8. "The money and the maidenhead is the subject of our meditation," writes Daniel Defoe in *Marriage Bed*, p. 33. In *Measure for Measure* maidenheads are not traded for money; they are traded as though they were money.


12. See *ibid.*, chap. 2.


14. Cf. the similar illusion in *Romeo and Juliet*.

15. Pope, "Renaissance Background" (in Geckle, ed., *Interpretations*, p. 59), notes that the Duke's measures in substituting one head for another might "savour dangerously of conspiracy against a lawful magistrate if Shakespeare did not slip neatly away from the whole difficulty by making the chief conspirator the highest officer of the State himself." I would argue, however, that this is no solution. Vincentio's essential conspiracy lies not so much in the attempt to exchange one head for another (on which Pope focuses) as in the position, which he takes later, that it can be illegal for the state ever to take a head. Thus Vincentio as Friar, in his eventual argument that no secular authority has the right to take the life of any man, tends to subvert not merely the secular rule of a bad officer like Angelo but secular rule itself. From this difficulty Shakespeare does not slip neatly away. Toward the end of the play, Escalus not unwisely holds the Friar guilty of treason against the Duke.

16. It was sometimes argued in the Reformation that the sovereign had no right to execute a man since "neither Christ nor his apostles had put any creature to death." This is the position of Anne Askew, the English Protestant reformer martyred in 1546; see Bale, *Select Works*, p. 202.


19. See Quiller-Couch's and Dover Wilson's introduction to their edition of *MM*.


21. For an elaboration of this point, see Daube, "Lex Talionis," esp. p. 103.

22. Cf. 1 Cor. 7:4: "The husband hath not power of his own body, but the wife."


24. On the theme of re-membering in *Measure for Measure*, see Bache, "*Measure for Measure* as Dialectical Art.

Chapter Six


2. This question disturbed Samuel Johnson, who remarked that "it is strange Isabella should not express either gratitude, joy, or wonder, at the sight of her brother" (Pye, *Comments*, p. 34). Some critics, to redeem the situation, have argued that stage directions permit a "mimed reconciliation" between the
brother and sister (see Lever's introduction to his edition of \textit{MM}, pp. xxvi and lxxxii). A reconciliation is hardly possible at so early a stage in the plot; moreover, Isabella subsequently tells the Duke, "I had rather my brother die by the law, than my son should be unlawfully born" (3.1.188–90). In the edition of the play he edited with John Dover Wilson and others, Quiller-Couch suggests that there is a lacuna in the text of Act 5 where Isabella's words of pardon were once to be found; similarly, Coghills 1955 production introduced a verbal reconciliation between Claudio and Isabella in Act 5 (see Lever's introduction, p. lvi, n. 6). My own interpretation is closer to the view of P. E. Smith ("Incest Motif," p. 12), who claims that "eventually through the Duke's maneuvers both Claudio and Isabella come to know themselves to conquer their fears, becoming ready to both face death and exercise love, lovingly respecting each other as brother and sister," although Smith does not inquire into the incestuous quality of that sibling love.

3. Reacting to the fact that Juliet's role is largely speechless, Lascelles, \textit{Shakespeare's MM}, p. 71, regards her part as insignificant; Quiller-Couch, in the edition he edited with Dover Wilson and others (pp. 155–56) argues that her speaking parts must have been lost from an original manuscript.


5. It is possible, of course, to have Juliet appear onstage with a baby, perhaps a boy like the one whose conception Isabella foresaw as the result of intercourse with Angelo, or like the figure of Claudio writ small. This is the tack of Cedric Messina's BBC production. The appearance of the child has the effect, however, of obscuring the play's conflation of Isabella's brother with her son.

6. For a demographic consideration of abortions and infanticides of illegitimate children in England, see Laslett, "Comparing Illegitimacy."


12. A production must decide whether the brother and sister should manifest their reunion in the finale by refusing to look at each other (as Pericles at first violently, if unknowingly, rejects his long-lost daughter Marina [\textit{PER} 5.1.83]) or by a warm embrace (as Viola/Cesario promises to embrace Sebastian when, and if, the Captain who has her maiden weeds in safekeeping is liberated from durance at Malvolio's suit [\textit{TN} 5.2.247–55, 270–71]). In the
most recent BBC production, Isabella and Claudio say nothing, but embrace (as they had in 3.1); in Cedric Messina's production, Isabella otherwise avoids physical contact with men.

