

Notes

FOR COMPLETE bibliographical information and for abbreviations used in the notes and footnotes, see the Bibliography, pp. 249–81 below.

Introduction

1. For folktales, see Brewster, *Incest Theme*; for psychologists and political theorists, see Fox, *Kinship*, pp. 57–58. In a related argument, both Augustine (*City of God*, 15.16.1) and Margaret Mead's Arapesh informants (*Sex and Temperament*, pp. 93–94) hold that incest would inhibit the formation of the inter-familial relationships that bind society together. For the view that inbreeding is biologically harmful to the human species, see Adams and Neal, "Children"; Seemanov, "Study of Children"; and Livingstone, "Genetics."

2. Westermarck, *Human Marriage*, presents the second thesis.

3. For this position, see Slater, "Ecological Factors."

4. See here Bischof, "Comparative Etiology."

5. Whether the taboo is, in any case, universal among human beings in society or a unique species characteristic has been the subject of intense debate for millennia. Cf. Sidler, *Inzesttabu*, and Fox, *Red Lamp*, pp. 83–107.

6. The extension of kinship by the extension of kinship terms is discussed in: Murdock, *Social Structure*, pp. 31–84; Radcliffe-Brown, introduction to *African Systems*, pp. 1–86; Evans-Pritchard, "Kinship in Primitive Societies" and "Kinship Extensions."

7. See, e.g., Pitt-Rivers, "Pseudo-Kinship," and Eisenstadt, "Ritualized Personal Relations."

8. See Claude Lévi-Strauss's summary position (*Elementary Structures*, p. 30) that "it is the social relationship more than the biological tie implied by the terms 'father,' 'mother,' 'son,' 'daughter,' 'brother,' and 'sister,' that acts as the determinant."

9. On the relatively recent establishment, in the late seventeenth century, of the facts of sexual reproduction as we now know them, see Cole, *Early Theories*, and Bowler, "Preformation."

10. Burnet, *Exposition*, p. 288; Alfonso el Sabio, *Siete partidas*, pt. 4, title 13. Alfonso goes so far as to commend a man for keeping only one concubine, so that her children can more certainly be recognized as his (Karras, "Tragedy and Illicit Love").

11. For Freud on religion as a social neurosis, see his "Obsessive Acts."

12. *Ulysses*, p. 207.

13. *Eumenides*, line 736. In an Orphic hymn (31.10) Athena is called both

male and female, and in a Homeric hymn (9.3) she is called a virgin divinity (W. Smith, *Roman Mythology*, s.v. "Athena").

14. *Generation*, 1.2.729a. See also Plato's similar view of the male Eros of begetting (*Timaeus*, 73, 90–91) and related evidence collected by Onians, *European Thought*, pp. 108–9. In Anaxagoras the mother is merely the "breeding ground" and the father is "the seed"; in Diogenes of Apollonia the father, not the mother, provides the offspring (Freeman, *Pre-Socratic Philosophers*, pp. 272, 282).

15. Dewey, "Legal Personality," pp. 566–67. Jesus, like Melchizedek in Saint Paul's interpretation, is "without father or mother or genealogy" (Heb. 7:3, 6:20, and John 2:3–4, 3:3; cf. N. Frye, *Fearful Symmetry*, p. 388).

16. Fuller, *Legal Fictions*, p. 300.

17. In Thayer, *Preliminary Treatise*, pp. 346–47.

18. For the societal need for a "principle of illegitimacy," see Malinowski, "Parenthood," pp. 137–38: "The most important moral and legal rule concerning the physiological state of kinship is that no child should be brought into this world without a man—and one man at that—assuming the role of sociological father, that is, guardian and protector, the male link between the child and the rest of the community. I think that this generalization amounts to a universal sociological law."

19. Cf. Engels's thesis that in group marriage, or the "Panuluan family" (*Origin*, p. 106), "it is uncertain who is the father of a child; but it is certain who its mother is" and Bachofen's similarly reassuring thesis of "mother right" (see *Mutterrecht*).

