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Joe Makuc

7/19/2018

Dr. Throop and Dr. Kozusko

Summer Fellows

Complete Bosoms, Incomplete Men: Reading Abstinence in *Measure for Measure*

No, holy Father, throw away that thought;
Believe not that the dribbling dart of love
Can pierce a complete bosom.¹

As one might gather from the above quote, spoken by Duke Vincenzo of Vienna in Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure*, its speaker takes pride in sexual restraint; inaccurate ("dribbling") love cannot penetrate a perfect ("complete") body like his.² The Duke asserts his sexual abstinence, or restraint from engaging in sexual activity, as a valuable attribute. But his abstinence is not intrinsically valuable—rather, as the first line hints, the Duke is only speaking about his sexuality to maintain the reputation that this abstinence affords. Indeed, the Duke's next three lines reassure the friar that the Duke has a purpose more mature "than the aims and ends / Of burning youth."³ In this context, the Duke's abstinence is but part of his crafted persona as one who has "ever loved the life removed" from foolish ventures.⁴ The Duke's sexuality has moral and political valences for his rule, valences that might be profitably explored by considering the parallels between the character of Shakespeare's Duke and the public persona of a real contemporary like King James I.⁵

¹ William Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure*, in Ivo Kamps and Karen Raber, ed., *Measure for Measure: Texts and Contexts* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2004), 1.3.1-3.

² Ivo Kamps and Karen Raber, ed., *Measure for Measure: Texts and Contexts* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2004), 29.

³ Shakespeare, *Measure*, 1.3-6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 7-10.

⁵ Kamps and Raber, 126.

But sexual abstinence is not just relevant for considering the Duke's rule in *Measure*. Indeed, as recent discourse on Abstinence-Only-Until-Marriage (AOUM) sex education indicates, sexual abstinence is an attractive topic. Medical and putative religious benefits drive the popularization of AOUM despite its inefficacy.⁶ While Shakespeare's Duke did not have all of AOUM's concerns in mind, both AOUM proponents and the Duke agree that abstinence holds a political charge.

Indeed, against the backdrop of recent *Measure* productions, links between the Duke and modern politics also loom large. As Declan Donellan argues, *Measure* "is about control and about how one of the ways that we are controlled, by not only governments, but by churches and other institutions that seek to control us, is shame."⁷ Linking *Measure for Measure*'s composition to its present production can help illuminate the links between political control and abstinence, two hot-button issues today.

The historical study of abstinence in *Measure for Measure* is so far still nascent. While *Measure* draws considerable attention from literary critics and cultural historians, scholars have most often problematized abstinence in relation to protagonist Isabella, remaining relatively silent on abstinence's worth for the Duke and Angelo. A more rigorous study of the Duke and Angelo, locating these characters and Isabella against the historical backdrop of *Measure*'s early sixteenth-century composition, is necessary to interpret their significance in the play. Beyond representing their background, however, these characters

⁶ Lynn Koller, "Abstinence Mission at Odds with Evidence: Sticky Shame and Forbidden Pleasures," *CREGS* (2011), <https://commons.erau.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1009&context=db-humanities>, 1-6.

⁷ Mark Lawson, "The power of shame: why *Measure for Measure* is more relevant than ever," *The Guardian*, October 27, 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2015/oct/27/measure-for-measure-shakespeare-young-vic-globe>.

problematize that background, challenging early modern English conceptions of gender and morality. Hence, this study proposes to engage Isabella, Angelo and the Duke of *Measure for Measure* as characters that both reflect and challenge Shakespearean anxieties about sexual abstinence.

