(RE)USING WOMEN: THE IMAGE DEBATE IN EARLY MODERN ALLEGORY

by

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To my parents… you are and have always been… my muses.

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ABSTRACT

(RE)USING WOMAN: THE IMAGE DEBATE IN

EARLY MODERN ALLEGORY

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This project is concerned with how, during the reign of Elizabeth I, early modern writers use the representations of certain allegorical women characters to discuss the issues central to the image debate and the need for proper interpretation. The relationship between women and images makes such a movement possible. The well-established misogynistic discourse on women lends itself well to the reconstruction of the discourse concerning images; both express a certain amount of anxiety over the outward sign – the body – and its unreliability as a conduit for moral or spiritual purity. Early modern Protestant and Catholic writers often use this system of discourse in similar ways, but to argue for different views. My focus is on how such writers employ the bodies and voices of women characters to either reinforce or redirect particular ideas

about images, and how they use allegorical texts to do so. Because allegory is a mode of expression that relies on (and is, at times, even burdened by) metaphor, and thus begs for interpretation, it becomes an ideal vehicle for articulating ideas about images and women simultaneously.

There is an established body of criticism that makes various connections among allegory, women, and images, but most of these works only elaborate on two of the three elements, often not mentioning or only superficially treating the third. For such an examination as this work accomplishes, I look to allegorical texts written by both Protestant and Catholic writers of the period, including: *The Shippe of Safegarde*, Book I of *The Faerie Queene*, *A Fig for Fortune*, and *The Transformed Metamorphosis*. Analyses of these works compose the greater part of this dissertation. Other primary resources for my project include religio-political texts dating from the 16th centuries, patristic writings, Biblical prefaces and commentaries, and information gathered from the period's annals.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

> These give content to the worshipper's conscience, and please the mind no less than a feast with peace-offering, and after it, a sweet perfumed bed, decked with quilts and curtains most fine and costly[.]
>
> Henry Ainsworth, *An Arrow against Idolatry*,1611 [1]

Henry Ainsworth's words are telling: as an early modern Protestant reformist, the language he uses to speak about the false devotion to images could as easily be employed to speak about women and allegory. In fact, Ainsworth is one among many early modern Protestant and Catholic writers who engage in the discourses concerned with eroticism, allegory, and misogyny to participate in the religious debate regarding the use of images. To many early modern thinkers, images, women, and allegory all please the mind by means of decieving or hiding the "truth" behind an alluring façade. By relying on the overlapping ideas embedded in erotic and misogynistic discourses, early modern authors of allegory partake in the image debate by utilizing female characters in the texts they create.

When literary critics, such as John N. King, Ernest B. Gilman, and Kenneth Gross, chart the sixteenth-century image debate through allegorical texts, they rightly argue that the debate can be seen in places like the House of Holiness, the

[1] This and other older texts have been orthographically altered throughout the dissertation to reflect modern English spelling where obsolete symbols have been replaced by modern letters.

Bower of Bliss, and Orgoglio's Castle in Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*.[2] These and other scholars can turn to allegorical texts when investigating the early modern religious debate over images because of allegory's distinct properties: writers construct allegorical works with the intention, for various reasons, of simultaneously hiding and revealing messages concerning sensitive social and religious issues. Important studies in the area of sixteenth-century allegory have, however, rarely offered insights into the image debate as it occurs through character representation in allegorical works, and even more rarely have they examined the role of women characters in this debate.

