Yorker: Harper and Brothers, 1929), 78; Dickinson and Beam, *A Thousand Marriages*, 68; G. V. Hamilton, *A Research in Marriage* (New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1929), 387; Kenneth Walker, *Physiology of Sex* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1940) [ケネス・ウォーカー『性の生理学—美と悪の淵をさぐる』大場正史訳, 池田書店], 88-89.
- 63 Van de Velde, *Fertility and Sterility in Marriage* [ヴァン・デ・ヴェルデ『完全なる結婚 第3部』, 前掲書], 234, 243.
- 64 Van de Velde, *Fertility and Sterility in Marriage* [ヴァン・デ・ヴェルデ『完全なる結婚 第3部』, 前掲書], 228-29; and see also Floyd Dell, "The Anti-Birth Control Neuroses," *Birth Control Review* 12 (Sept. 1928): 254-54; George Ryley Scott, *Scott's Encyclopedia of Sex* (London: T. Wemer Laurie, 1939), 167; and see also Whitehead and Hoff, *Ethical Sex Relations*, 106; Bernard S. Talmey, *Love: A Treatise on the Science of Sex-Attraction* (New York: Practitioner's Publishing Company, 1916), 192.
- 65 Eustace Chesser, *Love without Fear* (1941; London: Arrow Books, 1966) [E・チェッサー『恐怖なき愛』三上理訳, 高文社], 11; Leslie D. Weatherhead, *Mastery of Sex: Through Psychology and Religion* (1931; London: SCM Press, 1964), 179; Bernard S. Talmey, *Woman: A Treatise on the Normal and Pathological Emotions of Feminine Love* (New York: Practitioner's Publishing Company, 1912), 94, 96, 195, 214.
- 66 Paul Popenoe, *Problems of Human Reproduction* (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins, 1926), 130, 132.
- 67 Beale, *Wise wedlock*, 86-87; Gregorio Marañón, *The Evolution of Sex and Intersexual Conditions*, trans. Warren B. Wells (London: Allen and Unwin, 1932), 74; Sanger, *Happiness in Marriage*, 123; J. F. Tuthill, "Impotence," *Lancet* 265 (Jan. 15, 1955): 126.
- 68 Anthony M. Ludovici, *Man: An Indictment*

(London: Constable, 1927), 119-36; M. Palazzoli, *L'Impuissance sexuelle chez l'homme* (Paris: Masson, 1935), 110-11; Tennenbaum, *The Riddle of Sex*, 230, 239-40; Eynon, *Manuel de lamour conjugal*, 128-44; Van de Velde, *Fertility and Sterility in Marriage* [ヴァン・デ・ヴェルデ『完全なる結婚 第3部』, 前掲書], 229-30; and see also Robinson, *Sex Morality*, 28-30.

69 Joseph Dülberg, *Sterile Marriages* (London: T. Werner Laurie, 1920), 54, 73, 232; Max von Gruber, *Hygiene of Sex* (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins, 1928), 108; Th. H. van de Velde, *Ideal Marriage: Its Physiology and Technique*, tr. Stella Browne (1926; New York: Random House, 1961) [T・H・ヴァン・デ・ヴェルデ『完全なる結婚』安田一郎訳, 河出文庫], 271.

70 Abraham Buschke and Friedrich Jacobsohn, *Sex Habits; a Vital Factor in Well-Being*, trans. Eden and Cedar Paul (New York: Emerson Books, 1936), 136, 149.

71 Max Hodann, *A History of Modern Morals*, trans. Stella Browne (London: Heinemann, 1937), 144.

72 Samuel D. Schmalhausen, "The Sexual Revolution," in V. F. Calverton and Samuel D. Schmalhausen, eds. *Sex in Civilization* (Garden City, N.Y.: Garden City Publishing Company, 1929), 380.

第8章

1 Peter Schmidt, *The Conquest of Old Age*, trans. Eden and Cedar Paul (London: Routledge, 1931), 108, 117, 119, 123, 124, 136.

2 Adele Clarke, *Disciplining Reproduction: Modernity, American Life Sciences, and "the Problems of Sex"* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

3 Frank P. Davis, *Impotency, Sterility and Artificial Impregnation* (St. Louis: C. V. Mosby Company, 1917), 69.

4 Victor G. Vecki, *Sexual Impotence* (Philadelphia

and London: W. B. Saunders Company, 1912), 341; Davis, *Impotency, Sterility and Artificial Impregnation*, 68; and see also Gregorio Marañón, *The Evolution of Sex*, 27, 68, 70, 250; Oswald Swinney Lowsley and Thomas Joseph Kirwin, *Clinical Urology* (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins Co., 1944), 351-57; Frank Hinman, *The Principles and Practice of Urology* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders, 1935), 836; and see also Kenneth Walker and Eric B. Strauss, *Sexual Disorders in the Male* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1944), 132-33; J. Shah, "Erectile Dysfunction through the Ages," *BJU International* 90, No.4 (2002): 437.

5 BMA (British Medical Association), *More Secret Remedies: What They Cost & What They Contain* (London: BMA, 1912); Wellcome Library, CMCS file no. SA/BMA/box 119/C.426 Patent Medicines; William J. Robinson, *A Practical Treatise on the Causes, Symptoms, and Treatment of Sexual Impotence* (New York: Critic and Guide, 1923), 176; Davis, *Impotency, Sterility and Artificial Impregnation*, 51, 67; *Journal of the American Medical Association* (hereafter *JAMA*) 91 (1928): 1823-24; 94 (1930), 1619-20.

6 Vecki, *Sexual Impotence*, 353; Joseph Loewenstein, *The Treatment of Impotence: With Special Reference to Mechanotherapy* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1947), 16, 24, 26.

7 Stanislas Higier, *Les Fonctions sexuelles mâles et leurs troubles* (Paris: G. Doin, 1932); Diane Long Hall, "Biology, Sex Hormones and Sexism in the 1920s," *Philosophical Forum*, 5 (1973-74): 81-96; and for an overview see Chandak Sengoopta, *The Most Secret Quintessence of Life: Sex, Glands, and Hormones, 1850-1950* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

8 Dr. Brown-Sequard, "The Effects Produced on Man by Subcutaneous Injections of a Liquid Obtained From the Testicles of Animals" *Lancet* 134 (July 20, 1889): 105-6; Merriley Borell, "Brown-Séquard's Organotherapy and its Appearance in America at the End of the Nineteenth Century," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 50 (1976): 309-20; Chandak Sengoopta,

"Transforming the Testicle; Science, Medicine and Masculinity, 1800-1950," *Medicina nei Secoli Arte e Scienza* 13 (2001): 637-55.

9 Victor D. Lespinaise, "Transplantation of the Testicle," *JAMA* 61 (1913): 1869-70; G. Frank Lydston, *Impotence and Sterility with Aberrations of the Sexual Function and Sex-Gland Implementation* (Chicago: Riverton Press, 1917), 225, 226-51; and see also G. Frank Lydston, "Sex Gland Implantation: Additional Cases and Conclusions to Date," *JAMA* 66 (1916): 1540-43.

10 L. L. Stanley, "An Analysis of One Thousand Testicular Substance Implantations," *Endocrinology* 6 (1922): 787-94; Robinson, *A Practical Treatise*, 411; and see also Walker and Strauss, *Sexual Disorders in the Male*, 45.

11 Serge Voronoff and George Alexandrescu, *Testicular Grafting from Ape to Man*, trans. Theodore C. Merrill (London: Brentano's, 1928), 27, 28; David Hamilton, *The Monkey Gland Affair* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1986); Serge Voronoff, *The Conquest of Life* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1933), 45; *New York Times*, Oct. 3, 1921, 28: 3; and see also Max Hodann, *History of Modern Morals*, trans. Stella Browne (London: Heinemann, 1937), 29; Paul Kammerer, *Rejuvenation and the Prolongation of Human Efficiency* (London: Methuen, 1924), 63.

12 Benjamin E. Dawson, *Orificial Surgery* (Kansas City, Mo.: Western Baptist Publishing Company, 1925); Eric S. Juhnke, *Quacks and Crusaders: The Fabulous Careers of John Brinkley, Norman Baker, and Harry Hoxsey* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2002); R. Alton Lee, *The Bizarre Careers of John R. Brinkley* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2002).

13 "You Can't Do What My Last Man Did," transcribed from vocals by Ethel Waters and Slow Kid Thomas, recorded August 25, 1925; Lee, *The Bizarre Careers of John R. Brinkley*, 241; Brett A. Berliner, "Mephistopheles and Monkeys: Rejuvenation, Race, and Sexuality in Popular Culture in Interwar France," *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 13 (2004): 306-25; Italo Svevo, *Further*

Confessions of Zeno, trans. Ben Johnson and P.N. Furbank (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 145.