20. For the changeling motif and its widespread influence, see Briggs, *Fairies*, s.v. "Changeling"; S. Thompson, *Folk Literature*, esp. "Substituted Children" (K1920), "Deception by Substitution of Children" (K1847), and "Substitution of Children to Gain Inheritance" (K1847.1); and Grimm, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. "Wechselkind" and "Wechselbalg." In such tales devious nurses, midwives, mothers, and fairies abound; see Mark Twain's *Pudd'nhead Wilson*.

21. In Judaism an entire body of law has grown up around the *asufi*, or foundling about whom one cannot know whether he or she is a bastard or not. By some accounts such a child, if a male, "can marry neither a legitimate Jewess (because he may be a *mamzer* [bastard]) nor a female *mamzer* (because he may in fact be legitimate)" (Schereschewsky, "Mamzer"). The *asufi* thus conjoins anxiety about changelings with anxiety about bastards.

22. *O.E.D.*, s.v. "Changeling," sb. 2. With the term "changeling" compare "supposititious": "One set up to displace the real heir or successor; sometimes used for 'illegitimate'" (*O.E.D.*, s.v. "Supposititious," sb. lb.).

23. *O.E.D.*, s.v. "Changeling," sb. 3.

24. On the exposure motif in mythology, see Rank, "Birth of the Hero."

25. I refer to the love between Imogen and Arviragus. See esp. *CYM* 4.1.

26. The exception is Siamese twins. For them blood (*sang*), the usual figure for the bond in kinship, is more than figural: the same blood literally flows through their veins, assuring their consanguinity. See Mark Twain's *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, which, although it concerns changelings, originated in Twain's thoughts about two Siamese twins.

27. Pitt-Rivers, "Kith and the Kin," p. 92.

28. *Politics*, 2.1.

29. On the taboo against marriage between milk siblings—people who re-

ceived the “milk of human kindness” from the same nurse—see Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, 2 : 230; and *Koran*, chap. 4, “Women,” p. 75. On the many kinds of nominal incest, see Crawley, *loc. cit.* For a discussion of the purchase of family names in relation to incest, see B. Thomas, “Writer’s Procreative Urge in *Pierre*,” esp. p. 419. On the Ba’ale ha-Rikkub, which explains how Abraham’s wife is his sister insofar as he calls her sister, see chapter 6, below. For kinship by adoption, see chapter 2, below. Racine’s *Phèdre* presents a stepmother’s love for her stepson. On kinship “in law,” see chapter 6, below. One might also include in this list of kinds of pseudo-kinship or kinship by extension that can make for a diriment impediment to marriage the relationship between trading partners, between feudal lords and their servants, between brothers-in-arms, and so on. On kinship by spiritual alliance, an elaborate form of elective friendship in sixteenth-century France, see Telle, esp. pp. 299–312. Jourda, in his edition of Rabelais, suggests that the social structure of Rabelais’s *Island of Ennasin* (bk. 4, chap. 9) parodies such spiritual alliances as that between Marot and Anne d’Alençons.

30. On gossiped and kinship, see: Gratian, *Decretum*, 30, q. 1–4; Rolandus, *Summa*, 144–45; Stephanus Tornacensis, *Summa*, p. 241; Feije, *De impedimentis*, chap. 16; Council of Trullo (A.D. 692), in *Colección de canones*; and C. E. Smith, *Papal Enforcement*, pp. 48–51. For the anthropological view of gossiped, see: Pitt-Rivers, “Spiritual Kinship,” p. 55, and “Pseudo-Kinship,” p. 408; Gudeman, “Compadrazago”; Mintz and Wolf, “Ritual Co-Godparentage”; and Anderson, “Comparaggio.” In English literature, Chaucer links incest and gossiped: “For right so as he that engendreth a child is his fleshly fader, right so is his godfader his fader espiritueel. For which a womman may in no lasse synne assemblen with hire godsib than with hire owene fleshly brother” (*Parson’s Tale*, 908, in *Works*, p. 258).

31. D’Anglure, *Esquimaux*.

32. General studies of blood brotherhood include Tegnaeus, *Blood-Brothers*, and Brain, *Friends and Lovers*, chap. 3. Relevant literary works in English include D. H. Lawrence’s *David* and *Women in Love*, and the Old English version of the *Gesta Romanorum*: “I pray the let me drinke thi blood and thou shalt drink myne in tokening that neither of us shall foresake other in wele ne in woo.”