13. Examples of plots involving the revelation of an unwitting love for one's sibling are Chateaubriand's *Rene*, where the brother is unaware of his physically incestuous attraction to his sister until the moment when she becomes a Sister, and Boccaccio's *Decameron* (fifth Story, fifth Day), where both brother and sister are drawn together "as by some occult instinct." In Fletcher's *Woman Pleased*, where the brother and sister are named Claudio and Isabella, as in *Measure for Measure*, the brother appears to woo his sister in disguise (she does not quite recognize who he is), but he does so in such manner that the audience concludes he earnestly intends to bed his sister and she actually agrees to bed him. Cf. Tourneur's *Revenger's Tragedy*, in which a disguised brother tests the chastity of his sister by play-acting the pandar.

14. See Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*, in which divorce of all earthly kin leads not to Christian philanthropy (all men are brothers) but to Timonic misanthropy (all men are others).

15. Discussing Elizabethan commentators on the Sermon on the Mount, Pope ("Renaissance Background," in Geckle, ed., *Interpretation*, p. 55) notes that Elizabethan writers approved of both retaliation and mercy, but she wrongly (to my mind) sees the two notions as essentially contradictory.


19. Isabella's original view that ignominy in ransom and free pardon are of "two houses" or are "nothing kin" admits the possibility of their union by an exogamous and nonincestuous marriage. This conceptual marriage of two kinds of exchange might take place sometime between Act 2, when the sisterly novice says that they are not akin, and Act 5, when she pardons Angelo and considers the Duke's proposal of familial marriage. If such a "marriage" took place, it would be the point of intersection between "foul redemption" and "lawful mercy," between retaliation (punishment) and mercy, between incest and chaste marriage. (Cf. Thirlby, Manuscript Notes, 2.4.110–13).


21. For the connection between "sake" and "sacu," see O.E.D., s.v. "sake."

22. Cf. Goldberg's claim that the Provost's phrase "as like almost to Claudio as himself" (5.1.487) involves the Duke's wooing Isabella and "presenting—representing—Claudio as a double of himself" (Goldberg, *James I*, p. 237).

23. For the accusation that his interference is manipulation, see Tillyard, *Problem Plays*.

24. Quoted by Dhont, *Claire*, p. 7. The synonymy of *lux* and *claritas* is typical of the literature about Saint Clare.

25. For Elizabeth's use of the phrase "trade of flesh," see Godley *Medytacion*; for the French, see Marguerite of Navarre, *Miroir*, I. 384.

26. "The people should fight for their laws as for their city wall" (Heraclitus, frag. 44; for the original, see Diels, ed., *Fragmenta*).

27. The Bull of Canonization of Saint Clare contains many verbal plays on the name "Clare" ("light," from *claritas*); see Garonne, *Claire*, p. 123. Saint
Francis also played on the meaning of "Clare" in his "Il Cantico di frate sole" [The Canticle of Brother Sun]; see chapter 2, above. Even though Shakespeare's Lucio may be modeled after such figures as Gloriosus in Barnabe Riche's Adventures of Brusamus (1592), the literal meaning of his name ("light") should also be taken into account.


30. Act 5 seemed flawed to Henry James Pye, who writes (Comments, p. 33): "How much stronger would the interest be if the friar was not known to be the Duke till he suddenly broke forth, which should have been while Angelo was treating the remonstrance of Isabella (which might be made to Escalus) with insult, and just as he was saying, 'Away to prison with her.'" And unless Lucio is an agent of enlightenment about the Duke, the Duke's fuss about Lucio at the end will seem unnecessary or inexplicable. William Empson, for example, claims ("Sense in MM," in Stead, Casebook, p. 204): "What makes the Duke ridiculous on the stage is the fuss he makes about the backbiting Lucio."

31. Nancy Leonard argues ("Substitution," pp. 300-301) that the Duke takes "another Angelo—Lucio by name—to scapegoat his own flaws."

32. The association of fornication with the "trick of youth" was common in popular tracts of the time. See the homily "Against Whoredom and Uncleanness," in Griffiths, ed., Homilies, p. 118; see also Wrightson, "English Illegitimacy."