This study will primarily focus on *Measure for Measure*, using other primary sources to gain insight on the text. Using *Measure for Measure's* 1603 composition as a starting date, this study most directly focuses on 1583-1623 as historical context—a rough backdrop for the play.⁸ Other primary sources to contextualize *Measure*, such as source material for the play like “The Story of Epitia,” date to this period.⁹ Secondary sources are all recent to within three decades of this study, spanning a range from those sources discussing period religion (“Why Are Nuns Funny?,” by Frances E. Dolan) to social histories of London (*London: a Social and Cultural History, 1550-1750*, by Robert O. Bucholz and Joseph P. Ward). These secondary sources give further context for 1583-1623, particularly with an eye toward *Measure for Measure's* circumstances: Shakespeare’s authorship in 1603 London. This study’s secondary and primary sources help locate Isabella, Angelo, and the Duke relative to this time frame.

This study also takes several historiographic stances relative to issues in early modern English history. For the purposes of this study, “the Latin Church” refers to dominant church practice putatively headed by a Pope before the Council of Trent, while “Roman Catholicism” refers to such church practice putatively headed by a Pope post-

⁸ Ivo Kamps and Karen Raber, ed., *Measure for Measure: Texts and Contexts* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2004), 119.

⁹ G.B. Giraldi Cinthio, “The Story of Epitia,” ed. Geoffrey Bullough, in Ivo Kamps and Karen Raber, ed., *Measure for Measure: Texts and Contexts* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2004), 228.

Council of Trent. This distinction emphasizes that the “Catholics” known by early modern English audiences were not stable targets, but just as much of a product of Reformation and Counter-Reformation efforts as English Protestants. Additionally, this study acknowledges the validity of multiple interpretations regarding the same evidence, taking an explicitly-poststructuralist stance. This study also contends, however, that interpretation is not a zero-sum game, and that multiple interpretations of the same evidence may be sustained at once. For example, Isabella makes a claim laden with both religious and sexual valences in *Measure* II.4:

Th’ impression of keen whips I’d wear as rubies,
And strip myself down to death as to a bed
That longing have been sick for, ere I’d yield
My body up to shame.¹⁰

On a simple religious reading, II.4 shows Isabella demonstrating her loyalty to God by wearing “th’ impression of keen whips” and “stripping herself down to death as to a bed” rather than commit the sin of fornication; on a simple sexual reading, the same lines indicate a masochistic desire for torture. Rather than deny the potential for either a sexual or religious interpretation, this study maintains that Shakespeare (and his audiences) may have had both interpretations in mind at these lines. This study will seek to cross-reference the potentiality for both interpretations against period documents like *The Rape of Lucrece*.

Additionally, in reading three characters, this study is inspired by Mario Digangi’s *Sexual Types: Embodiment, Agency, and Dramatic Character from Shakespeare to Shirley*. Digangi coins the concept of a *sexual type*, or “recognizable figures of literary imagination

¹⁰ William Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure*, in Ivo Kamps and Karen Raber, ed., *Measure for Measure: Texts and Contexts* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 2004), II.4.100-104.

and social fantasy” that are defined in part by a sexual component, such as the specter of the “sodomite.”¹¹ Digangi argues that sexual types “consistently function to reveal conflicts of sexual agency as symptomatic of conflicts over gender, social, economic, or political agency.”¹² Sexual types enter Shakespearean drama like *Measure for Measure* as period tropes that display the personal as political. While Digangi reads sexual types as stereotypes of hierarchical transgression, understanding sexual types as inherently vilifying, Digangi also allows that “through the social, verbal, and corporeal interactions that constitute drama, characters are able to exercise an agency that might exceed the parameters established by the dominant type.”¹³ Characters in *Measure for Measure* are not married to the sexual types they might evoke in names like “Mistress Overdone.”¹⁴ Indeed, while this study is inspired by Digangi’s work on sexual types, this study argues that its central characters—Isabella, Angelo, and the Duke—each defy mere reduction to a type. This study maintains that these characters would strike early modern audiences as compelling for their inconsistencies and quirks just as today’s audiences find these characters problematic.

