

who met Hades and worsted him (Homer, *Iliad*, 5.395ff). Hamlet admires Hercules, who killed the “Nemean lion,” and he seems to have contempt for Claudius, who is “no more like my father / Than I to Hercules” (1.4.83; 1.2.152–53).

121. Belleforest, *Cinquiesme Tome*, in Gollancz, *Sources*, pp. 192–95. On this Brutus see especially Livy 1.lvi.8.

122. Livy 1.lvi.10–12. On parallels between the Brutus and Hamlet stories, see Detter, “Hamletsage.” Cf. the tale of Brutus as treated by Machiavelli: “It is very wise to pretend madness at the right time”; “In order to maintain newly gained liberty, Brutus’ sons must be killed” (*Discourses*, 3.1.2–3).

123. Brown, *Love’s Body*, p. 33, refers to Brutus as liberator from the tyranny of Tarquin.

124. Livy 11.v.8.

125. *Digest*, 11, 7, 35; Post, “Two Notes,” p. 287; cf. Shakespeare, *Henry VI*, pt. 3, 2.5.54–122. Durandus wrote, “Nam pro defensione patriae licitum est patrem interficere” (*Speculum iuris*, IV, part iii, sec. 2, n. 32; 3:321).

126. Salutati, *Epistolario*, 1, 10; trans. Kantorowicz, *King’s Two Bodies*, p. 245.

127. *Codex Justiniani* 10, 70, 4, n.7, p. 345; cf. Kantorowicz, *King’s Two Bodies*, pp. 245, 248.

128. *Apokolokyntosis* 12, 2. In “English Seneca,” Montgomerie considers the possible influence on Shakespeare of this work, only sometimes said to have been written by Seneca.

## Chapter 6

1. Butler, introd. to Racine’s *Britannicus*, p. 12.

2. Mère Angélique de St. Jean Arnauld, daughter of Antoine Arnauld (1560–1619), secured the abbess’ chair in 1599 when she was eight years old and started to reform her convent in the direction of its original rule in 1608. Her brother was the great Antoine Arnauld (1612–1694), the most famous of the Jansenist theologians. She is to be distinguished from her niece, Angélique de St. Jean Arnauld d’Andilly (1624–1684), who herself eventually became abbess and produced important writings.

3. Delcroix, *Le Sacré dans les tragédies*, esp. pp. 329–94; Mauron, *L’Inconscient dans l’oeuvre*, p. 202; my translation.

4. Picard, in Racine, *Oeuvres*, p. 35.

5. Racine, *Abrégé*, in *Oeuvres*, ed. Clarac, p. 346.

6. Racine was sent in 1653 to study at the Port-Royalist grammar school with such masters as Nicole and Le Maître.

7. Racine went to live with Father Sconin, vicar-general in Uzès (Languedoc), in November 1661.

8. Sainte-Beuve suggests that Racine had a sister Marie who was Oblate at Port-Royal. (Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal*, 3:538).

9. Vuillart, *Lettres* (April 30, 1699). For the conventual grill, see Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal*, 3:555.

10. For Hamon: Butler, introd. to Racine’s *Britannicus*, p. 13; cf. Gazier, *Ces Messieurs*. For Antoine Le Maître: see his letter to Racine of March 21, 1656: “. . . aimez toujours vôtre papa.” Cf. Louis Racine’s *Mémoires* (in *Oeuvres*, ed. Clarac, pp. 17–66) and Vaunois, *Racine*, p. 97.

11. See my *End of Kinship*, esp. pp. 102, 209, 227.

12. Mauron interprets Angélique’s divorce of parents only from the perspective of a genitor or genetrix who has lost a daughter to a Being who is both Paternal and Spousal (Christ) and regards himself or herself as betrayed. “Aggression against the real father is consum-

mated by a sort of social suicide at the profit of the mystical spouse" (*L'Inconscient dans l'oeuvre*, p. 202, my translation).