My own work both draws attention to and helps fill this gap in scholarship by arguing that early modern allegorists contribute to the image debate and scriptural translation by creating women characters that personify specific ideas pertaining to the debate. Writers of allegory feminize personifications of the image, the Protestant translated Bible, "truth," and "falsity" in order to produce or subvert arguments about images. In allegory, woman is both image and text, both tenor and vehicle, and therefore, while I focus on their utterances, I also discuss how their acts, gestures, and physical bodies contribute to the meaning(s) given to their voices. Specifically, I analyze those women characters that are portrayed as physically alluring or dangerous – those that create desire in and entice male subjects – and appear in allegorical literature written by both Protestant and Catholic authors in the period marked by Elizabeth I's reign. Such women characters offer insights into early modern arguments for changing

[2] See King's analysis of these three locations in his *Spenser's Poetry and the Reformation Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1990) and Gross's elaboration on Orgoglio's castle in Chapter 3 of his *Spenserian Poetics: Idolatry, Iconoclasm, and Magic* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1985).

particular cultural or religious beliefs, whereas women characters that are portrayed as virginal or chaste offer insights into arguments for stabilizing already existing beliefs. Many of these latter women characters bring order to a chaotic situation (such as Spenser's Una and Tourneur's Eliza), illustrating that the ideologies they represent will have the same cultural effect. Similarly, those erotically charged women characters that are may ultimately be destroyed (such as Spenser's Duessa and Copley's Revenge), showing that the ideologies they are meant to represent should also be destroyed. Women allegorical figures are not, however, static images; they can embody both gendered subject and allegorical object or personification, and thus, can be doubly enticing to the desiring male subject. Ultimately, women characters offer writers of allegory an effective venue by which to participate in the image debate because women are already connected to images through an established relationship among misogynistic discourse, erotic discourse, and the discourse concerning images.

One of the dangers commonly attributed to both images and women is that both are desirable (both as an object of desire and as a creator of desire in the viewing subject) because of, in part, the traditional emphasis on the highly visual corporeal nature of each. Relying primarily on the external nature of either to reveal the "truth" of its internal nature can lead the layman to trust in and worship the outward sign, and thus, to initiate his own spiritual and physical degeneration. In fact, both Catholic and Protestant writers liken religious idolatry to spiritual adultery; erotic discourse is also the discourse of idol worship. Hence, Tertullian, in his third-century treatise "On Modesty," can effectively place these words in the mouth of Idolatry: "'Many and

many a time do I, Idolatry, subminister occasion to Adultery; witness my groves and my mounts, and the living waters, and the very temples in cities, what mighty agents we are for overthrowing modesty'."[3] Idolatry, like the eroticized woman, has "groves" and "mounts" by which to entice and destroy the unwary subject. This erotic discourse, a discourse that is composed of elements associated with women and adultery, also provides tools for Protestant theologians to engage in debates on the use of images. As Martin Luther reports in his argument over the proper use of images with Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt:

> I [Luther] said, "What then does the gospel say?" He [Karlstadt] said, "Jesus says in the gospel (I don't know where, though my brethren know it) that the bride must take off her nightgown and be naked, if she is to sleep with the bridegroom. Therefore, one must break all the images, so that we are free and cleansed of what is created."[4]

Luther's report offers insight into the complex correlation between allegory, eroticism, women, and images by demonstrating how the woman is a metaphor for the church, but she and the "truth" she should represent are also veiled or hidden. The nightgown is a metaphor for the image, but it is also the visible exterior of the woman that must be stripped away in order to find the internal truth of the woman. The act of "stripping" is an erotically charged word that Protestant thinkers often employ when speaking about the need to eradicate society of the Catholic image: the image's highly decorated

[3] Tertullian, "On Modesty," trans. S. Thelwall in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of The Writings of the Fathers Down to A.D. 325*, vol. 4, ed. Alexander Roberts, D.D. and James Donaldson LL.D. (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdman's Publishing, 1994), 78.

[4] Martin Luther, "Against the Heavenly Prophets in the Matter of Images and Sacraments," ed. Conrad Bergendoff, vol. 40 of *Luther's Works*, ed. Helmut T. Lehmann (Philadelphia: Mehlenberg Press, 1958), 101.

exterior is often "stripped" rather than "destroyed."[5] In order to read the woman correctly, to free and cleanse her, the Christian must first strip her of the nightgown, the visible and literal meaning or the highly decorated façade. Like Karlstadt, many English Protestant reformers alleged that the absence of the visible image (the woman's nightgown) was essential to the believer's trust in God; if the image were removed, the Christian would place his salvific reliance solely on the written Word. The idea that what is visible acts as an unreliable channel to "truth" and creates erotic desire in the hearts of laymen is at the center of early modern theories concerning women, Protestant theories concerning allegory, and reformist theories concerning images. While all of these theories contribute to the discourse concerned with the use of images, the ideas they attempt to forward are not always harmonious with each other because Protestant theologians do not always agree on how or when to use images.