33. For other postulated purposes of Elizabethan marriage—companionship, satisfaction of desire, production of an heir, and increase of property—see Stone, Crisis, pp. 612-19.

34. Burnet, Exposition, p. 288.

35. Not all critics ignore Kate Keepdown's son; Bache (MM as Dialectical Art, p. 31) speculates that he is the boy who sings to Mariana at the beginning of Act 4.

36. Thomas Aquinas, Summa, esp. suppl. q. 68, art. 3 (p. 2825). It is worth remarking that Brother "Rabelais's children were granted the unusual privilege of an official legitimization by the Pope Himself" (Screech, Rabelaisian Marriage, pp. 19-20; see also Lesellier, "Deux Enfants naturels").

37. Helmholtz, "Bastardy Litigation," p. 360. For the various ways to legitimize a bastard under Roman law, hence under English law, see W. A. Hunter, Roman Law, pp. 201-3. But see also Swinburne, Testaments, 162: "For of adoption, arrogation, or any other means to make children lawfull, except marriage, we have no use here in England."


39. Schanzer, "Marriage Contracts," wonders whether the precontract between Juliet and Claudio was verbis de futuro or de praesenti and thus whether sexual union between the young lovers was an act of fornication or lawful intercourse. Either kind of precontract, together with consummation ("an old contracting" [3.2.275]), would constitute legal marriage, however, provided that the precontract was witnessed (visible), or public. On the subject of courtship fornications, see also Downname, Four Treatises, esp. p. 177.

40. Harrington, Comendaciones of Matrimony, sigs. A4-A6. For the opposing view, that such marriages are legitimate, see Clerke, Triall of Bastardie, pp. 39-47.

41. Romeo and Juliet, in contrast, seems to allow a private or unpublished
marriage. But *Measure for Measure* differs from *Romeo and Juliet* in that its essential issue involves pregnancy, whereas *Romeo and Juliet* focuses merely on marriage. Shakespeare himself, who may have been married without posting public banns, is another analogue to Claudio.

42. At the Council of Merton, the medieval barons refused absolutely to count as legitimate children born before the marriage of their parents. "Nolumus mutare leges Angliae," they shouted in unison. Only in 1920 did the English Commons classify as legitimate children born before their parents' wedlock. (See Helmholz, "Bastardy Litigation.")


47. The notion that a man and his wife are one person is part of the so-called catenary theory (in Hebrew, *rikkub*, literally "compounding" principle) in the logical system of a group of Jewish Karaites, the Ba'ale ha-Rikkub. Their position is summarized by the *Aderet Eliyahu* at the beginning of *'Arayot*, 5, p. 148c–d; see Epstein, *Marriage Laws*, 266–67. Perhaps the greatest single book on incest, the Karaites scholar Jeshua ben Judah's *Sefer ha-Yashar*, written in Arabic in the eleventh century and subsequently translated into Hebrew, argues against the catenary and associated theories of kinship. For an English translation of extracts from *Sefer ha-Yashar*, see Nemoy's *Karaite Anthology*, pp. 127–32.


49. Anthropologists make much of the distinction between the incest taboo (which prohibits sexual relations within one's kinship) and exogamy (which prohibits marriage within one's kinship group). Since marriage is always public and sexual relations are generally private (often secret), this distinction has its pragmatic advantage: public and licit liaisons are easier to study than secret, possibly illicit ones. We need a thoroughgoing anthropological investigation of the relationships of incest to chastity and of endogamy to exogamy as these two relationships bear on each other.

50. Brandeis, ed., *Jacob's Well*, 162/15. For the humorous side of the doctrine of carnal contagion in Shakespeare's works, see aw 1.3.46–55: "He that comforts my wife is the cherisher of my flesh and blood."