Before entering the bulk of the literature review, this study will provide a brief synopsis of *Measure for Measure* for reference. Vincenzo, the Duke of Vienna, “leaves” Vienna to Angelo, one of his council, to rule in the Duke’s stead while the Duke is abroad. This allows the Duke to disguise himself as a friar and test Angelo while Angelo carries out laws the Duke hasn’t fulfilled. Angelo sentences Claudio to death for fornication with a

¹¹ Mario Digangi, *Sexual Types: Embodiment, Agency, and Dramatic Character from Shakespeare to Shirley* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 5.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*, 6-7.

¹⁴ Shakespeare, *Measure*, *Dramatis Personae*.

woman, Juliet, although Claudio and Juliet claim they have been clandestinely married. Claudio convinces Isabella (Claudio's sister) to delay entering the city's Poor Clares convent and make an appeal on his behalf to Angelo. Attracted to Isabella, Angelo attempts to coerce Isabella to having sex with him for Claudio's life; Isabella initially refuses, but the disguised Duke guides her to Angelo's shunned betrothed, Mariana, who takes Isabella's place in a "bed trick." Angelo attempts to execute Claudio anyway, which the Duke covertly thwarts; the Duke "returns" to Vienna and exposes Angelo's corruption. The play ends with the Duke forcing Angelo and Lucio to marry, while asking for Isabella to marry the Duke.¹⁵

This study is particularly interested, then, in how Isabella, Angelo and the Duke challenge and support early modern English ideas of abstinence during the span of *Measure for Measure*. This study tentatively argues that the relationship between these characters and early modern English abstinence discourse is a fraught one: *Measure* was problematic in 1603 because Isabella's radical abstinence coheres to her sympathetic ideals as a reformer, and Angelo and the Duke's use of abstinence for their reputations' sakes coheres to corruption and awkwardness, respectively. While this study is far from complete, it hopes to further develop this thesis in dialogue with *Measure for Measure* and the annotated bibliography below, as well as modern productions of *Measure for Measure*.

¹⁵ Shakespeare, *Measure*.

Bibliography (divided by topics)

Introduction

Lynn Koller, "Abstinence Mission at Odds with Evidence: Sticky Shame and Forbidden Pleasures," *CREGS* (2011),
<https://commons.erau.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1009&context=db-humanities>, 1-6.

Mark Lawson, "The power of shame: why *Measure for Measure* is more relevant than ever," *The Guardian*, October 27, 2015,
<https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2015/oct/27/measure-for-measure-shakespeare-young-vic-globe>.

London

Bucholz, Robert O. and Joseph P. Ward. *London: A Social and Cultural History, 1550-1750*. Cambridge University Press: New York, 2012.

Bucholz and Ward represent the latest historical monograph on London during my period of study. Bucholz and Ward argue that their period saw the transformation of a "sleepy port and court town" into an "imperial capital" and that London's steady influx of immigrants during their period assimilated and built it into that imperial capital, developing a cosmopolitan and democratic worldview. The authors use both a macroscopic and a microscopic approach, reading both statistics (such as the number of welfare recipients) and individual documents (such as the diary of Samuel Pepys) to argue their case. In their focus on social relations, especially between classes (e.g., the "Great Chain of Being") and between Londoners from 1560-1640, Bucholz and Ward are helpful in understanding *Measure for Measure's* background. In my final project, Bucholz and Ward will be my principal source on London's history in relationship to *Measure for Measure's* social references and contexts.

Gowing, Laura. "The freedom of the streets': women and social space, 1560-1640." In *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London*. Ed. Jenner, Mark S.R. and Paul Griffiths. New York: Manchester University Press, 2000.

Gowing studies the construction of gender through space, arguing that the femininity and urbanity were reinvented in dialogue during the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries. Gowing principally reads court records, diaries, and other textual primary sources to support her conclusions, building on a body of feminist urban historiography. Gowing is helpful in understanding how public shaming was gendered and how sexuality was mapped onto the city, two topics of particular importance to *Measure for Measure*. I intend to use Gowing for my final project's reading of Isabella's shaming and the Duke and Angelo's use of the bed as a sexual space.