33. On Pythagoras, see the Conclusion, below.

34. Much Christian doctrine holds that female religious celibates stand, like the Virgin Mary, in four kinship relationships to God: they are children and spouses of God the Parent and sisters and mothers of God the Son. For the relevant ecclesiastical and literary evidence concerning the *sponsa Christi*, see chapter 2, below. For an anthropological view of the institution of women marrying gods in Christianity and in other cultures, see: Westermarck, *Human Marriage*, 1 : 403–6; and M. E. Harding, *Woman’s Mysteries*.

35. Cf. the principle in Judaism that “a proselyte is as a new born babe” who stands in absolutely no relationship to any pre-conversion relation. Consequently, his brothers and sisters, father, mother, etc. from before his conversion lose his relationship on his conversion. Should they too subsequently become converted, they are regarded as strangers to him, and he might marry, e.g., his mother or sister. This is the Biblical law” (Freedman, note to Sanhedrin 58a, in I. Epstein, ed., *Talmud*). Of course, the rabbis found a way to forbid marriages between such “new born babes.”

36. See, e.g., Council of Rome (A.D. 402), can. 1, 2, in Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, 2:87; Pope Gelasius I (A.D. 494), letter to the bishops of Lucania, c. 20, in Gratian, *Decretum*, causa 27, q. 1, c. 14; Council of Macon (A.D. 585), can. 12, in Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, 3:37; Gratian *Decretum*, 30, q. 3, c. 1, 5, 10; and G. Oesterlé, “Inceste,” in Viller et al., *Spiritualité*. In, e.g., [Lacy], *Ten Commandments*, it is written that “Incestus is he þat dlith with nonne, with kosyn, or with amaydon, þe wich is called defloracio”; and Lydgate writes (*Fall of Princes*, 2.4068–71) that “Incestus is trespassyng with kyn or with blood, / Or froward medlyng with hir that is a nunne.” See also More, *Complete Works*, 1:48–49.

The Roman Catholic doctrine that insofar as we are all brothers and sisters all marriage is incestuous was one focus of debate during the Reformation. Luther, for one, acknowledges the doctrine but tries to short-circuit it. He claims, in his argument against the diriment impediment to marriage posed by gossipred relations, that the siblinghood promulgated by Christianity, at least insofar as it pertains to all baptized souls, should not be taken literally. Of the Roman Catholics who follow out the doctrine to the letter, Luther says that they have “concocted new degrees of relationship, namely, the godparents, godchildren, and their children and brothers or sisters. It was really the devil who taught them that, for if the sacrament of baptism is supposed to create an impediment, then no Christian man could take a Christian wife, since all baptized women are in a spiritual sense the sisters of all baptized men.” (Luther, “Persons . . . Forbidden to Marry,” *LW*, 45:8.) See also Luther’s rhetorical question: “Then must I be forbidden to marry any Christian woman, since all baptized women are the spiritual sisters of all baptized men by virtue of their common baptism?” (Luther, “Estate of Marriage,” *LW*, 45:24).

37. For Aristotle’s comments on recognition (*anagnorisis*), see *Poetics*, 11.2–3. Else (*Poetics*, pp. 349–50) has argued that the bond of “love” (*philia*) thus recognized refers specifically to blood ties.

38. Examples of tragedies of fate (*Schicksalstragödie*) include Müllner’s *Schuld* and Grillparzer’s *Ahnfrau*.

39. In Goethe’s *Wilhelm Meister*, “Old Harper” (Augustine) has sexual intercourse with his sister (Esperata). In Walpole’s *Mysterious Mother*, the hero learns that the young woman he has married is both his sister and his daughter.

40. In *Nathan the Wise* the sexual act is desired but not enacted. See Daemmrich, “Incest Motif.”

41. Perhaps detective fiction like *Oedipus the King* has become so popular because we who watch such dogged detective work as Oedipus carries out easily come to believe in the logically absurd but psychologically and socially reassuring doctrine that men and women can know for sure who their parents are. Porter, *Pursuit of Crime*, p. 223, suggests that detective stories “are experienced as reassuring because they project the image of a cosmos subject to the operations of familiar laws.” Cf. Nicolson, “Professor and the Detective.”