14 George Ryley Scott, *Three Hundred Sex, Marriage and Birth Control Questions Answered* (London: T. Werner Laurie, 1941), 49; sir Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Penguin Complete Sherlock Holmes* (London: Penguin, 1981), 1082-83 [コナン・ドイル「這う男」高山宏訳, 『詳注版 シャーロック・ホームズ全集』第10巻, ちくま文庫, 所収]; and see Joseph A. Kester, *Sherlock's Men: Masculinity, Conan Doyle, and Cultural History* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), 59; Charles Percy Snow, *New Lives for Old* (London: Gollancz, 1933); Mikhail Bulgakov, *Heart of a Dog*, trans. Mirra Ginsburg (New York: Grove Press, 1968) [ミハイル・A・ブルガーコフ『犬の心臓』水野忠夫訳, 河出書房新社, 復刻新版, 2012].

15 Eugen Steinach and Josef Loebel, *Sex and Life: Forty Years of Biological and Medical Experiments* (London: Faber and Faber, 1940), 21.

16 *London Times*, May 14, 1921, 7c; Hamilton, *Monkey Gland*, 46-47; "Gland Treatment Spreads in America," *New York Times*, Apr. 8, 1923, ix.2.7; Eden Paul and Norman Haire, *Rejuvenation: Steinach's Researches on the Sex Glands* (London: British Society for the Study of Sex Psychology, 1923); Sarah Wright, "Gregorio Maraón and 'The Cult of Sex': Effeminacy and Intersexuality in 'The Psychopathology of Don Juan' (1924)," *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 81 (2004): 726; George E. Corners (George Sylvester Viereck), *Rejuvenation: How Steinach Makes People Young* (New York: Thomas Seltzer, 1923), vii; Robinson, *A Practical Treatise*, 424; and see Chandak Sengoopta, "The Modern Ovary: Constructions, Meanings, Ideas," *History of Science* 28 (2000): 455-60.

17 "Gland Operation to Retard Senility" *New York Times*, November 20, 1921, ii. 10: 3; 性欲および成功能力の減退に対する処方としての紫外線については以下も見よ。Arnold Lorand, *Life Shortening Habits and Rejuvenation* (Philadelphia: F. A. Davis, 1922), 240; Harry Benjamin, "Steinach Therapy Against Old Age," *American Medicine*

- 38 (1932): 467-72, 492; Ernest Jones, *The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud* (New York: Basic Books, 1957) [ジョーンズ『フロイトの生涯』, 前掲書], 3: 104; Diana Wyndham, "Verse-making and Lovemaking: W. B. Yeats' 'Strange Second Puberty': Norman Haire and the Steinach Rejuvenation Operation," *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 39 (2003): 25-50; Tim Armstrong, *Modernism, Technology and the Body: A Cultural Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 155.
- 18** Susan Merrill Squier, *Babies in Bottles: Twentieth-Century Visions of Reproductive Technology* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1994), 37-38; George Ryley Scott, *The Quest for Youth: A Study of All Available Methods of Rejuvenation and of Retaining Physical and Mental Vigor in Old Age* (London: Torchstream, 1953), 9; Benjamin, "Steinach Therapy Against old Age," 467; Chandak Sengoopta, "Dr. Steinach Is Coming to Make old Young: Sex Glands, Vasectomy and the Quest for Rejuvenation in the Roaring Twenties," *Endeavour* 27, no.3 (2003): 122-26; Kammerer, *Rejuvenation and the Prolongation of Human Efficiency*, 101. 獲得形質が遺伝すると信じたカンメラーは、実験結果を改竄していた証拠が暴露されたことによって、科学者としての名声をすべて失った。
- 19** Corners, *Rejuvenation*, 15; Kammerer, *Rejuvenation and the Prolongation of Human Efficiency*, 181, 185; Schmidt, *The Conquest of Old Age*, 218; Walker and Strauss, *Sexual Disorders in the Male*, 63.
- 20** Norman Haire, *Rejuvenation: The work of Steinach, Voronoff and Others* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1925), 205; Benjamin Harrow, *Glands in Health and Disease* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1922), 104-5; Kenneth M. Walker, "The Internal Secretion of the Testis," *Lancet* 203 (Jan. 5, 1924): 16-21; Kenneth M. Walker and J. A. Lumsden, "Steinach's Rejuvenation Operation," *Lancet* 203 (Feb. 2, 1924): 223-26; Morris Fishbein, *The Medical Follies* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1925), 161-71; Jessica Jahie, "Rejuvenation Research and the American Medical Association in the Early Twentieth Century: Paradigms in Conflict," (Ph. D. diss., Boston University, 1992).
- 21** Kenneth M. Walker, *Male Disorders of Sex* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1930), 76, 77; Jean Paul Pratt, "Sex Functions in Man," in Edgar Alien, ed., *Sex and Internal Secretions: A Survey of Recent Research* (London: Bailliere, Tindall and Cox, 1939), 1269, 1276; Henry R. Harrower, *An Endocrine Handbook* (Glendale, Calif.: Harrower Laboratory, 1939), 103.
- 22** Paul Niehans, *Introduction to Cellular Therapy: lectures*, (La Tour-de-Peilz: By the Author, 1959); Patrick M. McGrady, *The Youth Doctors* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1968), 59-68.
- 23** *Lancet* 217 (May 2, 1931): 95; また、ホルモンというものは依然として謎の多い物質であると認めながら、シュタイナッハ手術の実施をやめなかったある専門家について、以下を参照のこと。Charles H. Chetwood, *Practice of Urology and Syphology* (London: Oxford University Press, 1928), 552.
- 24** Gerhard J. Newerla, "The History and Isolation of the Male Hormone," *New England Journal of Medicine* 228 (1943): 39-47; Anne Fausto-Sterling, *Sexing the Body: Gender Politics and the Construction of Sexuality* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), 181-84.
- 25** Benjamin Harrow and Carl P. Sherwin, *The Chemistry of the Hormones* (London: Baillière, Tindall and Cox, 1934), 152; Paul de Kruif, *The Male Hormone* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1945), 94, 177, and see also James B. Hamilton, *Endocrinology* 21 (1937): 649; "Doctors Report Synthetic Drug Restores Not Youth but Energy for Business," *New York Times*, April, 24, 1939, 19.3; August A. Werner, "The Male Climacteric," *JAMA* 132 (1946): 188-94.
- 26** Steinach and Loebel, *Sex and Life*, 268-27; Nelly Oudshoorn, *An Archeology of Sex Hormones* (London: Routledge, 1994), 108.
- 27** Robinson, *A Practical Treatise*, 406; Dan Healey, *Homosexual Desire in Revolutionary Russia: The Regulation of Sexual and Gender*

Dissent (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 180, fig. 13. マグヌス・ヒルシュフェルトの性科学研究所と、この研究所が販売した薬品については、以下のウェブサイトを参照のこと。

<http://www.hirschfeld.in-berlin.definstitut/en/theorietheo_19.html> (accessed February 1, 2006); Alfred Döblin, *Alexanderplatz Berlin: The Story of Franz Biberkopf*, trans. Eugene Jolas (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing, 1931), 33-35 [アルフレート・デーブリーネ『ベルリン・アレクサンダー広場』全2巻, 早崎守俊訳, 河出書房新社]; Ernst Toller, *Hinkemann* (1923) in *Seven Plays*, 183 [トラー「独逸男ヒンケマン」, 前掲].

28 G. W. Carnick Co., *Dependable Gland Products Price List* (c.1923), Wellcome Institute; Henry R. Harrower, *A Manual of Pluriglandular Therapy* (London: Endocrines Limited, 1924), 239; see also Henry R. Harrower, *Practical Organotherapy: The Internal Secretions in General Practice* (Glendale, Calif.: The Harrower Laboratory, 1922); Middlesex Laboratory of Glandular Research, Ltd., *The Treatment of Impotence* (London: Middlesex Laboratory of Glandular Research, Ltd., c. 1930); Harrower, *An Endocrine Handbook*, 104-5.

29 Nelly Oudshoorn, "On Bodies, Technologies, and Feminisms," in Ange1a N. H. Creager, Elizabeth Lunbeck, and Londa Schiebinger, eds., *Feminism in Twentieth-Century Science, Technology, and Medicine* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 205; Sheila M. Rothman and David J. Rothman, *The Pursuit of Perfection: The Promise and the Perils of Medical Enhancement* (New York: Pantheon, 2003); J. D. Pratt, "Endocrine Disorders in Sex Function in Man," in Edgar Alien and Edward A. Doisy, eds., *Sex and Internal Secretions* (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins, 1932), 880-913.

30 Harry Benjamin, "The Story of Rejuvenation," *American Mercury*, Dec. 1935, 480-83.

31 Edward Lawrence Keyes and Edward Lawrence Keyes, Jr., *The Surgical Diseases of the Genito-Urinary Organs* (New York: Appleton and Co., 1906), 798; Armstrong, *Modernism, Technology and the Body*; Kevin White, *The*

First Sexual Revolution: The Emergence of Male Heterosexuality in Modern America (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 19.

32 Hufeland, *The Art of Prolonging Human Life*, 1: 168; 2: 13 [フーフェラント『長寿学』, 前掲書]; and see also Jean-Martin Charcot, *Clinical Lectures of the Diseases of Old Age*, trans. Leigh H. Hunt (New York: William Wood and Company, 1881); Haire, *Rejuvenation*, 8.