13. The psychiatric tradition concerning hysteria and religious celibates here includes Charcot's "Hystériques" (1878) and *Leçons du mardi* (1892) as well as earlier works by Richer, Ferran, Rathéry, and even by Briquet (1859). For Freud and Breuer in the 1890s, "hysterical deliria often turn out to be the very circle of ideas which the patient in his normal state has rejected, inhibited, and suppressed with all his might" ("Mechanism of Hysterical Phenomena: Lecture," *Standard Edition* 3:38). With Charcot, Freud presumes to explain why "the hysterical deliria of nuns revel in blasphemies and erotic pictures" ("Footnotes to Charcot," SE 1:138; cf. "A Case of Successful Treatment," SE 1:126; and Freud and Breuer, "On the Psychical Mechanism of Hysterical Phenomena," SE 2:10–11). For other traditional psychoanalytical articles on religious celibacy, see Steffen, "Zölibat"; Levi-Bianchini, "La neurosi antifallica"; and Gilberg, "Ecumenical Movement."

14. Comment by Freud, quoted in Hitschmann, "Über Nerven- und Geisteskrankheiten," p. 271.

15. "Je te fais aimer comme ma fille et mon épouse. Voilà la leçon que je te donne, sur laquelle tu dois souvent faire réflexion, anéantissant toujours tes pensées en ma présence . . ." (*Autobiographie*, ed. Charcot, p. 46). Jeanne des Anges was seduced by the priest Grandier, who had written a well known book on spiritual sexuality, the *Célibat des prêtres* (see Jeanne des Anges, *Autobiographie*, pref. Charcot, p. 10).

16. Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal*, 3:538, 549.

17. "Denn was wäre schon diese Revolution / ohne eine allgemeine Kopulation" [And what's the point of this revolution without general copulation] (Weiss, *Marat/Sade*, p. 122). Cf. Sade's "Français, encore un effort si vous voulez être républicains," in *Philosophie*, esp. pp. 221–22.

18. Josephus, *Jewish War* 2.2, in Racine, *Oeuvres*, ed. Clarac, p. 599. On Racine's "Des Esséniens," written between 1655 and 1658, see Vaunois, *Racine*, p. 152. The view that Jesus resided with the Essenes is probably a romanticism promulgated by Christian biblical scholars who have been fond of seeing this sect as the direct link between pre-rabbinic Judaism and Christianity.

19. Josephus, *De vita contemplativa*, in Racine, *Oeuvres*, ed. Clarac, p. 605.

20. Josephus, *De vita contemplativa*, in Racine, *Oeuvres*, ed. Clarac, p. 605.

21. For the legal definition of "spiritual incest" as a Brother or Sister's having sexual intercourse with anyone at all, see chap. 1, n. 69.

22. Josephus's description of the Essenes' aversion for marriage is relevant: "[It] comes not from a desire to abolish the succession of children from fathers . . . but from their belief in the incontinence of women, who, in their opinion, almost never remain faithful to their husbands" (Josephus, *Jewish War* 2.2, in Racine, *Oeuvres*, ed. Clarac, p. 599).

23. This was in October, when he was nearly eighteen; he entered the Collège d'Har-court, where he boarded with his second cousin Nicolas Vitart, steward of the Duke of Luynes. His Jansenist surroundings continued at the Collège, since the Duke of Luynes was a severe Port-Royalist.

24. The baptismal certificate of Jeanne-Thérèse Olivier is in the registries of Notre-Dame, the Auteuil parish (in Racine, *Oeuvres*, ed. Mesnard, 1, 187–8, and ed. Picard, p. 32).

25. When Du Parc conceived again, she was poisoned by the notorious Catherine Voisin. Racine was nearly charged with murder. Some literary historians compare "la Voisin" with Locuste in *Britannicus*.

26. *Racine*, pp. 42–43 Though the word "incest" appears infrequently in Racine's works (J. G. Cahen, *Vocabulaire*), the theme is still pervasive.