Porter, Roy. "Tudor London." In *London, a Social History*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1995.

Porter's work is a history of London that seeks to understand London's 1995 urban pathology in dialogue with London's storied past. Particularly relevant, Porter's chapter "Tudor London" discusses the fate of Latin church property, such as the house of London Clares. Porter reads a varied pool of primary sources, and several statistics (such as the relative number of poorhouses), to support his conclusions. However, Porter provides mostly a broad survey of period trends (such as the Reformation's economic impact), and the lack of footnotes makes this source less helpful. Nevertheless, Porter's discussion of political and economic trends particular to London from the medieval period through the early 1600s helps my research, because this provides some context for my final project's reading of London politics and culture in the putatively-Viennese setting of *Measure for Measure*.

Sheppard, Francis. *London: a History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Sheppard provides a history of London that argues London has played a key national and international role in world affairs. Sheppard's Part III, "The Genesis of Modern London: 1530-1700," is particularly useful, discussing patterns of religiosity in the city and its social stratification. Sheppard's methodology focuses on statistics, maps, and secondary sources. In my final project, Sheppard may be useful for understanding the religious significance of the Duke and Isabella to Londoners.

Sexuality

Baines, Barbara J. "Effacing Rape in Early Modern Representation." *English Literary History* 65, no. 1 (1998): Johns Hopkins University Press, 69-98.

Baines argues that early modern conceptions of rape conflated bodily "defilement," or the act of rape, with a corresponding mental defilement; because early modern law and medicine equated consent with pleasure and said pleasure was necessary for pregnancy, rape was both diminished and held to be the raped woman's fault. Baines reads early modern legal texts such as *The Lawes Resolutions*, Joan Cadden's work on medicine and Shakespeare's *The Rape of Lucrece*. In my final project, I hope to use Baines for considering the extreme conflation of mental and physical chastity that Isabella of *Measure for Measure* makes against the legal thought that mental and physical chastity were both lost if rape led to conception. In particular, Baines will be useful in reading the way abstinence is gendered as a commodity to be taken by men (though putatively a pre-marital practice of women), although this will be problematized by the sympathetic positioning of Isabella in *Measure* as a character.

Bernau, Anke. "Saint, Witch, Man, Maid or Whore?' Joan of Arc and Writing History." In Bernau, Anke, Ruth Evans and Sarah Salih, ed. *Medieval Virginites*. 2003: University of Wales Press, Cardiff.

Bernau argues that Joan of Arc's contested status as a virgin carried different significations throughout early modern historiography. Bernau is most concerned with reading early modern historiographers, such as Raphael Holinshed, and contending that writing about virginity is also a discussion of historiography's problems. In my final project, I hope to use Bernau for considering the multivalent uses of virginity in early modern writing.

Bromley, James M. *Intimacy and Sexuality in the Age of Shakespeare*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Bromley argues that early modern texts sustained a counterdiscourse to heteronormativity through alternative forms of intimacy, such as short-term or non-normative forms of intimacy. Bromley discusses textual narratives such as *Measure for Measure*, including a useful section in Chapter 4 focusing on Isabella's monastic ideals. While Bromley is not entirely up-to-date (regrettably coming out within one year of Natasha Korda's trenchant *Labors Lost*), his overall discussion of Isabella is worth engaging in my final project, as well as his views on abstinence and queerness.

Clark, Anna. *Desire: A History of European Sexuality*. London: Routledge Ltd, 2012. doi:10.4324/9780203723678.

Crawford, Katherine. *European Sexualities, 1400-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Digangi, Mario. *Sexual Types: Embodiment, Agency, and Dramatic Character from Shakespeare to Shirley*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.

Ferguson, Margaret W. "Foreword." In *Menacing Virgins: Representing Virginity in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999.