33 Davis, *Impotency, Sterility and Artificial Impregnation*, 74; Max Hühner, *A Practical Treatise on Disorders of the Sexual Function in the Male and Female* (Philadelphia: F. A. Davis, 1923), 94; Keyes and Keyes, *The Surgical Diseases of the Genito-Urinary Organs*, 799.

34 Max Thorek, "Male Climacterium," *Medical Journal and Record*, 119 (1924) sup.47; Irvin S. Koll, *Diseases of the Male Urethra* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders, 1918), 117; Gregorio Maraón, *The Climacteric (The Critical Age)*, trans. K. S. Stevens (St. Louis: C. V. Mosby, 1929), 349-72; Chandak Sangoopta, "Rejuvenation and the Prolongation of Life: Science or Quackery?" *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine*, 37 (1993): 55-66.

35 G. Stanley Hall, *Senescence: The Last Half of Life* (London: Appleton and Co., 1922.), 309; and see Aldred Scott Warthin, *Old Age: The Major Involution* (New York: Paul B. Hoeber, 1929), 172-74.

36 Jack London, "The Rejuvenation of Major Rathbone" (1899) in *The Complete Short Stories of Jack London*, ed. Earl Lasbor, Robert C. Leitz III, and I. Milo Shephard, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), 1: 273-82; Corners, *Rejuvenation*, 14; Margaret Morganroth Gullette, "Creativity, Aging, Gender: A Study of Their Intersections, 1910-1935," in Anne M. Wyatt-Brown and Janice Rossen, eds., *Aging and Gender in Literature: Studies in Creativity* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 19-48.

37 Italo Svevo, *Further Confessions of Zeno*, trans. Ben Johnson and P. N. Furbank (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 29, 256, 269; Aldous Huxley, *Brave New World* (New York:

- Harper and Row, 1946), 66-67 [オルダス・ハクスリー『すばらしい新世界』黒原敏行訳, 光文社古典新訳文庫]; Gertrude Atherton, *Black Oxen* (New York: A. L. Burt, 1923); Gertrude Atherton, *Adventures of a Novelist* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1932), 537-40; Julie Prebel, "Engineering Womanhood: The Politics of Rejuvenation in Gertrude Atherton's *Black Oxen*," *American Literature* 76, no.2 (2004): 307-37; Mary Scharlieb, *Change of Life: Its Difficulties and Dangers* (London: Scientific Press, 1941), 35.
- 38** Voronoff and Alexandrescu, *Testicular Grafting from Ape to Man*, table 1; Kammerer, *Rejuvenation and the Prolongation of Human Efficiency*, 132.
- 39** Lydston, *Impotence and Sterility*, 21; Marañon, *The Evolution of Sex*, 209, 210, 217, 220; Walker and Strauss, *Sexual Disorders in the Male*, 102, 103.
- 40** Sengoopta, "The Modern Ovary," 463; Susan Squier, "Incubabies and Rejuvenates: The Traffic Between Technologies of Reproduction and Age-Extension" in Kathleen Woodward, ed., *Figuring Age: Women, Bodies, Generations* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 89; Laura Davidow Hirshbein, "The Glandular Solution: Sex, Masculinity, and Aging in the 1920s," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 9 (2000): 277-304; Julia E. Rechter, "'The Glands of Destiny': A History of Popular, Medical and Scientific Views of the Sex Hormones in 1920s America," (Ph. D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1997).
- 41** Edred M. Corner, *Male Diseases in General Practice* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1910), 228; Lydston, "Sex Gland Implantation," 1541.
- 42** Schmidt, *The Conquest of Old Age*, 50; Adele Clarke, "Money, Sex, and Legitimacy in Chicago, circa 1892-1940: Lillie's Center of Reproductive Biology," in *Perspectives on Science* 1 (1993): 404; Francis H. A. Marshall, *The Physiology of Reproduction* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1922), 658.
- 43** Benjamin, "Steinach Therapy Against Old Age," 471; Corners, *Rejuvenation*, 23, 49-50; G. Frank Lydston, *That Bogey Man the Jew* (Kansas City, Mo., Burton Publishing Company, 1921); Hunter McGuire and G. Frank Lydston, *Sexual Crimes Among the Southern Negroes* (Louisville, Ky.: Renz and Henry, 1893); G. Frank Lydston, "Further Observations on Sex Gland Implantation," *JAMA* 72 (1919): 396-98.
- 44** Louis Berman, *The Glands Regulating Personality* (1921) cited in Margaret Sanger, *The Pivot of Civilization* (New York: Brentano's, 1922), 223; *New York Times*, Oct. 2, 1921, ii, 4: 1; Oct. 6, 1921, n: 1; Oct. 19, 21: 2; Oct. 22, 9: 1; Dec. 4, viii, 4: 1; Dec. 8, 21: 7; Feb. 5, 1922, iii, 9: 1; Feb. 6, 6: 1; Feb. 8, 12: 2; Feb. 11, 1: 2; Aug. 8, 40: 2; Aug. 25, 4: 6; Nov. 28, 12: 1; Dec. 1, 2: 7; Dorothy L. Sayers, *The Unpleasantness at the Bellona Club* (1928; London: Harper and Brothers, 1956), 215 [ドローシー・L・セイヤーズ『ベローナ・クラブの不愉快な事件』浅羽英子訳, 創元推理文庫].
- 45** A. J. Ochsner, "Surgical Treatment of Habitual Criminals," *JAMA* 32 (April 22, 1899): 867-68; 非常に影響力の大きかった泌尿器科医ウィリアム・ベルフィールドによる以下の記事も参照のこと。William Belfield, "Race Suicide for Social Parasites," *JAMA* 50 (1908): 55; Angela Gugliotta, "'Dr. Sharp and His Little Knife': Therapeutic and Punitive Origins of Eugenic Vasectomy — Indiana, 1892-1921," *Journal of the History of Medicine* 53 (1998): 371-406; Philip R. Reilly, *The Surgical Solution: A History of Involuntary Sterilization in the United States* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 30-33; G. S. Gosney and Paul Popenoe, *Sterilization for Human Betterment* (New York: Macmillan, 1929), 24 [E・S・ガスニー, ポール・ポペノー『不妊結婚と人間改造』安部磯雄訳, 春陽堂]; and see also J. H. Landman, *Human Sterilization* (Macmillan, 1932), 235-38.
- 46** Robert Reid Rentoul, *Proposed Sterilization of Certain Mental and Physical Degenerates* (London: Walter Scott, 1903), 17; Lydston, *Impotence and Sterility*, 90; and see also Bernard S. Talmey, *Love: A Treatise on the Science of Sex-Attraction* (New York: Practitioner's Publishing Company, 1916), 344-45.

47 W. S. Baring-Gould, *The Lure of the Limerick* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1969), 87; ここに挙げた戯歌に比べれば面白くはないが、同性愛を治療して生産性を向上させるためにホルモンを用いることを巡って、東欧でどのように言われていたかについては、以下を参照のこと。Healey, *Homosexual Desire in Revolutionary Russia: The Regulation of Sexual and Gender Dissent*, 134-36; Eric Naiman, "Discourse Made Flesh: Healing and Terror in the Construction of Soviet Subjectivity," in Igal Halfin, ed., *Language and Revolution: Making Modern Political Identities* (London: Frank Cass, 2002), 287-316.

48 Lydston, "Sex gland implantation," 1540; Corners, *Rejuvenation*, 23; Steinach and Loebel, *Sex and Life*, 116-18; Maraño, *The Evolution of Sex*, 168-69.

49 Haire, *Rejuvenation*, 139-43.

50 Magnus Hirschfeld, *Sexual Pathology: A Study of Derangements of the Sexual Instinct*, trans. Jerome Gibbs (New York: Emerson Books, 1947), 310-13; and see Chandak Sengoopta, "Glandular Politics: Experimental Biology, Clinical Medicine, and Homosexual Emancipation in Fin-de-Siècle Central Europe," *Isis* 89 (1998), 448, 456; *JAMA* 75 (1920): 755; Haire, *Rejuvenation*, 139-46; Walker, *Male Disorders of Sex*, 76; Niehans, *Introduction to Cellular Therapy*, 20.

51 Gunnar Broberg and Nils Roll-Hansen, *Eugenics and the Welfare State: Sterilization Policy in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Finland* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1996), 38, 42; on Sand see Carl R. Moore, "Biology of the Mammalian Testis and Scrotum," *Quarterly Review of Biology* 1, no.1 (1926): 4-50; and on Værnet see Richard Plant, *Pink Triangle: The Nazi War Against Homosexuals* (New York: Henry Holt, 1986) 175-78.

52 Paul Kammerer, *The Inheritance of Acquired Characteristics*, trans. A. Paul Maeker-Branden (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1924), 340-41; Alexis Carrel, *Man the Unknown* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1935) [アレキシス・カレル『人間問の未知なるもの』渡部昇一訳, 三笠書房], 299,

303; A. H. Reggiani, "Alexis Carrel the Unknown: Eugenics and Population Research under Vichy," *French Historical Studies* 25 (Spring 2002): 331-56.