42. Sophocles, *Oedipus the King*, line 780.

43. For Marguerite of Navarre, the Franciscan writers, and others, see also chapters 2 and 4, below. On the incestuous relationship between Jesus and Mary, see Heuscher, *Psychiatric Study*, p. 207. For the related Athanasian doctrine that Father and Son are not merely similar (*homoiousios*) but literally the same (*homosusios*) in such a way that the Son is the Father of Himself—a doctrine first officially debated at the Council of Nicea in 325 A.D.—see Hamlin’s

note in *Faust*, p. 316. Incest in the divine family is a widespread but generally unrecognized topos in Christian art. Even Steinberg, who discusses the physical sexuality of the baby Jesus in the visual arts—including paintings where Mary touches Jesus' genitals, Jesus suckles at Mary's breast, and the magi come to inspect the newborn Jesus' penis to determine that he is "complete in all the parts of a man" (Steinberg, *Sexuality*, pp. 65–71)—ignores almost entirely the specifically incestuous relationship that obtains among members of the Holy Family. Mary is not only the mother of God and his wife—Steinberg quotes Augustine's *Sermons* to this effect (pp. 3–4; Augustine, *Sermons*, 109)—but also his sister and daughter. Yet Irwin (*Doubling*, pp. 129–30) focuses on Christian mother-son incest in the writings of William Faulkner: "The fecundation of Mary by God is a supplanting of Joseph . . . , and since Jesus, the son, is himself that God, then it is, in a sense, the son who has impregnated his own mother, and Jesus' birth, as befits the birth of a god, is incestuous."

44. For Tamar, see Matt. 1:3 and Gen. 38:6–30. Rahab, a harlot, and Bathsheba, an adulteress, are also included among the human ancestors of Jesus, whose mother, it has been argued, was a kind of harlot or adulteress insofar as his conception was extramarital. On the genealogy of Jesus, see: Santiago, *Children of Oedipus*, p. 50; and Layard, "Incest Taboo," pp. 301–2. For the magi, see Catullus, poem 90, cited in H. D. Ranken, "Catullus," p. 119. For incest among the Persians, see: Antisthenes of Athens, *Fragmenta*, cited in Ranken, "Catullus," p. 120; and Sidler, *Inzesttabu*. On the particularly magian practice of incest, see Moutlon, *Early Zoroastrianism*, esp. pp. 204, 249–50, and Nietzsche's remark that "an ancient belief, especially strong in Persia, holds that a wise *magus* must be incestuously begotten" (*Geburt*, sect. 9, pp. 56–57; trans. Golfing, *Birth*, pp. 60–61). During the Sassanian period of Persian history, there was a Christian martyr by the name of Mirhamgushap who had married his sister before conversion; the Church did not request that they divorce but instead excepted the siblings' "chaste incest" from common law (see Gray, "Next-of-Kin Marriages in Iran"). Incest was practiced, apparently without guilt, in ancient Egypt (Middleton, "Brother-Sister and Father-Daughter Marriage") and Hellenistic and Roman Egypt (Thierfelder, *Geschwisterehe*). In Roman Egypt, claims Hopkins ("Brother-Sister Marriage"), incest involved not only the royal family but one-third of the entire population.

45. Dante, *Paradiso*, canto 33. The love with which the *Paradiso* ends is a transcendent form of the Assyrian Semiramis's physical incest, on which see *Inferno*, canto 5. For Dante the process of making the transcendent counterpart to incest is like the process of squaring a circle (*Paradiso*, 33:124ff.). On Saint Bernard and incest, see chapter 2, below.

46. For Saint Albanus, see Rank, *Inzest-Motiv*. For Saint Julian, see Bart and Cook, *Flaubert's Saint Julian*, and Berg et al., *Saint Oedipus*. For the story of Gregory, see Hartmann von Aue, *Gregorius*.

47. Stendhal, *Cenci*, esp. pp. 181–82.

48. Prat, "Freudian Character"; Lope de Vega, *Outrageous Saint (La fianza satisfecha*, lit. "The Fair Bond," or "Redemption," act 3, p. 91). Like his protagonists, in his early years Lope was licentious, and in his later years he mortified himself in remembrance of Christ's passion. It may be interesting that both his sister and his wife were named Isabella.