Ferguson's piece discusses the ways virginity is used today and in the past. Ferguson argues that virginity can be separated from chastity, and that the instability of these terms begs further analysis. Ferguson cites anecdotes, Jacques Derrida, and Christine de Pizan to evidence her argument. Ferguson is useful for considering the gendering of virginity (e.g., the difference between male and female virginity) and the distinction between chastity and virginity during the early modern period. In my final project, I hope to use Ferguson for my argument that early-1600s discourse considered female virginity a threatening extreme.

Fouassier, Frédérique. "Bed-trick and forced marriages: Shakespeare's distortion of romantic comedy motifs in *Measure for Measure*." *Sillages critiques* 15: 2013. <http://journals.openedition.org/sillagescritiques/2584>

Gil, Daniel Juan. *Before Intimacy: A Social Sexuality in Early Modern England*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.

Gowing, Laura. "Women's Bodies and the Making of Sex in Seventeenth-Century England." *Signs* 37, no. 4 (2012): 813-22. doi:10.1086/664469.

Hackett, Helen. *Virgin Mother/Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary*. Basingstoke, England: Macmillan Press, 1995.

Johnson, Bonnie Lander. *Chastity in Early Stuart Literature and Culture*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Kelly, Kathleen Coyne and Marina Leslie. "Introduction: the Epistemology of Virginity." *Menacing Virgins: Representing Virginity in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999.

Coyne and Leslie discuss how virginity has been "central to the construction of female identity," arguing that virginity has been coded female in medieval and Renaissance European depictions. In Coyne and Leslie's view, though virginity and chastity are unstable, these concepts nevertheless morph as virginity moves from a lifelong state to one stage on the path to growth. Coyne and Leslie read a number of primary sources, ranging from *All's Well that Ends Wells* (Shakespeare) to the anonymous twelfth-century treatise *Holy Maidenhood*, and locate their scholarship in dialogue with Simone de Beauvoir and feminist historiography on the nineteenth century. In my final product, I hope to use Coyne and Leslie's piece to discuss the historiographical problems involved with virginity and chastity, and furthermore to engage with virginity's female gendering in *Measure for Measure*.

Miller, Nancy Weitz. "Metaphor and the Mystification of Chastity in Vives's *Instruction of a Christian Woman*." In Kelly, Kathleen Coyne and Marina Leslie. *Menacing Virgins: Representing Virginity in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1999.

Miller argues that Juan Luis Vives, a sixteenth-century conduct literature author, interpellated women as both objects of male desire and active agents in inducing that desire. For Miller, this contradiction in Vives' logic is apparent when he argues for chastity as a navigation between monogamy and attracting the attention of multiple men, and exposed most readily when chastity is likened both to armor (i.e. power to defend oneself) and treasure (i.e. commodity to be won); furthermore, Vives argues that women's only responsibility is to their chastity, and that their chastity cannot be defiled without their consent. Miller mostly reads Vives' *Instruction of a Christian Woman* to support her claims. In my final product,

I hope to use Miller for reading the metaphors used by Angelo and Isabella's "warmth of virginity" (which stands in opposition to Vives' view that virginity is corrupted by male heat).

Parish, Helen L. *Clerical Celibacy in the West: C. 1100-1700*. London: Routledge Ltd, 2013. doi:10.4324/9781315572390.

Seeman, Erik R. "'It is Better to Marry than to Burn': Anglo-American Attitudes Toward Celibacy, 1600-1800." *Journal of Family History* 24, no. 4 (1999): 397-419.

Stockton, Will, and James M. Bromley. "Introduction: Figuring Early Modern Sex." In *Sex before Sex: Figuring the Act in Early Modern England*, edited by Stockton, Will and James M. Bromley, 1-23. University of Minnesota Press, 2013. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5749/j.ctt46npcq.4>.

Traub, Valerie. *Thinking Sex with the Early Moderns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015.

Leigh Ann Craig. "Space, Order, and Resistance: Recent Writings on Women and Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe." *Journal of Women's History* 19, no. 2 (2007): 178-183. <https://muse.jhu.edu/> (accessed June 18, 2018).