53 ヒトラーが、性腺由来の強壮剤とホルモン製剤を用いていたことについて以下を参照のこと。Hugh Trevor-Roper, *The Last Days of Hitler* (London: Macmillan, 1978), 67-74; David Irving, *The Secret Diaries of Hitler's Doctor* (New York: Macmillan, 1983), 67-74.

第9章

1 Philip Noble, "What Is the New Impotence, and Who's Got It?" *Esquire* (Oct. 1972): 98; and see also George L. Ginsberg, "The New Impotence," *Archives of General Psychiatry*, March 1972, 218-20; Sam Julty, *Male Sexual Performance* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1975).

2 David Riesman with Nathan Glazer and Reuel Denney, *The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), 123 [デイヴィッド・リースマン『孤独な群衆』加藤秀俊訳, みすず書房]; K. A. Cuordileone, "Politics in an Age of Anxiety: Cold War Political Culture and the Crisis in American Masculinity, 1949-1960," *Journal of American History* 87, no.2 (2000); Ferdinand Lundberg and Marynia Farnham, *Modern Women: The Lost Sex* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947); Beth L. Bailey, *From Front Porch to Back Seat: Courtship in Twentieth-Century America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 103-8. ヨーロッパにおけるアメリカと同じような反応については、以下を参照のこと。Dagmar Herzog, *Sex after Fascism: Memory and Morality in Twentieth-Century Germany* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005) [ダグマー・ヘルツォーク『セックスとナチズムの記憶——20世紀ドイツにおける性の政治化』川越修, 田野大輔, 荻野美穂訳, 岩波書店].

3 Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomeroy, and Clyde E. Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders and Co.,

- 1948), 325 [アルフレッド・C・キンゼイ他『人間における男性の性行為』永井潜, 安藤画一訳, コスモポリタン社]; and see Paul Robinson, *The Modernization of Sex: Havelock Ellis, Alfred Kinsey, William Masters, and Virginia Johnson* (New York: Harper and Row, 1976); Jonathan Gathorne-Hardy, *Alfred C. Kinsey: Sex the Measure of All Things: A Biography* (London: Pimlico, 1998); James H. Jones, *Alfred C. Kinsey: A Public/Private Life* (New York: Norton, 1997).
- 4** Kinsey, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, 323 [キンゼイ他『人間における男性の性行為』, 前掲書].
- 5** Kinsey, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, 235-37 [キンゼイ他, 同前]; and see Paul H. Gebhard and Alan B. Johnson, *The Kinsey Data* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979), table 78.
- 6** Alfred C. Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomeroy, Clyde E. Martin, and Paul H. Gebhard, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders, 1953), 171-73 [アルフレッド・C・キンゼイ他『人間女性における性行動』朝山新一他訳, コスモポリタン社]; Kinsey, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, 307, 325, 580 [キンゼイ他『人間における男性の性行為』, 前掲書]. キンゼイはさらに, 追跡調査の段階で, 男性は射精において「逆る」より「洩らしている」ことの方が多いいという, 何とも惜げなくなるような発見をしていたという (以下を参照のこと. Jones, *Alfred C. Kinsey*, 605-6).
- 7** Robert O. Blood, *Marriage* (New York: Free Press, 1962), 370-71 [R・O・ブラッド『現代の結婚——日米の比較』田村健二監訳, 培風館]; Harvey Kaye, *Male Survival: Masculinity without Myth* (New York: Grosset and Dunlop, 1974), 87; Robert Bahr, *The Virility Factor: Masculinity Through Testosterone, the Male Sex Hormone* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1976); John Johnson, *Disorders of Sexual Potency in the Male* (London: Pergamon Press, 1968).
- 8** Donald W. Hastings, *Impotence and Frigidity* (London: J. and A. Churchill, 1963), vii; Isadore Rubin, *Sexual Life after Sixty* (New York: Basic Books, 1965), 78-84; "Bimini Fué Descubierta!! Is 'Pega Palo' the Answer?" *JAMA* 165 (1957): 695-96.
- 9** Janet Sayers, *Mothers of Psychoanalysis: Helene Deutsche, Karen Horney, Anna Freud, Melanie Klein* (New York: Norton, 1991), 47-48; Philip Wylie, *Generation of Vipers* (1942; New York: Rinehart and Company, 1955), 194, 208; Edward A. Strecker, *Their Mothers' Sons: The Psychiatrist Examines an American Problem* (New York: Lippincott, 1951).
- 10** Edmund Bergler, *Counterfeit-Sex* (New York: Grune and Stratton, 1958), 61, 74.
- 11** Rudolf Brun, *General Theory of Neuroses* (New York: International Universities Press, 1951), 272; Edmund Bergler, *Divorce Won't Help* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948), 88; Bergler, *Counterfeit-Sex*, xiv; Edmund Bergler, *The Revolt of the Middle-Aged Man* (London: Bernard Hanison, 1958), 23, 150 [E・バーグラール『第二の青春——中年男の反抗』露沢紀志夫訳, 河出書房]; Kinsey, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, 206-7 [キンゼイ他『人間における男性の性行為』, 前掲書].
- 12** Leonard J. Friedman, *Virgin Wives: A Study of Unconsummated Marriages* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1962), 144.
- 13** Herman H. Rubin, *Glands, Sex and Personality* (1952) cited in Jessamyn Neuhaus, "The Importance of Being Orgasmic: Sexuality, Gender, and Marital Sex Manuals in the United States, 1920-1963," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 9 (2000): 465; John Thomas Gill, *How to Hold Your Husband: A Frank Psychoanalysis for Happy Marriage* (Philadelphia: Dorrance & Company, 1951).
- 14** Charles W. Socarides, *Homosexuality* (New York: Jason Aronson, 1978), 42.
- 15** Bergler, *Counterfeit-Sex*, xxiv; Lawrence M. Hatterer, *Changing Homosexuality in the Male: Treatment for Men Troubled by Homosexuality* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970), 36; Helen Meyer Hacker, "The New Burdens of Masculinity," *Marriage and Family Living*, 19 (1957): 227-33; Socarides, *Homosexuality*, 97.
- 16** John R. Cavanagh, *Counseling the Invert*

(Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1966), 139; George W. Henry, *All the Sexes: Studies of Masculinity and Femininity* (Toronto: Rinehart & Co., 1955), 149; Eustace Chesser, *Sexual Behavior: Normal and Abnormal* (London: Medical Publications Ltd, 1949), 135; Dr. Joan Graham [Joan Malleson], *Any Wife or Any Husband: A Book for Couples Who Have Met Sexual Difficulties and for Doctors* (London: William Heinemann, 1955), 119, 124, 136; Hatterer, *Changing Homosexuality in the Male*, 342.

17 Allan Berubé, *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War Two* (New York: Free Press, 1990), 259; Cavanagh, *Counseling the Invert*, 180; Patricia Cayo Sexton, *The Feminized Male: Classrooms, White Collars and the Decline of Manliness* (New York: Random House, 1969), 3-4, 198, 201; Estelle B. Freedman, "Uncontrolled Desires: The Response to the Sexual Psychopath, 1920-1960," in Kathy Peiss and Christina Simmons with Robert A. Padgug, eds., *Passion and Power: Sexuality in History* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989), 203-16.

18 Jeffrey Weeks, *Sex, Politics and Society: The Regulation of Sexuality since 1800* (London: Longman, 1989), 237; E. F. Griffith, *Modern Marriage* (London: Gollancz, 1934); David R. Mace, *Marriage Counselling* (London: J. A. Churchill, 1948), 50; and see also Walter R. Stokes, *Modern Pattern for Marriage* (London: Reinhardt and Evans, 1949).

19 Emily H. Mudd, "A Case Study in Marriage Counseling," *Marriage and Family Living* 7 (1945): 52-54; Helena Wright, *Sex Fulfillment in Married Women* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1947), 11, 54-55; S. Leonard Simpson, "Impotence," *British Medical Journal* (Mar. 25, 1950): 692; Hannah and Abraham Stone, *A Marriage Manual* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1952), 236-39 [ストーン夫妻『結婚の手引——婚約から夫婦生活まで』阿部俊一編訳, 門書店].

20 Alex Comfort, *The Biology of Senescence* (1956; New York: Elsevier, 1979), 169, 170; and see also

George Ryley Scott, *The Quest for Youth: A Study of All Available Methods of Rejuvenation and of Retaining Physical and Mental Vigor in Old Age* (London: Torchstream, 1953), 61; Isadore Rubin, *Sexual Life After Sixty* (New York: Basic Books, 1965); Helmut J. Ruesbsaat and Raymond Hill, *The Male Climacteric* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1975); Elaine Cumming and William E. Henry, *Growing Old: The Process of Disengagement* (New York: Basic Books, 1961), 22; Blood, *Marriage*, 370-71 [ブラッド『現代の結婚』, 前掲書].