49. Schiller, *Bride*, 1.86–87, 720–22.

50. Both Mackay, "Fate and Hybris," and Weigand, "*Oedipus Tyrannus* and

Die Braut von Messina,” in discussing *The Bride of Messina*, designate incest committed by an ancestral “Ahnherr” as the crime that gives rise to the sibling incest. Cf. Prader, *Schiller und Sophokles*, pp. 70ff.

51. My conjunction of Sibling and sibling incest suggests that Thorslev (“Romantic Symbol,” p. 43) is mistaken to dismiss the incest theme in Matthew Lewis’s *The Monk* as mere sensationalism calculated to arouse a “gothic appetite jaded with murders and tortures and uncomplicated rapes.”

52. Martin du Gard, *Sorellina*, 1:1134–250.

53. Lope de Vega, *El vaquero de morana*.

54. See Brewster, *Incest Theme*, p. 14.

55. On Chateaubriand’s devotion of Lucile, see Lucile’s own writings and 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 Barberis, “*René*,” pp. 51, 249–50.

56. Chateaubriand, *René*, in *Oeuvres romanesques*, pp. 134–38.

57. Thus Saint Clare marries Christ, and, since it might appear perverse for a man to marry a male God, Saint Francis marries the divine Lady Poverty. Of the service for the dead, Chateaubriand says in *René*, “Nothing can be more tragic than assisting at such a spectacle” (*Oeuvres romanesques*, p. 139).

58. *Ibid.*, p. 139.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 160. “The Awful Truth” is the title of Leo Carey’s film (1937) about a couple’s marriage and ultimate remarriage. In their first marriage the relations between the man and woman are like those of a brother and sister; in the second they are like those of a husband and wife. See Cavell’s remarkable study *Pursuits of Happiness*.

60. Chateaubriand, *René*, in *Oeuvres romanesques*, p. 142. The novella may have autobiographical resonances: Chateaubriand was deeply devoted to his sister Lucille, and he declared early in his life that he would join a Catholic order, as does the hero of *René*. He became a religious libertine during the fraternalistic and antimonachist French Revolution, but he had returned to the Church by about the time he wrote the story.

61. Longchamps, *Mémoires d’une religieuse*; Bourges, *Crépuscule des dieux*; Rodenbach, *Le Carillonneur*; Pfeil, *Der Wilde*. For the first three references, I am indebted to Ponton, *La Religieuse*, p. 26.

62. Abelard, *Historia* (for their subsequent history, see Owen, *Noble Lovers*, p. 18); Marguerite of Navarre, *Heptameron*, 2d day, tale 19.

63. To leave the West for a moment, we might also consider in this group the Tibetan drama *Snang-sa*, where the only cure for a father’s and son’s incestuous rivalry for the same woman is that they both become celibate monks (Paul, *Tibetan Symbolic World*). In the Chinese *Dream of the Red Chamber*, one of the characters makes love to a nun on the evening of his sister’s funeral. (The sister supposedly had had incestuous relations with her father-in-law.) According to Lucien Miller (*Masks of Fiction*, p. 229), this “is indicative of the sexual significance of both [the character] himself and his sister.”

64. I take the phrase “cult of fraternity” from Sandell, “‘A very poetic circumstance,’” chap. 2. Durbach, “Geschwister-Komplex,” pp. 61–63, also focuses on sibling love in the romantic era. Rank, *Inzest-Motiv* anticipates Durbach’s category “sibling complex” and gives several of Durbach’s examples. All three works list nineteenth-century writers who were concerned with the love of one sibling for another or who loved their own siblings. Other

examples are not hard to find. Benjamin Disraeli writes, “Had I found . . . a sister, all might have been changed. . . . But this blessing, which I have ever considered the choicest boon of nature, was denied me” (*Contarini Fleming*, pt. 1, chap. 1; cf. pt. 1, chap. 7). And Thomas De Quincey thanks providence “that my infant feelings were moulded by the gentlest of sisters” (*Autobiographical Sketches*, chap. 1, quoted by Murray in his explanatory notes to *Pierre*, pp. 433–34). In *Origin* (p. 102), Engels reports a letter from Marx that says, arguing against what Marx took to be Wagner’s views, “In primitive times, the sister was the wife, and that was moral.”