52. See, e.g., Knights, "How Many Children?"

53. Most readers and most critics apparently want to demonstrate that Is-
abella wants to marry the Duke. Gless, 'MM,' the Law, and the Convent, p. 211, for example, says that Isabella must marry the Duke because the play is a comedy and comedies end happily. Mackay, 'MM,' addressing the large dramatical problem, says that she acts as though she will marry the Duke, that she either takes his hand at 5.1.490 or joins him in a processional exit at 5.1.536. (We may imagine the play ending with a procession of several united couples: Juliet and Claudio, Angelo and Mariana, Lucio and Kate Keepdown, perhaps Mistress Elbow and Elbow, possibly Abhorson and Pompey. Yet if we imagine the Duke and Isabella in monachal garb, their presence in, or even overseeing, such a procession would be disquieting.) Finally, Nathan, "Marriage," pp. 43–45, says that Isabella will marry the Duke because she is, according to King James's Basilicon Doron, the "kind of woman a prince should marry." This consensus shows how much we ordinarily depend on and even require marriage, as we conventionally conceive it, to solve the human problems brought to show in Measure for Measure; it also suggests the important role that marriage plays in our own contemporary ideology. Just as the assertion that Isabella and the Duke marry has the effect of closing off discussion of the way marriage is defined by the action of the plot as a whole, so the conventional conception of marriage has the ideologically useful role of closing inquiry into the connection between marriage and incest.

54. Bache, MM as Dialectic Art, p. 39, remarks that "the principal symbolic movement of the play is towards the established enlarged family. The Duke will end as brother, father, and husband."

55. To speak of an apparently casual phrase like "in-law" in this way may seem to stretch the point. Yet the Church Fathers speak the same way. Thus Jerome congratulates a woman for having become the "mother-in-law of God" when her novice daughter becomes the spouse of God: "Grande tibi benefactum praestitit: socrus Dei esse coepisti" (Saint Jerome, Letter 22.20, in CSEL, 54: 170). Precisely the distinction between a legal brother and an extra-legal Brother drives the Catholic tradition of celibate monachism. See Dumm, Theological Basis of Virginity, p. 75.

56. The incest/in-law theme is repeated at AWW 3.2.21 and 4.5.4.

57. "Ghostly father" (5.1.129) means "spiritual father," a friar or priest. For this use of the term, see 316 3.2.107; ROM 2.2.189 and 2.3.45; Chaucer, Canterbury Tales, Parson's Tale, 1.392; Black, ed., Life of Thos. Beket, l. 757; and Bale's Epistle Dedicatory to Elizabeth, Godley Medytacion.

58. On the question of Isabella's dress, see Mackay, "MM," p. 111.

59. Lascelles, Shakespeare's MM, p. 57, assumes she can give up her novitiate with no difficulty. In contrast, Aphra Behn's seventeenth-century novel The History of the Nun; or the Fair Vow Breaker makes much of the difficulty of leaving the convent and, predictably, links that departure to eloping with a lover.

60. See especially Coghill, "Comic Form."

61. Spiritual marriage was a special interest of Hugh of St. Victor; see his De beatae Mariae.


63. A grange was "a demesne farm, directed by lay brethren and worked by a dependent peasantry"; it was "sited, for reasons of control, as much practical as moral, within easy reach of the abbey, to which it would return its produce" (Platt, Monastic Grange, pp. 94, 12).

64. Schlegel, Lectures on Dramatic Art, p. 387. Schlegel adds (loc. cit.) that
"the Duke acts the part of the Monk naturally, even to deception." "L'habit ne faict le moyne," is how Rabelais puts the proverb (quoted by Kennard, Friar in Fiction, p. 45). "Cucullus non facit monachum" (the cowl does not make the monk), Feste the Fool says to Olivia, whom he calls "Madonna," in Twelfth Night (TN 1.5.53–55). See Fineman, "Fratricide and Cuckoldsry," pp. 105–6.