21 Michae¹ Gordon and Penelope J. Shankweiler, "Different Equals Less: Female Sexuality in Recent Marriage Manuals," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 33 (1971): 459-76; Marcus Collins, *Modern Love: An Intimate History of Men and Women in Twentieth-Century Britain* (London: Atlantic Books, 2003), 98; Graham, *Any Wife or Any Husband*, 75; J. H. Wallis and H. S. Booker, *Marriage Counseling* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), 40.

22 Edwin W. Hirsch, *Sex Power* (Chicago: Research Publications of Chicago, 1947), 27; Thurman B. Rice, *Sex, Marriage, and Family* (New York: J. B. Lippincott, 1946), 88.

23 Hastings, *Impotence and Frigidity*, 109; Henry, *All the Sexes*, 136.

24 Maxine Davis, *The Sexual Responsibility of Woman* (London: William Heinemann, 1957), 21, 31, 83, 149; Hirsch, *Sex Power*, 111; 妻の側に「責任がある要因」については、以下を参照のこと。John E. Eichenlaub, *The Marriage Art* (London: Mayflower-Dell, 1961), 169; Mary Macaulay, *Art of Marriage* (London: Delisle, 1952), 47; Graham, *Any Wife or Any Husband*, 74, 85; Rebecca Liswood, *A Doctor Speaks Her Mind About Sex* (London: Frederick Muller, 1961), 129.

25 Ernest R. Groves, Gladys Hoagland Groves and Catherine Groves, *Sex Fulfillment in Marriage* (New York: Emerson Books, 1942), 224; Helen Meyer Hacker, "The New Burdens of Masculinity," *Marriage and Family Living* 19 (1957): 231.

26 J. F. Tuthill, "Impotence," *Lancet* 265 (Jan. 15, 1955): 126 and 266 (Jan. 29, 1955): 251-

52; Vance Packard, *The Sexual Wilderness: The Contemporary Upheaval in Male-Female Relationships* (New York: David McKay Company, 1968), 276 [V・パッカード『性の荒野』石川弘義, 奈良林祥訳, ダイヤモンド社].

27 Barbara Ehrenreich, Elizabeth Hess, and Gloria Jacobs, *Re-Making Love: The Feminization of Sex* (New York: Doubleday, 1986); Robert Bell, *Premarital Sex in a Changing Society* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall 1966), 137; David Mace, *Sexual Difficulties in Marriage* (London: National Marriage Guidance Council, 1983), 6; Leslie H. Farber, "I'm Sorry, Dear," *Commentary* (Nov. 1964): 47-54; B. Lyman Stewart "Is Impotence Increasing?" *Medical Aspects of Human Sexuality* 5 (Oct. 1971): 35; Karl Miller, "The Sisterhood," *New York Review of Books*, April 20, 1972, 22; and see also Marc Feigen Fasteau, *The Male Machine* (New York: Dell, 1975), 28-30.

28 Scott, *The Quest for Youth*, 70; Clifford Allen, *A Textbook of Psychosexual Disorders* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), 281-82; Davis, *The Sexual Responsibility of Woman*, 149; Packard, *The Sexual Wilderness*, 122 [パッカード『性の荒野』, 前掲書]; Herbert A. Otto "Is Impotence Increasing?" *Medical Aspects of Human Sexuality* 5 (Oct. 1971): 36; Lara Marks, *Sexual Chemistry: A History of the Contraceptive Pill* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 195.

29 William H. Masters and Virginia E. Johnson, *Human Sexual Response* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1966) [W・H・マスターズ, V・E・ジョンソン『人間の性反応——マスターズ報告1』謝国権, ロバート・Y・竜岡訳, 池田書店]; and *Human Sexual Inadequacy* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1970) [W・H・マスターズ, V・E・ジョンソン『人間の性不全——マスターズ報告2』謝国権訳, 池田書店]; 回春推進者の考え方を受け継いで, マスターズも加齢を病と考えていた, という点については, 彼自身の以下の論文を参照のこと. "Sex Steroid Influence on the Aging Process," *American Journal of Obstetrics and Gynecology* 4 (October 1957): 733-42.

30 Masters and Johnson, *Human Sexual Response*, 51-90 [マスターズ, ジョンソン『人間の

性反応』, 前掲書]; Masters and Johnson, *Human Sexual Inadequacy*, 159 [マスターズ, ジョンソン『人間の性不全』, 前掲書].

31 同じ主張はそれ以前にもあった. 以下を参照のこと. Joseph Wolpe, *Psychotherapy by Reciprocal Inhibition* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958), 131-35.

32 Masters and Johnson, *Human Sexual Inadequacy*, 107 [マスターズ, ジョンソン『人間の性不全』, 前掲書]; 女性は膣括約筋を鍛えると良いと唱えたアメリカの婦人科医アーノルド・ヘンリー・ケイゲル[1894-1981]については, 以下を参照のこと. Eichenlaub, *The Marriage Art*, 169; Albert Ellis, *The Art and Practice of Love* (London: Souvenir Press, 1961), 208-9; 依然として催眠療法が用いられていた, という点については, 以下を参照のこと. Frank Caprio, *How to Solve Your Sex Problems with Self-Hypnosis* (North Hollywood: Wilshire Book Company, 1964); David Reuben, *Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Sex But were Afraid to Ask* (London: Pan. 1971), 107.

33 Masters and Johnson, *Human Sexual Inadequacy*, 209 [マスターズ, ジョンソン『人間の性不全』, 前掲書]; Edward M. Brecher, *The Sex Researchers* (London: Panther, 1972), 314.

34 Masters and Johnson, *Human Sexual Inadequacy*, 137-51 [マスターズ, ジョンソン『人間の性不全』, 前掲書].

35 Albert Ellis, *Sex and the Liberated Man* (Secaucus, NJ: Lyle Stuart, Inc., 1976), 16; William E. Hartman and Marilyn A. Fithian, *Treatment of Sexual Dysfunction: A Basic Approach* (Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson, 1983); Helen Singer Kaplan, *The New Sex Therapy: Active Treatment of Sexual Dysfunctions* (New York: Quadrangle, 1974), 263, 270 [ヘレン・S・カプラン『ニュー・セックス・セラピー』野末源一訳, 星和書店]; Patrida and Richard Gillan, *Sex Therapy Today* (London: Open Books, 1976), 203; see also Vern L Bullough, *Science in the Bedroom: A History of Sex Research* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 196-205; Janice M. Irvine, *Disorders of Desire: Sex and Gender in Modern American Sexology* (Temple University Press, Philadelphia,

1990), 67-94; 192-203; Leonore Tiefer, *Sex Is Not a Natural Act and Other Essays* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994) [レオノア・ティーファー『セックスは自然な行為か?』河野貴代美, 渡辺ひろみ訳, 新水社]; John Heidenry, *What Wild Ecstasy: The Rise and Fall of the Sexual Revolution* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997).

36 Masters and Johnson, *Human Sexual Inadequacy*, 164-66, 175 [マスターズ, ジョンソン『人間の性不全』, 前掲書]; and see also Bernie Zilbergeld, *Men and Sex; A Guide to Sexual Fulfillment* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1978); Lionel S. Lewis and Dennis Brisset, "Sex as Work: A Study of Vocational Counseling," *Social Problems* 15 (1967): 8-18; Dennis Brisset and Lionel S. Lewis, "Guidelines for Marital Sex: An Analysis of Fifteen Popular Marriage Manuals," *Family Coordinator* 19 (1970): 41-48; André Béjin, *Le Nouveau temperament sexuel: Essai sur la rationalisation et la démocratisation de la sexualité* (Paris: Editions Kime, 1990).

37 Edwin w. Hirsch, *Impotence and Frigidity* (New York: Citadel Press, 1966), 82; Anne Steinmann and David J. Fox, *The Male Dilemma: How to Survive the Sexual Revolution* (New York: Jason Aronson, 1974), 200; 同性愛者に対する転向療法 [コンヴァージョン・セラピー] ないし復帰療法 [リヴァージョン・セラピー] については, 以下を参照のこと. William H. Masters and Virginia E. Johnson, *Homosexuality in Perspective* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1979) [W・H・マスターズ, V・E・ジョンソン『同性愛の実態——マスターズ報告3』謝国権訳, 池田書店].

38 Kaplan, *The New Sex Therapy*, 285 [カプラン『ニュー・セックス・セラピー』, 前掲書]; Albert Ellis, *Sex and the Liberated Man* (Secaucus, N.J.: Lyle Stuart, Inc., 1976), 253-54; Gillan, *Sex Therapy Today*, 203-5; Robert Chartham, *The Chartham Letters* (London: New English Library, 1971), 25.

39 Shere Hite, *The Hite Report on Male Sexuality* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981), 340-53 [シェアー・ハイト『ハイト・リポート 男性版』全3巻, 中尾千鶴監訳, 中央公論社]; and see also Inge

and Sten Hegeler, *An ABZ of Love*, trans. David Hohnen (London: Neville Spearman, 1969), 186 [イング&ステン・ヘゲラー『愛のA B Z——デンマーク版セックス事典』石渡利康, ビーバン・クリスチーナ訳, 芸文社].