For instance, many Protestants believed that Catholic images (representations constructed for the purpose of relating Biblical stories without the use of the text), rather than the Protestant reformist's use of woodcuts (representations flanking a Biblical text or commentary), shifted the emphasis from the Bible (reading or hearing the Word) to the object (seeing an image that supplanted the Word) and could lead the believer into idolatry. However, not all Protestant thinkers believed that idolatry was intrinsic to images; some held that the danger of idolatry was in how one used the

[5] Eamon Duffy offers a detailed discussion of how such "stripping" reflected the dismantling and destruction of the symbolic world of traditional religion in the second half of his seminal work, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c.1400-c.1580* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1992).

image.[6] A number of Protestant reformers attempt to demystify images by physically destroying them while also retaining the image for their own tactical utility. These Protestant reformers produce woodcut images that are intended for public circulation but are heavily glossed (John Foxe does this in his *Acts and Monuments*) so that the meaning attributed to the image is clearly defined by the coinciding text. Protestant writers attempt a similar type of active reversal by employing allegory as a tool to break the iconoclastic idol, raise the cooperative image in its place, and then teach their readers the importance of interpreting the new discourse properly. However, allegory intentionally veils "truth" and when writers engage in this mode of writing to accomplish the task of reversal outlined above, metaphor can complicate the mission because it requires the reader to interpret the embedded meaning(s) that are inherent in metaphor.

Some early modern Protestant theologians distrust the reader's ability to interpret metaphor properly, and many disagree about the methods that should be employed to do so. For instance, Spenser's Letter to Raleigh goes to great lengths to "explain" the allegory of *The Faerie Queene*. However, Spenser's text still seems burdened with interpretive peril. The poet's intimate engagement with the female body in *The Faerie Queene* (such as that of Duessa) may make a "true" interpretation harder to exact, regardless of his explanation in the letter. If allegory and women are inherently duplicitous, then employing women allegorical characters to engage in the

[6] Protestant theologians Luther and Zwingli categorized the image as either "used" or "abused" and instead of being physically destroyed, these two theologians believed that the image and its power should be rent from the heart of man through teaching scripture. Calvin, conversely, saw the image as idolatrous and its physical destruction was a more certain way of calling the layman back from idol worship.

image debate brings into question the very nature of the allegorical purpose: allegory, an expression based on multiple meanings, becomes a problematic way in which to argue for or against the use of images when images, like allegory, are meant to point to something beyond themselves. Because of allegory's inherent duplicity, many Protestant thinkers suspect allegory of producing falsity masked as truth. The deep suspicion of allegory, I argue, is the main reason that Protestant writers incorporate methods of interpretation within their allegorical works even though such methods vary from one author to another. My discussion of each primary allegory includes an examination of why and how writers justify their use of the allegorical mode and how they attempt to control the interpretation of the text.

My argument relies on three main areas of current scholarship: historical studies of the sixteenth-century image debate, representations of women and misogynistic/erotic discourse concerning women in early modern writing, and analyses of sixteenth-century allegorical texts. Due to the nature of my project, some of the ideas I explore in these three areas overlap (such as those concerning the visual nature of both women and images), but these junctures do not negate my reliance on information and insights that are also distinct to each area.

