

65. Crosse, *Lover*, sec. 11.

66. Often Elizabeth tried to transform the injunction of nature in general (that one should reproduce) into a command of a more or less individual nature of her own (that she should not marry). Thus Salignac reports that Elizabeth said to the French ambassador, “When I think of marriage it is as though my heart were being dragged out of my vitals, so much am I opposed to marriage by nature” (Chamberlain, *Sayings of Queen Elizabeth*, pp. 61, 68).

67. Chalmers, *Apology*, pp. 404–5.

68. For overviews of similarities between Vincentio and James I considered by the critics, see Goldberg, *James I*, pp. 231–39, and Levin, *New Readings*, esp. pp. 187–88. Levin claims that there is no real evidence that *Basilicon Doron* was an actual source of *Measure for Measure*; see his similar questioning of previous critics’ views on connections between Queen Elizabeth and *Measure for Measure* (Levin, *New Readings*, p. 192).

69. Bennet, *MM as Royal Entertainment*, p. 98.

70. Baker, *Chronicle*, p. 155. As Bennet (*MM as Royal Entertainment*, p. 180, n. 39) points out, “James’s fondness for young men is sufficiently notorious.”

71. James, *Political Works*, pp. 272, 24; cited by Goldberg, *James I*, pp. 141, 142; cf. Tennenhouse, “Representing Power,” p. 153.

72. Craigie, in note to his edition of *Basilicon Doron*, 2: 208.

73. Saintsbury, *Short History*, p. 323.

Chapter Five

1. For the Platonic formula “Both are two but each is one,” see Plato, *Theaetetus*, 185; *idem*, *Hippias Major*, 300; and Shell, *Money*, chap. 3.

2. Peterkiewicz, *Third Adam*, p. 209. “In the world of the carnival,” writes Bakhtin, “all hierarchies are cancelled. All castes and ages are equal. During the fire festival a young boy blows out his father’s candle, crying out . . . ‘Death to your father, sir!’” (Bakhtin, *Rabelais*, p. 251). During such festivals or masked balls every person can pass for any other. Not only can a son pass for his father or a father for his son—resulting in liberty of the kind that Goethe witnessed in the celebration of the Saturnalia at Rome (Goethe, “Roman Carnival,” p. 446)—but one’s sister can pass for a woman who is not one’s kin, resulting in incest.

3. As Empson suggests in “Sense in *MM*.”

4. Lupton’s work was published in 1581; for Augustine’s version, see chapter 4, above. Lascelles, *Shakespeare’s MM*, p. 6, points out that John Donne refers to Augustine’s version in his *Bithanatos* (1648), p. 127.

5. Aristotle, *Politics*, 1258b. See Shell, *Economy*, esp. pp. 94–95. Cf. *sitos* and *faenus*, which have the same financial and biological meanings as *tokos*. On the same analogy in *The Merchant of Venice*, see Shell, *Money*, chap. 3; and in *Measure for Measure*, G. K. Hunter, “Six Notes,” p. 168, and Pearlman, “Shakespeare, Freud, and the Two Usuries.”

6. For this and the Protestant controversy, mentioned above, about whether interest is contrary to nature, see Nelson, *Idea of Usury*, and Shell, *Money*, chap. 3.

7. Members of religious orders often learn a secret sign language. In fact, certain orders share Pompey’s conflation of “woman” with “trout” (Barakat, *Cistercian Sign Language*, p. 26).

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.

9. Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, line 437. On the significance of the phrase “moneychanger of dead bodies,” see Thomson’s commentary on *Agamemnon*, ll. 438–44, in his edition of the *Oresteia*.

10. Cf. Seneca, *Epistulae morales*, 91.16: *pares morimur* (we die equal).

11. On Herodotus’ and Plato’s story of Gyges as a political and economic allegory, see Shell, *Economy*, chap. 1.

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

13. Cf. Lever’s introduction to his edition of *MM*, p. xlv.

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.

17. Aristotle, *Poetics*, 14.2. Cf. *Politics*, 5.8.5 (1339b32).

18. Luther, *Secular Authority*, esp. pp. 400–402.

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

20. Coleridge, *Lectures and Notes*, p. 21.

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.”

23. On the hypothesis of the “free gift,” see my *Money, Language, and Thought*, chap. 2.

24. On the theme of re-membling in *Measure for Measure*, see Bache, “*Measure for Measure*” as *Dialectical Art*.

Chapter Six

1. Garonne, *Sainte Claire*, p. 80. Translation mine.

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