40 James Baldwin, *The Fire Next Time* (New York: Dell, 1962), 32, 76, 105 [J・ボールドウィン『次は火だ——ボールドウィン評論集』黒川欣映訳, 弘文堂新社]; Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Mask*, trans. Charles Lam Markham (New York: Grove Press, 1967), 159, 165, 170 [フランツ・ファノン『黒い皮膚・白い仮面』海老坂武, 加藤晴久訳, みずさ書房]; Calvin C. Hernton, *Sex and Racism in America* (New York: Grove Press, 1965), 112 [C・C・ハントントン『傷だらけの黒人——アメリカの人種差別とセックス』横山一雄訳, 芸文社]; Eldridge Cleaver, *Soul on Ice* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968), 170 [エルドリッジ・クリーヴァー『氷の上の魂』武藤一羊訳, 合同出版].

41 Steinmann and Fox, *The Male Dilemma*; Lionel Tiger, *Men in Groups* (New York: Vintage, 1969), 265 [L・タイガー『男性社会——人間進化と男の集団』赤阪賢訳, 創元社]; George Gilder, *Sexual Suicide* (New York: Quadrangle, 1973), 20, 22-23; Germaine Greer, *The Female Eunuch* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1970), 306; and see Sally Robinson, *Marked Men: White Masculinity in Crisis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000); Collins, *Modern Love*, 147.

42 David Mace cited in Packard, *The Sexual Wilderness*, 119.

43 Erica Jong, *Fear of Flying* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973), 96, 97 [エリカ・ジョング『飛ぶのが怖い』柳瀬尚紀訳, 新潮文庫].

44 [キングズレー・エイミス『ジェイク先生の性的冒険』林節雄訳, 講談社] Kingsley Amis, *Difficulties with Girls* (1981; London: Hutchinson, 1988), 261; Kingsley Amis, *Jake's Thing* (New York: Viking Press, 1978), 31; and see also Zachary Leader, ed., *The Letters of Kingsley Amis* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2000), 806n2; Herb Goldberg, *The Hazards of Being Male: Surviving the Myth of Masculine Privilege* (New York: Nash, 1976), 36.

45 Alberto Moravia, *Two: A Phallic Comedy*, trans. Angus Davidson (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1972), 318 [アルベルト・モラヴィア『わたしとあいつ』久大保昭男訳, 講談社]; 別のイタリア人作家チェーザレ・パヴェーゼ [1908-50] も、「ねじ込む」ことを奪われるのは男らしさを奪われるに等しいのだと強調している。以下を参照のこと。Cesare Pavese, *The Business of Living: Diaries, 1935-1950* (London: Quartet Books, 1980), 32-33, 66.

46 Romain Gary, *Your Ticket Is No Longer Valid*, trans. Sophie Wilkins (New York: Brazillier, 1977). 原本のフランス語版は以下のとおり。Au-delà de cette limite votre ticket n'est plus valable (Paris: Gallimard, 1975). また映画化もされているが、ひどい出来である。『スキャンダラス・ラブ』(1979, カナダ, 監督ジョージ・カッツェンダー, 出演リチャード・ハリス, ジャンヌ・モロー, 日本劇場未公開).

47 Philip Roth, *Portnoy's Complaint* (New York: Random House, 1967), 257 [フィリップ・ロス『ポートノイの不満』宮本陽吉訳, 集英社]; Philip Roth, *The Counterlife* (New York: Collins, 1987), 30 [フィリップ・ロス『背信の日々』宮本陽吉訳, 集英社].

48 Kenneth Tynan, *A View of the English Stage, 1944-1963* (London: Davis-Poynter, 1975), 351; 戦争とインポテンツについては, 以下を参照のこと。Rice, *Sex, Marriage, and Family*, 81, 249-50; E. B. Strauss, "Impotence from the Psychiatric Standpoint," *British Medical Journal* (Mar. 25, 1950): 697-99; Sonya Michel, "Dangers on the Home Front: Motherhood, Sexuality, and Disabled Veterans in American Postwar Films," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 3 (1992): 109-28; Christina S. Jarvis, *The Male Body at War: American Masculinity During World War II* (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2004).

49 Thomas Elsaesser, "Tales of Sound and Fury: Observations on the Family Melodrama," in Gerald Mast, Marshall Cohen, and Keo Brady, eds., *Film Theory and Criticism: Introductory Readings* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 534.

50 Edward Albee, *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* (New York: Atheneum, 1978), 28, 188, 189 [エド

ワード・オールビー『ヴァージニア・ウルフなんかこわくない』、『エドワード オールビー』第1巻, 鳴海四郎訳, ハヤカワ演劇文庫, 所収]; and see Joan Mellen, *Big Bad Wolves: Masculinity in the American Film* (New York: Pantheon, 1977), 315.

51 Steven Cohen, *Masked Men: Masculinity and the Movies in the Fifties* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), 253-54.

52 『博士の異常な愛情——または私は如何にして心配するのを止めて水爆を愛するようになったか』(1964, 監督スタンリー・キューブリック)には, 自分がインポテンツになったのは, 共産主義者の陰謀によって「高貴な体液」が汚染されたせいだと信じ込んでいる将軍が登場する。

53 Steven Cohen, "Masquerading as the American Male in the 1950s: *Picnic*, William Holden and the Spectacle of Masculinity in Hollywood Film," in Constance Pentey and Sharon Willis, eds., *Male Trouble* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 203-34.

54 Bohumil Hrabal, *Closely Observed Trains*, trans. Edith Pargeter (London: Anacus, 1968), 39, 70; Sandra Wake and Nicola Hayden, eds. *Bonnie and Clyde* (London: Faber and Faber, 1998), 49; Lester D. Friedman, ed., *Arthur Penn's Bonnie and Clyde* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

55 Tom Kovic, *Born on the Fourth of July* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975), 98 [ロン・コビック『7月4日に生まれて』日高義樹訳, 集英社文庫].

56 Mark Elliott, "The Use of 'Impotence' and 'Frigidity': Why Has Impotence Survived?" *Journal of Sex and Marital Therapy* 11 (1985): 51-56; Mace, *Sexual Difficulties in Marriage*, 8.

第10章

1 Bernie Zilbergeld, *The New Male Sexuality* (New York: Bantam, 1999); Meika Loe, *The Rise of Viagra: How the Little Blue Pill Changed Sex in America* (New York: New York University Press, 2004), 133, 169 [メイカ・ルー『バイアグラ時代

—「魔法のひと粒」が引き起こした功罪』青柳伸子訳, 作品社.]

2 Meika Loe, "Fixing Broken Masculinity: Viagra as a Technology for the Production of Gender and Sexuality," *Sexuality and Culture* 5 (2001): 98; *Time* (Dec. 5, 1988): 94; Thomas Szasz, *Sex by Prescription* (New York: Anchor/Doubleday, 1980), 86-87.

3 American Medical Systems, *Impotence: Causes and Treatments* (np, nd); Abraham Morgentaler, *The Viagra Myth: The Surprising Impact on Love and Relationships* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2003), 127; Szasz, *Sex by Prescription*, 83-85; Steven Findlay, "Danger: Implants," *U.S. News & World Report* (Aug. 24, 1992): 62-66.

4 Ronald Virag, "Intracavernous Injection of Papaverine for Erectile Failure," *Lancet* 320 (Oct. 23, 1982): 938; Loe, *The Rise of Viagra*, 36-37.

5 Morgentaler, *The Viagra Myth*, 123-24.

6 David Stipp, and Robert Whitaker, "The Selling of Impotence," *Fortune* (Mar.16,1998):114-16; *New York Times*, July 8, 1995, 7; Aug. 9, 1995, C8; Leonore Tiefer, *Sex Is Not a Natural Act and Other Essays* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1995), 144-46 [レオノア・ティーファー『セックスは自然な行為か?』河野貴代美, 渡辺ひろみ訳, 新水社。]; Joseph Weber, "The \$665 Million Dollar Market No Body Talks About," *Business Week* (Oct. 30, 1995): 42.

7 David M. Friedman, *A Mind of Its Own: A Cultural History of the Penis* (London: Penguin, 2001), 279 [デビッド・フリードマン『ペニスの歴史—男の神話の物語』井上廣美訳, 原書房。]; Mels Van Oriel, *The Secret Part — A Natural History of the Penis* (Oxford: Mandrake, 2001).

8 Bruce and Eileen MacKenzie, *It's Not All in Your Head: A Couple's Guide to Overcoming Impotence* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1988); J. Shah, "Erectile Dysfunction through the Ages," *BJU International* 90, no.4 (Sept. 2002): 433-41.

9 *Time* (Dec. 5, 1988): 94; Helen Singer Kaplan, "My Husband's Vasectomy Ruined Our Sex Life," *Redbook* 173 (Sept., 1989): 22; Margery D. Rosen, "My Husband Can't Make Love," *Ladies' Home*

Journal 106 (Sept., 1989): 8; Jan Ziegler, "New Help for Impotence," *McCall's* 117 (Feb., 1990): 88; Kate Nolan, "Is Your Husband Sexually Insecure? (He Won't Tell)," *Redbook* 179 (July, 1992): 82-85.