65. In *Sorrows of Young Werther* and *Elective Affinities*, Goethe expresses “a strong belief in the existence of some law of male and female friendship and kinship higher than our actual marriage would in every case now imply” (Dixon, *Spiritual Wives*, p. 361). Thus Goethe’s Lotte says that “it seems to me that these things are related to each other not in the blood, so to speak, so much as in the spirit” (Goethe, *Elective Affinities*; translated in Dixon, *Spiritual Wives*, p. 365).

66. This is Mrs. Alving’s remark in Ibsen, *Ghosts*, Act 2. She is considering whether to allow a legal marriage between Oswald Alving, her son, and his beloved Regina Engström. Unbeknownst to the couple, Regina is the illegitimate daughter of Oswald’s dead father.

67. Smith and Lindeman, *Democratic Way of Life*, p. 33.

68. McWilliams, *Fraternity*, p. 1.

69. For Plato’s view, see *Republic*, 414c–15d.

70. “Français, encore un effort si vous voulez être républicains,” in *Philosophie dans le boudoir*, pp. 179–245.

71. For Augustine, see *City of God*, 15.16.1.

72. Sade, *Philosophie dans le boudoir*, pp. 221–22. On incest and the revolutionary ideals of Mirabeau and Shelley, see Jones, *Hamlet*, pp. 89–102.

73. For discussions of incest in the eighteenth century, see Benrekassa, “Loi naturelle,” and Aldridge, “Meaning of Incest.” For Montesquieu, see his “Histoire d’Aphéridon et d’Astarte” in Letter 68 of *Lettres persanes*. The argument that incest is politically necessary to a truly fraternal government runs counter to the moralistic impulse to base republican governments on the historical model of Rome; incest has, since at least Gibbon’s *Decline and Fall*, been singled out as a cause of republican decline. For a modern-day version of the argument, see Fowler, “Incest Regulations,” esp. chap. 3.

74. See Diderot’s *La Religieuse* and other texts discussed in Ponton, *La Religieuse*.

75. The central scene of the *Dialogues* involves a sister’s decision to become a Sister against the will of her brother; the last scene depicts a series of triumphantly sacrificial decapitations of the Carmelite Sisters, with the last to lose her head being the sister. On monachism and the revolution more generally, see Estève, “Théâtre.”

76. Coleridge, letters of September 20 and October 14; in Robert Southey, *Life and Correspondence*, 1:219–27.

77. Coleridge, *Notebooks*, no. 1637 (November 1803). In his remarks about William Paley’s chapter on incest (Paley, *Principles*, bk. 3, chap. 5), Coleridge writes: “Brotherly & Sisterly Love . . . The Existence of strong Affection to one of the other sex, greatly modified by the difference of Sex, made more tender, graceful, soothing, consolatory, yet still remaining perfectly pure,

would be a glorious fact for human Nature, if the Instances were only here and there; but being, as it is, only not universal, it is a glorious fact of human Nature—the object therefore of religious Veneration to all that love their fellow men or honor themselves” (*Notebooks*, no. 1637). Coleridge adapted this argument in his interpretation of Shakespeare’s *Romeo and Juliet* (*Lectures and Notes*, ed. Ashe, pp. 110–13).

78. In much the same restrictive vein, Lord Byron wrote to his beloved sister Augusta: “I have never ceased nor can cease to feel that perfect and boundless attachment which bounds and binds me to you—which renders me utterly incapable of *real* love for any other human being—for what could they be to me after you?” (*Selected Works*, p. 35).

79. Shelley’s *Revolt of Islam* is, in part, an attempt to revive these ideas in the sphere of poetry.

80. Coleridge, *Notebooks*, no. 1637.

81. John Dryden, *Don Sebastian*, Act V, pp. 128–29.

82. Coleridge, *The Friend*, no. 16, and *Biographia Literaria*. Cf. Coleridge’s question, “Is there not a sex in souls?” (letter of 1811 to Crabb Robinson; quoted in *Lectures and Notes*, ed. Ashe, p. 114n).

83. Coleridge, Letter to Francis Wrangham, September 26, 1794, in *Letters*. 84. P. 238.

85. *Politics*, 2.1.12–13.