27. *La Thébaïde*, 4.1. The love between the siblings has existed since "infancy" (*Bajazet*, 5.5, cf. 1.4, 5.6). They have loved "since almost forever" (*Mithridate*, 1.1, 1.2, 3.5).
28. Josephus, *Jewish War* 2.2, in Racine, *Oeuvres*, ed. Clarac, p. 602. Josephus refers to the "unmarried Essenes" and to the "marrying Essenes" (*Jewish War*, 2.160 and 2.1 61). On the Essenes' ideas about preserving "mankind" or the human "race," see Hippolytus, *Philosophumena*, 11, 28 (*Patrologiae [Graeca]* 16, pt. 3) and Vermes, "Essenes," p. 101. Cf. J. Massingberd Ford, *Wisdom and Celibacy*, pp. 28–29.
29. Racine, Letter to Mme. de Maintenon of March 4, 1698, in *Oeuvres*, ed. Mesnard, 7:228–29. On historical difficulties concerning this claim of Racine, cf. Picard, *Racine*, pp. 304–08.
30. For a fuller discussion, see chapter 4.
31. For Racine's translations of ecclesiastical writings (1655–1658), see Vaunois, *Racine*, p. 155.
32. On Lancelot (the scholar of Greek), see Cognet, *Claude Lancelot*, and R.C. Knight, *Racine et la Grèce*. Cf. Mauron, *L'Inconscient dans l'oeuvre*, p. 200.
33. Whether Racine knew Pascal personally is considered by Vaunois, *Racine*, pp. 149–51.
34. Racine, *Abrégé*, in *Oeuvres*, ed. Clarac, p. 332.
35. Cited in Woodgate, *Jacqueline Pascal*, p. 82.
36. "Leurs coeurs n'étaient qu'un coeur." Cited in Mauriac, *Pascal*, pp. 5, 43.
37. Cousin, *Jacqueline Pascal*, p. 163.
38. "Vous savez assez que c'est de [Dieu] seul que procède tout l'amour" (Cousin, *Jacqueline Pascal*, p. 167).
39. "Si vous n'avez pas le force de me suivre, au moins ne me retenez pas" (Cousin, *Jacqueline Pascal*, p. 170).
40. "Non seulement il n'avait point d'attache pour les autres, mais il ne voulait pas du tout que les autres eussent pour lui" (Cousin, *Jacqueline Pascal*, p. 338). Cf. the discussion of siblings in Giraud, *Soeurs de grands hommes*.
41. Cousin, *Études sur Pascal*.
42. Cousin, *Jacqueline Pascal*, p. 399; *Études sur Pascal*, p. 452.
43. Chateaubriand, *René*, trans. Putter, p. 103.
44. Chateaubriand, *René*, trans. Putter, p. 108.
45. Chateaubriand, *René*, trans. Putter, pp. 108, 111. Soon afterward, Sister Amelia tells her brother René that "for the most violent love, religion substitutes a sort of burning chastity in which the lover and the loved are one," develops a burning fever, and dies (Chateaubriand, *René*, p. 142).
46. On Chateaubriand's devotion to Lucile, see Aubrée, *Lucile et René*; on his entering the orders, see Chateaubriand, *Mémoires* 1, 78, and *Oeuvres romanesques*, pp. 121–22; and on his libertinism, see Barbéris, "René," pp. 51, 249–50.
47. Chateaubriand, *René*, trans. Putter, p. 106.
48. Homer, *Iliad* 6:429–30.
49. *Libation Bearers*, trans. Lattimore, 11. 239–43.
50. Cf. the remark of Coriolanus' mother Volumnia that her son is no longer akin to his Roman mother, wife, and child (5.3.178–80; 5.3.101–3). One parallel in Shakespeare's work to the Roman Catholic profession in which a woman takes leave of her earthly family ("dies to the world") and enters the heavenly family ("is reborn") by becoming the wife, sister, daughter, and mother of God is the scene in which Coriolanus, banished by the Romans, his "brothers," and "servanted to others" (the Volscians—5.2.84), claims that he no longer knows "wife, mother, child" (5.2.83).