10 Szasz, *Sex by Prescription*, 9; Friedman, *A Mind of Its Own*, 295 [フリードマン『ペニスの歴史』, 前掲書。]; Tiefer, *Sex Is Not a Natural Act*, 160 [ティーファー『セックスは自然な行為か?』, 前掲書。]; and see Barbara Marshal, "Hard Science: Gendered Constructions of Sexual Dysfunction in the 'Viagra Age,'" *Sexualities* 5, no.2 (2002): 131-58; John Bancroft, "Erectile Impotence: Psyche or Soma," *International Journal of Andrology* 5 (1982) 353-55.

11 Leonore Tiefer, "In Pursuit of the Perfect Penis: The Medicalization of Male Sexuality," *American Behavioral Scientist* 29 (1986): 579-99.

12 NIH Consensus Conference, "Impotence," *JAMA* 270 (1993): 83-90.

13 Loe, *The Rise of Viagra*, 43-45.

14 Michael Stroh "The Root of Impotence: Does Nitric Oxide Hold the Key?" *Science News* 42 (July 4, 1992): 10-11; バイアグラの開発に関与した科学者については、以下を参照のこと。"Medicine Nobe1 Prize Awarded to U.S. Pharmacologists," *Lancet* 352 (Oct. 17, 1998): 1287; 以下は、バイアグラの開発をフィクション仕立てにした作品である。Carl Djerassi, *NO* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998) [カール・ジェラッシ『男たちの薬』マクファーソン苗美訳, 講談社。]

15 Friedman, *A Mind of Its Own*, 299 [フリードマン『ペニスの歴史』, 前掲書。]; Arthur Wayne Glowka, "Among the New Words," *American Speech* 76, no.2 (2001): 196-97.

16 Alexandra Alger, "Viagra Falls," *Forbes* 165 (Feb. 7, 2000): 130; Christine Gorman, "A pill to Treat Impotence?" *Time* (May 20, 1996): 54; John Leland, "A Pill for Impotence?" *Newsweek* (Nov. 17, 1997): 62-66.

17 Edward O. Lawnann, John H. Gagnon, Robert T. Michael, and Stuart Michaelis, *The Social Organization of Sexuality: Sexual Practices in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 375; Lawrence K. Altman, "Study

- Suggests High Rate of Impotence," *New York Times*, Dec. 22, 1993, c13; Edward O. Laumann, Anthony Paik, Raymond C. Rosen, "Sexual Dysfunction in the United States: Prevalence and Predictors," *JAMA* 281 (1999): 537, 1174.
- 18** Leonore Tiefer, "Sexology and the Pharmaceutical Industry: The Threat of Co-optation," *Journal of Sex Research* 37 (2000): 273-83; C. Aschka, W. Himmcl, E. Ittner, M. M. Kochen, "Sexual Problems of Male Patients in Family Practice," *Journal of Family Practice* 50, no. 9 (2001): 773-78.
- 19** Stephen Katz and Barbara L Marshall, "Is the Functional 'Normal'? Aging, Sexuality and the Bio-Marking of Successful Living," *History of the Human Sciences* 17 (2004): 67; Justin Clark, "The Big Turnoff: Stymied by Politics and Viagra, Sex Research Goes Limp," *Psychology Today* 38 (Jan./Feb. 2005): 17-18.
- 20** Bruce Handy, "The Viagra Craze," *Time* (May 4, 1998): 39-45; Robert Langreth, "Hard Sell," *Forbes* 166 (Oct. 16, 2000): 56.
- 21** Guy Trebay, "Longer Harder Faster," *Village Voice*, Oct. 27 - Nov. 2, 1999, 38.
- 22** Zilbergeld, *The New Male Sexuality*, 319; Irwin Goldstein et al, "Oral Sildenafil in the Treatment of Erectile Dysfunction," *New England Journal of Medicine* 338 (1998): 1397-1404; Jon Cohen, "At the Urologists' Convention, Viagra's Unsung Expert Witnesses," *New Yorker* 74, no.18 (July 6, 1998): 26; Stuart N. Seidman, Steven P. Roose, and Matthew A. Menza, "Treatment of Erectile Dysfunction in Men with Depressive Symptoms: Results of a Placebo-controlled Trial with Sildenafil Citrate," *American Journal of Psychiatry* 158, no.10 (Oct., 2001): 1623-30.
- 23** Loe, "Fixing Broken Masculinity," 97-125; J. Tomlinson and D. Wright, "Impact of Erectile Dysfunction and Its Subsequent Treatment with Sildenafil: Qualitative Study," *British Medical Journal* 328 (May 2004): 1037-40.
- 24** A. Potts, V. Grace, N. Gavey, and T. Vares, "Viagra Stories: Challenging 'Erectile Dysfunction,'" *Social Science and Medicine* 59 (2004): 489-99; Annie Potts, "Deleuze on Viagra or, What Can a 'Viagra-body' Do," *Body and Society* 10 (2004): 18-36; Morgentaler, *The Viagra Myth*, 5, 119.
- 25** *Toronto Globe and Mail*, March 5, 2005, B4; "Sales of Impotence Drugs Fall, Defying Expectations," *New York Times*, Dec. 4, 2005, A1.
- 26** Morgentaler, *The Viagra Myth*, 118; Jane Spencer and Scott Hensley, "Falling Down on the Job," *Wall Street Journal*, reprinted in *Toronto Globe and Mail*, May 27, 2005, A13; *Toronto Star*, June 2, 2005, A2.
- 27** 製薬業界が推進した医学モデルに対して、レオノア・ティーファーが主宰する「女性のセックス障害に関する作業部会」が展開した批判については、以下を参照のこと。Loe, *The Rise of Viagra*, 148 [ルー『バイアグラ時代』, 前掲書]; Ray Moynihan, "The Making of a Disease: Female Sexual Dysfunction," *British Medical Journal* 326 (2003): 45-47.
- 28** Susan Faludi, *Backlash: The undeclared War against American Women* (New York: Crown, 1991) [スーザン・ファルーディ『バックラッシュ——逆襲される女たち』伊藤由紀子, 加藤真樹子訳, 新潮社].
- 29** Leonore Tiefer, "Sexology and the Pharmaceutical Industry: The Threat of Co-optation," *Journal of Sex Research* 37, no.3 (2000): 273-75.
- 30** Loe, *The Rise of Viagra*, 23 [ルー『バイアグラ時代』, 前掲書].
- 31** Douglas Black, "Medicalised Erections on Demand?" *Journal of Medical Ethics* 25 (Feb. 1999): 5-7; Jennifer Baumgardner, "Immaculate Contraception," *Nation* (Jan. 25, 1999): 11-15; Lynne Luciano, *Looking Good: Male Body Image in Modern America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001), 200-201; Paul Rauber, "It's a Man's World," *Sierra*, 83 (Sept.-Oct., 1998): 20-21; Virginia I. Postrel, "Sex Mandates," *Forbes* 163 (May 31, 1999): 121; *New York Times*, April 29, 1998, A1; June 30, 1999, A1.
- 32** Barbara Marshall and Stephen Katz, "New Sex for Old: Lifestyle, Consumerism and the Politics of Aging Well," *Journal of Aging Studies* 17

(2003): 12; Andrew Bainham, "Sexualities, Sexual Relations and the Law," in Andrew Bainham, Shelley Day Sclater, and Martin Richards, eds., *Body Lore and Laws* (Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2002), 174-75; Susan Bordo, *The Male Body: A New Look at Men in Public and Private* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1999), 42-43; バイアグラは壊れやすい婚姻関係を繋ぎ留めておくための、ある種の「入れ歯接着剤」だとする冷徹な評価については、以下を参照のこと。Laura Kipnis, *Against Love* (New York: Random House, 2003), 46.

33 Laumann, Gagnon, Michael, and Michaels, *The Social Organization of Sexuality*, 87, 114, 370, 375; and see also Kaye Wellings, Julia Field, Anne M. Johnson, and Jane Wadsworth, *Sexual Behaviour in Britain: The National Survey of Sexual Attitudes and Lifestyles* (London: Penguin, 1994), 138.

34 Susan Faludi, *Stuffed: The Betrayal of the American Man* (New York: William Morrow, 1999); Sally Robinson, *Marked Men: White Masculinity in Crisis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000); Lynn Segal, *Slow Motion: Changing Masculinities, Changing Men* (London: Virago, 1997); Anthony Clare, *On Men: Masculinity in Crisis* (London: Chatto and Windus, 2000); Kenneth Clatterbaugh, *Contemporary Perspectives on Masculinity: Women, Men and Politics in Modern Society* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1997); Frank Mort, *Cultures of Consumption: Masculinities and Social Space in Late Twentieth-Century Britain* (London: Routledge, 1996).