86. Just as in some tribes “the contrast between man and not-man provides an analogy for the contrast between society and the outsider” (Douglas, *Implicit Meanings*, p. 289; cf. Needham, *Primordial Characters*, p. 5), so in some universalist groups or subgroups, such as the sixteenth-century English Family of Love, “whosoever is not of their sect they account him as a beast that hath no soul” (Rogers, *Horrible Secte*, sig. I.vii). On the Family of Love, see Milward, *Religious Controversies*. On universalism and dehumanization, see below, pp. 184–89.

87. In focusing here on the “family” and the “species,” I overlook the “tribe” as a mediating classification. As marriage within the family is prohibited, so marriage within the tribe—for the Jews, say, marriage within one of the twelve tribes of Israel—is enjoined.

88. Westermarck’s “law of similarity” has it that we animals tend to mate with those like ourselves; we shy away from sexual intercourse outside the species, or from bestiality. His “law of dissimilarity,” however, has it that we tend to mate with those unlike ourselves; we shy away from sexual intercourse inside the family, or from incest. See his *Human Marriage* (1894), chap. 13, and (1922), 2:37–47.

89. Quoted in Teppe, *Chamfort*, p. 53. This 1793 remark about Jacobin ethics led to Chamfort’s arrest.

90. Chamfort said: “The fraternity of such people is the fraternity of Cain and Abel” (quoted in *ibid.*, *loc. cit.*). Connolly (*Unquiet Grave*, p. 78) suggests that “the complexity of Chamfort’s character would seem to be due to his temperament as a love-child; he transmuted his passionate love for his mother into a general desire for affection.”

91. Paine, *The Rights of Man*, in *Writings*, 2:304–5.

92. Smith and Lindeman, *Democratic Way*, p. 19.

93. See Noyes’s letter of January 15, 1837, to David Harrison; quoted in Dixon, *Spiritual Wives*, 2:55–56.

94. *Bible Communism*, p. 53. Cf. Noyes's monograph on eugenics, "An Essay on Scientific Propagation."

95. *Bible Communism*, p. 27. Noyes also says: "The sons and daughters of God, must have even a stronger sense of blood-relationship than ordinary brothers and sisters. They live as children with their Father forever, and the paramount affection of the household is . . . brotherly love. . . . A brother may love ten sisters, or a sister ten brothers, according to the customs of the world. The exclusiveness of marriage does not enter the family circle. But heaven is a family circle; and . . . brotherly love . . . takes the place of supremacy which the matrimonial affection occupies in this world." (*Bible Communism*; quoted in Dalke, "Incest in Nineteenth Century American Fiction," p. 88.)

96. Ellis, *Free Love*, pp. 187–88. For other relevant references to Noyes's own writings, see Kern, *Ordered Love*.

97. For the community, see Lippard, preface to *Quaker City*, p. 2. On the Brotherhood of Union, see Fiedler, introduction to *Quaker City*, p. viii. Fiedler notes that the ménage in Lippard's book "seems all siblings and no parents" (introduction to *Quaker City*, p. xxx).

98. For the romantic topos, see Dryden, "American Novelists"; See, "Kinship of Metaphor"; and Thomas, "Writers' Procreative Urge in *Pierre*." Damon, "Pierre the Ambiguous," puts *Pierre* squarely in the group of literary works about incest; Mogan, "*Pierre* and *Manfred*," p. 231, discusses the incestuous crime of Byron's magian hero in relationship to *Pierre*.

99. Melville, *Pierre*, p. 33. References to *Pierre* are from the edition by Murray with an afterword by Thompson.

100. Watkins, "Melville's Plotinus Plinlimmon," pp. 46–47, focuses on the religious aspect of the incestuous relationship between Pierre and Mary.

101. Melville, *Pierre*, pp. 37, 58.

102. *Ibid.*, pp. 232, 141.

103. Melville's Billy Budd is "a foundling" who, when asked, "Who was your father?," has to answer, "God knows, Sir" (*Billy Budd*, p. 298). Budd's "entire family was practically invested in himself" (p. 297). For the reference to Ishmael, by which name the narrator of *Moby Dick* calls himself, see Melville, *Pierre*, p. 116.

104. *Pierre*, p. 310.