Weir, Alison.

Theater

Clopper, Lawrence M. *Drama, Play and Game: English Festive Culture in the Medieval and Early Modern Period*. University of Chicago: Chicago, 2001.

Diehl, Huston. *Staging Reform, Reforming the Stage: Protestantism and Popular Theater in Early Modern England*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997.

Fitzpatrick, Tim. *Playwright, Space and Place in Early Modern Performance: Shakespeare and Company*. Florence: Routledge Ltd, 2011. doi:10.4324/9781315600857.

Holland, Peter and Stephen Orgel, ed. *From Performance to Print in Shakespeare's England*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2008. doi:10.1057/9780230584549.

Lamb, Mary Ellen. *The Popular Culture of Shakespeare, Spenser and Jonson*. London: Taylor and Francis, 2008. doi:10.4324/9780203506851.

Montrose, Louis A. *The Purpose of Playing: Shakespeare and the Cultural Politics of the Elizabethan Theatre*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

Weimann, Robert and Douglas Bruster. *Shakespeare and the Power of Performance: Stage and Page in the Elizabethan Theatre*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Marriage

Bennett, Judith M. and Amy M. Froide. *Singlewomen in the European Past, 1250-1800*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999.

Capp, Bernard. "The Double Standard Revisited: Plebeian Women and Male Sexual Reputation in Early Modern England." *Past & Present*, no. 162 (1999): 70-100. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/651065>.

Donahue, Charles Jr. "The Legal Background." In Menchi, Silvana Seidel and Emlyn Eisenbach, ed. *Marriage in Europe, 1400-1800*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016.

Donahue argues that the development of the "early modern nation-state" and the work of legal scholars reflecting on classical authors, as well as the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation, informed marriage practice in the fifteenth through eighteenth centuries. Donahue reads the statistics of legal citations, as well as individual scholars and laws, to make his case. Donahue's piece will be useful in locating the law of marriage applied in *Measure for Measure* against the historical context of legal scholars writing on marriage.

Helmholz, Richard H. "The Legal Regulation of Marriage in England: From the Fifteenth Century to the 1640s." In Menchi, Silvana Seidel and Emlyn Eisenbach, ed. *Marriage in Europe, 1400-1800*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016.

Helmholz proposes that English church courts changed their rulings on marriage during the Reformation, cracking down on clandestine marriages and assigning the burden of proof to those accused of fornication. Helmholz principally reads the documents of church courts to evidence his argument. In my final project, I intend to use Helmholz to explore the historical background for coercion and clandestine marriage in *Measure for Measure*.

Jacobs, Kathryn. *Marriage Contracts from Chaucer to the Renaissance Stage*. Gainesville: UPF, 2001. Accessed June 7, 2018. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Menchi, Silvana Seidel. "Introduction." In Menchi, Silvana Seidel and Emlyn Eisenbach, ed. *Marriage in Europe, 1400-1800*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016.

Menchi argues that there were two conceptions of marriage in European social history between 1400 and 1800—the model of "disciplined marriage" promulgated by ecclesiastical and lay law, and the model of "undisciplined marriage" that belonged to lived experience. Furthermore, Menchi argues that marriage was most characterized by the freedom of consent, the danger to patriarchy represented by that reliance on consent alone, and the navigation between marital sexuality and sin. Menchi principally cites the scholars of her anthology, and uses Italian Renaissance paintings to argue her points. In my final project, I hope to use Menchi to discuss the theory of marriage in early modern Europe, particularly paying attention to the way disciplined marriage idealized marital sexuality as a weapon against sin.

Government

Brogan, Stephen. *The Royal Touch in Early Modern England: Politics, Medicine and Sin*. Boydell and Brewer, 2015. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7722/j.ctt13wzsj3.7>.

Hanawalt, Barbara A. "'Good Governance' in the Medieval and Early Modern Context." *Journal of British Studies* 37, no. 3 (1998): 246-57. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/175818>.