35 Jennifer R. Fishman and Laura Mamo, "What's in a Disorder: A Cultural Analysis of Medical and Pharmaceutical Constructions of Male and Female Sexual Dysfunction," *Women and Therapy* 24, nos. 1 and 2 (2001): 184; Laura Mamo and Jennifer R. Fishman, "Potency in All the Right Places: Viagra as a Gendered Technology of the Body," *Body and Society* 7, no. 4 (2001): 13-35.

36 Bordo, *The Male Body*, 59; Morgentaler, *The Viagra Myth*, 135.

37 Annie Potts, *The Science/Fiction of Sex:*

Feminist Deconstruction and the Vocabularies of Heterosex (London: Routledge, 2002), 146; Annie Potts, "The Essence of the 'Hard On': Hegemonic Masculinity and the Cultural Construction of 'Erectile Dysfunction,'" *Men and Masculinities* 3 (2000): 85-103.

38 Peter F. Murphy, *Studs, Tools, and the Family Jewels: Metaphors Men Live By* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001).

39 Zilbergeld, *The New Male Sexuality*, 63; Potts, "The Essence of the 'Hard On,'" 98-99.

40 Loe, *The Rise of Viagra*, 78 [ルー『バイアグラ時代』, 前掲書].

41 Mason cited in Walter Leavy, "Brothers (and Sisters) and the New Sex Pill," *Ebony* 53 (July 1998): 157; George Edmond Smith, *More than Sex: Reinventing the Black Male Image* (New York: Kensington Books, 2000), 3-4, 124.

42 Susan C. Vaughan, "The Hard Drug," *Harper's Bazaar* (Feb., 1998): 82; Sheryl McCarthy, "The Hard Facts," *Ms.* 8 (May-June 1998): 96; Lynn Snowden, "Viagra Nation: Men Take; Women Reap the Benefits," *Mademoiselle* 103 (Aug., 1998): 55.

43 James R. Petersen, *The Century of Sex: Playboy's History of the Sexual Revolution, 1900-1999* (New York: Grove Press, 1999), 495; Leonore Tiefer, "A New View of Women's Sexual Problems: Why New? Why Now?" *Journal of Sex Research* 38, no.2 (2001): 89-96.

44 Warren st. John, "In an Over-sexed Age, More Guys Take the Pill," *New York Times*, Dec. 14, 2003, 9: 1-2; Loe, *The Rise of Viagra*, 173 [ルー『バイアグラ時代』, 前掲書]; Faludi, *Stuffed: The Betrayal of the American Man*, 543; Segal, *Slow Motion: Changing Masculinities*, 213-14.

45 Loe, *The Rise of Viagra*, 113 [ルー『バイアグラ時代』, 前掲書]; Bordo, *The Male Body*, 60.

46 Martin cited in John Tierney, "The Aging Body," *Esquire* (May 1982): 55; Gail Sheehy, *Understanding Men's Passages: Discovering the New Map of Men's Lives* (New York: Random House, 1998), 187-91 [ゲイル・シーヒィ『男盛りこんな生き方もあったのか!』森下賢一訳, 徳間書

店]; Judith A. Levy, "Sex and Sexuality in Later Life Stages," in Alice S. Rossi, ed., *Sexuality Across the Life Course* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 287-313.

47 Katz and Marshall, "New Sex for Old," 12; and see also Barbara L. Marshall and Stephen Katz, "Forever Functional: sexual Fitness and the Aging Male Body," *Body and Society* 8, no.4 (2002): 43-70; Leslie Laurence and Lani Luciano, "The Aging Face of AIDS," published on World AIDS Day 2000 by the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, http://www.kaisernetwork.org/Daily_reports/rep_index.cfm?DR_ID=1370 (accessed February 1, 2006).

48 A. Vermeulen, "The Male Climacterium," *Annales of Medicine* 25 (1993): 531-34; John Hoberman, *Testosterone Dreams: Rejuvenation, Aphrodisia, Doping* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Malcolm Carruthers, *Male Menopause: Restoring Vitality and Virility* (London: HarpersCollins, 1996); *Vancouver Sun*, Feb.2, 2005, 26; Barbara L. Marshall, "Climacteric Redux? (Re)medicalizing the Male Menopause," *Men and Masculinities* (forthcoming 2006).

49 Jennifer R. Fishman and Laura Mamo, "What's in a Disorder: A Cultural Analysis of Medical and Pharmaceutical Constructions of Male and Female Sexual Dysfunction," *Women and Therapy* 24, no.1 and 2 (2001): 184-85; Bob Adams, "Keeping It Up," *Advocate*, Nov. 11, 2003, 38, 40, 42; *Toronto Globe and Mail*, Jan. 10, 2004, F6.

50 Scan G. Swearingen and Jeffrey D. Klausner, "Sildenafil use, sexual risk behavior, and risk for sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV infection," *American Journal of Medicine* 118, no.6 (June, 2005): 571-77.

51 Morgentaler, *The Viagra Myth*, 144.

52 19世紀には、苦しみも天国に相応しいかどうかを測る試練と捉え、それを何とか耐えぬくことが「良い死に方」だったのだが、20世紀終盤になると、それは素速く苦しめない死 [いわゆる「ピンピンコロリ」] を意味するようになったことを想起する向きもあろう。この点については、以下を参照のこと。

Peter G. Filene, *In the Arms of Others: A Cultural*

History of the Right-to-Die in America (Chicago: Dee, 1998).

53 David B. Morris, *Illness and Culture in the Postmodern Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

54 Gail Hawkes, *Sex and Pleasure in Western Culture* (Cambridge: Polity, 2004); Graham Hart and Kaye Wellings, "Sexual Behaviour and Its Medicalisation: In Sickness and in Health," *British Medical Journal* 324 (2002): 899; Jonathan Michel Metz, *Prozac on the Couch: Prescribing Gender in the Era of Wonder Drugs* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2003).

55 John Taylor, "The Long, Hard Days of Dr. Dick," *Esquire* (September 1995): 120-30; Elizabeth Haiken, "Virtual Virility, or Does Medicine Make the Man?" *Men and Masculinities* 2 (2000): 388-409; Vernon Rosario, "Phallic performance: Phalloplasty and the Techniques of Sex," in Christophcr Forth and Ivan Crozier, eds., *Body Parts: Critical Explorations in Corporeality* (New York: Lexington Books, 2005), 177-90.

56 Bruce Handy, "The Viagra Craze," *Time* (May 4, 1998): 44; Carl Elliott, *Better Than Well: American Medicine Meets the American Dream* (New York: Norton, 2003).

57 Peter Lefcourt, *The Woody* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998); *Toronto Globe and Mail*, July 29, 2003, A1.

結論

1 以下の映画を参照のこと。 *Quartier Mozart* (1992, dir. Jean-Pierre Bekolo); またアジアにおける同様の信仰である「コロ」、すなわち男性生殖器の消失という信仰については、以下を参照のこと。 Robert E. Bartholomew, *Exotic Deviance: Medicalizing Cultural Idioms from Strangeness to illness* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2000); Sheung-Tak Cheng, "Epidemic Genital Retraction Syndrome: Environmental and Personal Risk Factors in Southern China," *Journal of Psychology and*

Human Sexuality 9 (1997): 57-70; Mai Ghossoub, "Chewing Gum, Insatiable Women and Foreign Enemies: Male Fears and the Arab Media," in Mai Ghossoub and Emma Sinclair-Webb, eds., *Imagined Masculinities: Male Identity and Culture in the Modern Middle East* (London: Saqi Books, 2000), 227-35; Judith Farquhar, *Appetites: Food and Sex in Post-Socialist China* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 269-71.

2 David D. Gilmore, *Manhood in the Making* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

3 J. G. Peristiany, "The Sophron-a Secular Saint? Wisdom and the Wise Man in a Cypriot Community," in J. G. Peristiany and Julian Pitt-Rivers, eds., *Honor and Grace in Anthropology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 103-27.

4 Marilyn Yalom, *A History of the Breast* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997) [マリリン・ヤーロム『乳房論』平石律子訳, ちくま学芸文庫].

5 Hite, *The Hite Report on Male Sexuality*, 459-62 [ハイト『ハイト・リポート 男性版』, 前掲書].

6 Naomi Pfeffer, "The Hidden Pathology of the Male Reproductive System," in *The Sexual Politics of Reproduction* (London: Gower, 1985), 30-44; Charles E. Rosenberg and Janet Golden, eds., *Framing Disease: Studies in Cultural History* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992).

NOTES
to
Impotence: a cultural history
by Angus McLaren

Copyright © 2007 by The University of Chicago

All rights reserved.

Japanese translation licensed

by The University of Chicago Press,

Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.

through The English Agency (Japan) Ltd.

『性的不能の文化史』原注

2016年 8月10日 第1版

著者—— アンガス・マクラレン

訳者—— 山本規雄

発行者—— 和田 肇

発行所—— 株式会社作品社

102-0072 東京都千代田区飯田橋 2-7-4

Tel 03-3262-9753 Fax 03-3262-9757

振替口座 00160-3-27183

<http://www.sakuhinsha.com>

編集担当—— 内田真人

組版—— ことふね企画