68. In Image of Both Churches, chap. 18, p. 537, Bale criticizes Catholic restrictions on marriage, saying: "No more shall that free state of living be bound under the yoke of thy damnable dreams, neither for vows unadvised, nor for popish orders, nor yet for any gossipry, but be at full liberty."
69. Telle, Marguerite d'Angoulême, p. 326.
70. A literary counterpart might be Rabelais's Panurge. Rabelais, a contemporary of Luther, was a Franciscan, then a Benedictine, before he put off the orders' garb for that of a secular priest. Panurge's question about whether he should marry motivates a large part of Gargantua; Rabelais, like Panurge, died a bachelor.
71. For Luther's critique of religious celibacy, see his "Exhortation to All Clergy," esp. pp. 40–52, and "Exhortation to the Knights."
72. "Love needs no laws," said Luther, sweeping away "those stupid barriers due to spiritual fatherhood, motherhood, brotherhood, sisterhood, and childhood"—or so Brain, Friends and Lovers, p. 94, has it. (Cf. Luther, "Persons . . . Forbidden to Marry," LW, 45:8, and "Estate of Marriage," LW, 45:24.) Luther did not sweep away all barriers to marriage, however. He stressed the distinction between figure and letter, or spirit and body, and thus redefined the incest taboo in terms of a literal, or corporeal, principle.
74. More, Tindale, pp. 48–49. (Cf. Luther's reference to the incestuous celibacy of the papists: "pro agnitione coniugii, praesertim cum confero illud cum incesto coelibatu papistarum et abominationibus impis et nuptiis Italicis" [talk no. 1575, in Luther, Tischreden 2:138–39].) Certain regulations of the Benedictine orders have been linked with the idealist policies that More promulgates elsewhere, e.g., in Utopia (Chambers, More, p. 136; see More, Utopia, pp. 281–82). Although More generally admired the Catholic orders and their doctrines (Hexter, More's Utopia, pp. 85–90), he was not a monk or friar but a husband and legitimate father.
75. Lévi-Strauss, Elementary Structures, p. 489. By chassé-croisé, Lévi-Strauss suggests a chiasmatic situation of reciprocal and simultaneous exchanges having for their end no result.
76. At first blush, Measure for Measure seems to end with the reimposition of a patriarchal order. Neither patriarchy nor matriarchy is imposed on Vienna, however, and the basic problem in the play, the ascertainability of parenthood, affects both genders equally. Isabella responds neither to the defrocked ducal patriarch's offer of univocal marriage nor to his offer of reciprocal mar-
riage. The end of the play thus vacillates between the polar opposites of marriage and Sisterhood—or between parentarchy and liberty. The most discomfiting aspect of Measure for Measure for liberal ideologies ought to be, not its depiction of the oppression of one sex by another (which would appear to be remediable), but its expression of the irremediable oppression of all political beings. Measure for Measure delineates how any doctrine of liberation must first erase belief both in an essential distinction between chastity and unchastity (or between marriage and incest) and in an essential difference between the genders. The transcendence that some liberals seek can be figured in the play only by the unfruitful Franciscan Sisters of Saint Clare.


Conclusion

2. Butcher’s notes to Aristotle, Poetics, p. 347.
3. Some critics believe that Measure for Measure ends with the marriage of Isabella and Vincentio and the reunion of Isabella and Claudio; they believe that this marriage and reunion present a definite solution to the problems that the play shows. Thus Murry claims that the Duke and Isabella marry and that this is a case of “generation redeemed”—which he sees as a wholly comfortable and chaste state of affairs (“Redemption of Generation”).
5. In an essay entitled “Il n’y a d’amour qu’incestueux donc impossible” (There is only incestuous love, hence love is impossible), Remond similarly argues that, according to the systems of kinship relations set out in Chateaubriand’s René, “Il n’y a d’amour qu’incestueux et l’inceste est présent, mis en scène par l’auteur comme pour expliquer définitivement une total impossibilité de communication entre les deux sexes.”
7. Plato, Republic, 524; Theaetetus, 185; Hippias Major, 300.
9. Giraudoux writes (Racine, pp. 44–45) that “all Racine’s theatre is a theatre of incest.” See also Hesse-Fink, Thème de l’inceste, chap. 1. Many of Racine’s protagonists have been in love since birth, or even since conception; examples include the rivalry in the womb between the brothers in Thebaide (4.1), the brother-sister love in Bajazet (their love is “formed from infancy” [5.5; ch. 1.4, 5.6]), and the brother-sister love in Mithridate (they have loved “since almost forever” [1.1, 1.2, 3.5]). In Britannicus (1.2), Agrippina calls herself “the daughter, wife, sister, and mother of your masters.” The result is a dramatic claustration in which all men who count are kin to one another. “In Racine,” says Giraudoux (Racine, pp. 42–43), “the stage is nothing other than the sanctuary of the family, or the central cage.” The dramatic content of incest in Racine thus verges on formal unity, or atonement.
11. Sophocles, Oedipus the King, l. 438.