105. *Pierre*, pp. 178, 171.

106. *Ibid.*, p. 171.

107. *Ibid.*, p. 304.

108. *Ibid.*, pp. 304–5. Cf the reference to a utopian "new Canaan" or "Circassia" in *Pierre*, pp. 55–56.

109. *Pierre*, pp. 56–57, 318–19.

110. For this etymology of "Isabella" and its cognate "Elizabeth," see Gesenius, *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, p. 45.

111. For his "gospelizing," see *Pierre*, pp. 304–5, 56–57, 318, 333.

112. *Ibid.*, p. 388.

113. *Ibid.*, p. 342.

114. The same theme appears in Pierre's relationship to Lucy, who, before Pierre met Isabel, was to have become his wife. Lucy becomes convinced that she has been called "to do a wonderful office" toward Pierre. Thinking him to be the complete incarnation of *all* her family—her "brother and mother . . .

and all the universe”—Lucy comes to the Church of the Apostles to serve Pierre as a nunlike cousin (*Pierre*, pp. 350, 351, 353, 364). She is both Cousin and cousin to him, just as Isabel is both sibling and Sibling.

115. Murray, explanatory notes to *Pierre*, p. 491, remarks that Bayle, in his *Dictionary*, reports that Mohammed, though he forbade incest to his followers, allowed it to himself by a special privilege.

116. *Pierre*, p. 186.

117. *Ibid.*, p. 403.

118. *Ibid.*, p. 341.

119. Heraclitus, frag. 60, my translation.

120. For Nero's incest with his mother, see Tacitus, *Annales*, 14.1, p. 199. Since the publication of Wilson's *What Happens in Hamlet?*, it has been critical custom to say that “nunnery” in *Hamlet* must mean “brothel.” The opposing view—that “nunnery” means “nunnery”—is presented in a long note by Harold Jenkins in his edition of *Hamlet*, pp. 493–96.

121. The topos of the love affair between a nun and a friar that begins inside a convent informs the central scene of *Measure for Measure* (where a player-friar is attracted to a novice nun). It should be distinguished both from the topos of the love affair that begins before the lover enters the convent (Chateaubriand's *René*) and from that of the love affair that begins after the lover leaves the convent (Schiller's *Bride of Messina*). For more examples, see Ponton, *La Religieuse*, pp. 28–33.

Chapter One

1. Lever, in the Introduction to *MM*, p. lxxxiv, says Reformation thinkers regarded it as “the first of the divine commandments.”

2. For Plato, see *Republic*, 507; for Aristotle, see *Politics*, trans. Rackham, 1258. On the identification of natural and economic offspring in *The Merchant of Venice*, see Shell, *Money*, chap. 3, and in *Oedipus the Tyrant*, see Shell, *Economy*, chap. 3.

3. Compare 2H4 3.2.229–30: “We owe God a death.” “Death” was pronounced like “debt.”

4. See, e.g., Nicholas of Cusa, *De ludo globi*.

5. See Exod. 20:14; Lev. 18:6–18, 20:10; Deut. 27:20. In Genesis, incest as defined in Leviticus and Exodus is practiced by the patriarchs: e.g., Abraham marries his paternal halfsister (Gen. 20:12) and Jacob marries two sisters (Gen. 29:21–30). Some rabbinic theory explains such quasi-incestuous marriages by saying that the patriarchs were subject only to the Noachite law (Sanhedrin 58a–b, in I. Epstein, ed., *Talmud*; Maimonides, *Mishna Torah*, Melkaim 9.5, in Maimonides, *Werke*. Cf. M. Greenberg, “Incest”). For the extraordinary view that, before the Flood, “those hideous instances of incest had not yet happened,” see Luther's commentary on Gen. 6.1, 2 (Luther, *Lectures on Genesis*, in *LW* 2:10–11). For a historical and anthropological explanation of the patriarchs' incest, see the discussion of the Hurrian fratriarchy in the Conclusion, below.

6. See Edmund's speech in LR 1.2.1–22 and the remark in John Webster's *The Devil's Law Case* (4.2.246–52) that “though our civil law makes difference / 'Tween the base, and the legitimate, / Compassionate Nature makes them equal; / Nay, she many times prefers them.”