Helgerson, Richard. *Forms of Nationhood: the Elizabethan Writing of England*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Helgerson argues that Elizabethan writers such as Spenser and Shakespeare had a generational impetus to articulate England as a national empire. Helgerson reads both these authors and their immediate antecedents, such as late medieval authors. In discussing Shakespeare's views on nationhood, I believe Helgerson will be helpful in my final project's reading of the Duke.

McIntosh, Marjorie Keniston. *Controlling Misbehavior in England, 1370-1600*. Vol. 34. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Shrank, Cathy. *Writing the Nation in Reformation England, 1530-1580*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Shuger, Debora. *Political Theologies in Shakespeare's England: The Sacred and the State in Measure for Measure*. GB: Palgrave, 2001.

Shuger argues that that *Measure for Measure* is a play describing contrasting visions of Christian rule. Shuger is principally reading period primary sources like James I's *Basilicon Doron* and Edmund Spenser's *The Fairy Queen*. In my final project, Shuger will be useful for understanding abstinence's place in broader Christian discourse on government.

Wehrs, Donald R. "Touching Words: Embodying Ethics in Erasmus, Shakespearean Comedy, and Contemporary Theory." *Modern Philology* 104, no. 1 (2006): 1-33. doi:10.1086/510261.

Medicine

Bentley, Greg W. *Shakespeare and the New Disease: The Dramatic Function of Syphilis in Troilus and Cressida, Measure for Measure, and Timon of Athens*. Vol. 85. Peter Lang International Academic Publishers, 2012.

Green, Monica H. *Making Women's Medicine Masculine: The Rise of Male Authority in Pre-Modern Gynaecology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

- Harris, Jonathan Gil. "The Asian Flu; Or The Pathological Drama of National Economy." In *Sick Economies: Drama, Mercantilism, and Disease in Shakespeare's England*, 1-28. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt3fht2t.3>.
- Munkhoff, Richelle. "Poor Women and Parish Public Health in sixteenth-century London." *Renaissance Studies* 28, no. 4 (2014): 579-596.
- Reed, C. S. "The Codpiece: Social Fashion Or Medical Need?" *Internal Medicine Journal* 34, no. 12 (2004): 684-686.
- Ross, John J. "Shakespeare's Chancre: Did the Bard have Syphilis?" *Clinical Infectious Diseases* 40, no. 3 (2005): 399-404.
- Rousseau, G. S. "Syphilis in Shakespeare's England." *Medical History* 40, no. 4 (1996): 510-511.
- Zuckerman, Molly K. "The "Poxed" and the "Pure": A Bioarchaeological Investigation of Community and Marginalization Relative to Infection with Acquired Syphilis in Post-Medieval London." *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 28, no. 1 (2017): 91-103.

Religion

- Beckwith, Sarah. "Medieval Penance, Reformation Repentance and *Measure for Measure*." In McMullan, Gordon and David Matthews. *Reading the Medieval in Early Modern England*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Beckwith argues that *Measure for Measure* offers a counter-Reformation vision of auricular confession. According to Beckwith, the Duke's evincing of public repentance illustrates the emptiness of Reformation counters to medieval Latin church thought on penance. Beckwith principally examines church documents and engages with the scholar Debora Kuller Shuger. In my final project, I hope to use Beckwith for considering the significance of the Duke's actions under disguise as a friar, and for reading him against the context of Latin church priests.
- Dolan, Frances E. *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender, and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture*. University of Notre Dame Press: South Bend, IN, 2005.
- Whores of Babylon* examines the portrayals of Catholics in English print culture during the seventeenth century, arguing that these portrayals conjured a threat for Protestant English people through the menace of blurred gender roles. Dolan considers penal legislation, portrayals of Catholicism as feminine, and portrayals of specific Catholic women in popular culture. In my final project, I hope to use *Whores of Babylon* to consider early seventeenth-century portrayals of Catholics as background for Isabella, Angelo and the Duke in *Measure for Measure*.