51. Dante, *Paradiso*, 33: "Vergine Madre, figlia del tuo Figlio."
52. *Die Geburt der Tragödie*, sec. 9, in *Werke* 1:58.
53. Butler, introd. to Racine's *Britannicus*, mentions Racine's weeping at the funeral of Thérèse Du Parc.
54. Butler, introd. to Racine's *Britannicus*, p. 12; Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal*, 3:596.
55. Louis Racine, *Mémoires*, with reference to the profession of Sister Lalie. Cited in Mauron, *L'Inconscient dans l'oeuvre*, p. 217; emphasis mine.
56. Cf. Mauron, *L'Inconscient dans l'oeuvre*, p. 216.
57. Lacretelle, *La Vie privée de Racine*, cited in Mauron, *L'Inconscient dans l'oeuvre*, p. 217. Marie eventually married in 1699, the year of Racine's death. The youngest children, Françoise and Madeleine, remained single, contemplated taking the veil, but did not enter the cloister.
58. Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1387a and *Ethics* 1155a.
59. Racine, letter to Louis Racine, November 10, 1698; cf. Racine's letter to Agnès, written November 9, 1698 (*Oeuvres*, ed. Picard, 2:643–44; 2:641–43).
60. Quesnel, letter to M. Willard, February 14, 1697.
61. Seneca, *Apokolohyntosis*, 14.1.
62. Narcissus/Pallas ensured Messalina's death; *Britannicus*, 1123. Tacitus suggests that Pallas was Agrippina's lover.
63. This is according to the Twelve Tables (see Watson, *Rome of the XII Tables*, esp. pp. 52–70).
64. Pavel argues that in *Britannicus* "the main character [Britannicus] has a stronger hereditary claim to the throne of Rome than his elder step brother Néron" (Pavel, "Racine and Stendhal," p. 274).
65. Caligula consciously imitated the incestuous despots of Egypt like Cambyses and the Ptolemys, claimed (according to Suetonius) that Augustus had had incestuous relations with his daughter Julia, and announced in A.D. 38 that he would marry his sister Drusilla and make her Empress. Suetonius reports that Caligula "had violated Drusillia during their adolescence." Caligula had lived in habitual incest with all his sisters (Santiago, *Children*, p. 58). After the death of Drusilla, Caligula exiled his two other sisters because they were "uncooperative."
66. With this double meaning compare Latin *sacer*. For other such terms, see Freud, *Totem*, p. 18.
67. C. E. Smith, *Papal Enforcement*, p. 6, shows that "adoption has the same effect in precluding marriage as does kinship by blood"; Fowler, "Incest Regulations," p. 40, says, however, that this view has been contested. On marriage between adoptive children, see relevant passages in Pope Nicholas I, "Responses to the Questions of the Bulgars," sec. 2, in Mansi, ed., 15:402. Nicholas "states that one ought to treat a godparent like a parent, even though the relationship is spiritual and not one of blood. There cannot be marriage in these relationships for the same reason that the Roman law disallows marriage between those one adopts and one's own children" (Fowler, "Incest Regulations"). For adoption in Roman Christianity as an impediment to marriage, see Justinian, *Digest*, 1.23, tit. 2, lex 17; Gratian, *Decretum*, caus. 30, q. 3, c. 6; Ivo Carnotensis, *Decretum, Patrologiae (Latina)* 161:657; and Oesterlé, "Inceste," in Naz, ed., *Dictionnaire* 5, 1297–314.
68. *Britannicus*, 480; Tacitus, *Annals*, 1.6.
69. *Britannicus*, 876; 1450.
70. On Roman women being barred from inheritance, see Watson, *Rome of the XII Tables*, esp. pp. 134–50 (on *mancipatio*), and pp. 150–57 (on *usus*). Barthes (*On Racine*, pp. 9, 38n) claims Agrippina is the patriarch of Racine's *Britannicus*. I think he is mistaken: If