---. "Why Are Nuns Funny?" *Huntington Library Quarterly* 70, no. 4 (2007): 509-35. doi:10.1525/hlq.2007.70.4.509.

"Why Are Nuns Funny" considers the cultural depictions of nuns in English seventeenth-century literature, particularly focusing on derisive Protestant portrayals of female monasticism. Dolan argues that these depictions of nuns served as a "limit case" for femininity, or as a way of reaffirming assumptions about gender and sexuality as well as ridiculing Catholicism. While Dolan mostly deals in the later part of the seventeenth century, after *Measure's* 1603 composition, she makes useful connections between women's marital vows and vows to enter the cloister in sixteenth-through-seventeenth century England, and her consideration of Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* is ancillary for reading nuns in early sixteenth-century plays like *Measure*, as I intend to do in my final project.

Smith, David L. "Catholic, Anglican, or Puritan? Edward Sackville, Fourth Earl of Dorset, and the Ambiguities of Religion in Early Stuart England." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 2. 1992: 105-24.

Zafirovski, Milan. "Protestantism and Authoritarianism: Weber's Secondary Problem." *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour* 40, no. 2 (2010): 162-189.

Gender

Capp, Bernard. "Separate Domains? Women and Authority in Early Modern England." In Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox and Steve Hindle, eds. *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996.

Fletcher, Anthony. *Gender, Sex, and Subordination in England, 1500-1800*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.

Fletcher argues that gender was created in line with patriarchy during 1500 to 1800 in England. While the period saw a crisis in patriarchy's prescription of distinct "male and female honor codes," in Fletcher's thought, Fletcher maintains that 1660 to 1800 saw the creation of "modern" masculinity and femininity in the terms of sex difference. Fletcher prominently reads ballads and drama to evidence his arguments; he argues that these sources display popular male attitudes, and may have prescribed attitudes on gender in turn. In my final project, I hope to use Fletcher for discussing patriarchy and gender as represented in popular culture contemporaneous with *Measure for Measure*.

Gowing, Laura. *Domestic Dangers: Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.

Gowing argues that sexual insults formed the practice and prescription of gender in early modern England. Gowing principally reads marriage disputes to make her case, using gender theory like Judith Butler's. In my final project, I hope to

use Gowing to understand how gendered insults (e.g., “whore”) were applied differently to women than men and thus gendered abstinence.

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Gowing argues in *Gender Relations* that gender relations maintained a relative stability throughout the early modern period, qualifying this argument by noting the locality of justifications for patriarchy and gendered motifs (like the horn of a cuckold). Gowing also notes that the seventeenth century saw an articulation of women’s perspectives. Gowing is helpful in understanding the big picture of gender vis-à-vis *Measure for Measure*’s early modern background; I intend to use *Gender Relations* to provide an overview of these relations in my final project.

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Reinke-Williams, Tim. “Manhood and Masculinity in Early Modern England.” *History Compass* 12, no. 9 (2014): 685-693.

Shepard, Alexandra. "From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentlemen? Manhood in Britain, Circa 1500–1700." *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (2005): 281-295.

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Shifrin, Susan. *Women as Sites of Culture: Women's Roles in Cultural Formation from the Renaissance to the Twentieth Century*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002.

Willen, Diane. “Women in the Public Sphere in Early Modern England: The Case of the Urban Working Poor.” In *Gendered Domains: Rethinking Public and Private in Women’s History*. Ed. Dorothy O. Helly and Susan M. Reverby. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992.

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Magedanz, Stacy. "Public justice and private mercy in Measure for Measure." *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, vol. 44, no. 2, 2004, p. 317+. *Academic OneFile*, link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/A117990147/AONE?u=coll33478&sid=AONE&xid=9bdc8eff.

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Shakespeare, William. "The Rape of Lucrece." In *The Norton Anthology*. 2nd ed. Greenblatt, Stephen et al, ed. New York: W.W Norton, 2016.