Recent studies analyzing the sixteenth-century image debate contribute to my project by offering essential information on how Protestant and Catholic ideas about iconography permeated early modern English culture and the texts produced in it. This particular area of study helps to formulate the argument that the image debate relies on the feminization of the image. Margaret Aston's seminal *England's Iconoclasts: Laws*

Against Images revises John Phillips's notions about Protestant reformists' reaction to images in his *The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England, 1535-1660*.[7] By tracing the image debate from the medieval Lollards through the early modern Humanists, Phillips gave his readers a comprehensive history of Protestant ideologies concerning images and Protestant responses to religious art. Like Phillips, Aston offers her readers a detailed report of early modern Protestant ideas concerning art, but she goes a step further by categorizing different forms of art according to the reactions toward them. She succinctly defines such terms as "image," "iconomach," and "iconoclast," and makes the important connection between idolatry and adultery, arguing that these concepts converge, for the Protestant reformer, in the person of Mary, Queen of Scots. Expanding this final idea in *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy: Catholic and Anti-Catholic Discourses in Early Modern England*, Arthur Marotti contends that:

> the recusant woman was, like Catholicism itself (the religion of the "Whore of Babylon"), the target of Protestant misogyny […], which associated women's "carnality" with some of the alleged corruptions of Catholicism [;] women and Catholicism were both feared as intrinsically idolatrous, superstitious, and carnal, if not also physically disgusting.[8]

While Aston's and Phillips's works concentrate on early modern Protestant iconoclasm, Marotti's focuses on how early modern Protestants and Catholics defined themselves through religious and political language and mythmaking. The convergence of Protestant iconoclasm and early modern misogyny established in Marotti's work is

[7] Margaret Aston, *England's Iconoclasts: Laws Against Images* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988); John Phillips, *The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England 1535-1660* (Berkeley, Univ. of California Press, 1973).
[8] Arthur F. Marotti, *Religious Ideology and Culteral Fantasy: Catholic and Anti-Catholic Discourses in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame, Ind.: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 2005), 36-7.

especially important to my own project because the connections he makes between these two discourses are ultimately performed in the allegorical texts I analyze. Furthering Marotti's argument, I contend not only that the discourses concerning women and images converge in early modern English culture, but that writers of allegory in the period perpetuate and employ such a convergence to teach readers about images and interpretation. Allegory is a perfect medium for the combination of ideas because it relates information through the use of metaphor and figurative language, allowing for the possibility of multiple meanings to reside simultaneously in the text. In fact, allegory is a mode that *insists* on such simultaneity.

While I do not redefine the genre or mode of allegory, I do rely on the insights of those who have done so. I concentrate on allegorical theory in order to forward the argument that the personifications of the image, the iconoclast, and the reader coexist in often uncomfortable and mutable ways within a given text. The distinctions between these personifications can be attributed to the religious sympathies of the writers who create them. Because of such sympathies, the personifications mentioned above are gender specific. Knowing how allegory works and why writers can use it to partake in the image debate is an essential first step that the following authors address. Angus Fletcher, in *Allegory: The Theory of a Symbolic Mode*, revisits the work of C.S. Lewis, who contends that the function of allegory is not to hide a message but to reveal one.[9] Fletcher, conversely, maintains that the purpose of allegory (like irony) is to hide a message that the reader must struggle to find, and this labor mirrors the symbolic power

[9] Angus Fletcher, *Allegory: The Theory of a Symbolic Mode* (Ithaca, Cornell Univ. Press, 1964); C.S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936).

struggle that is the message of the allegory to an audience that has become socially inactive. Rosemond Tuve's *Allegorical Imagery: Some Medieval Books and Their Posterity* also argues that allegory veils its true meaning, but she attempts to discover a definition of allegory.[10] She insists that readers should find the meanings that are truly in the work but hidden, rather than impose meanings on the text that they believe should be there. Unlike Tuve's work, Maureen Quilligan's *The Language of Allegory: Defining the Genre* argues that it is the reader who produces meaning.[11] While other literary critics claim that allegory is a mode of writing, Quilligan claims that it is a genre due to, in part, its distinct linguistic characteristics. Quilligan, Tuve, Fletcher, and Lewis all give their readers an overview of allegory, including its components, purpose, and relationship to other genres, such as romance and epic. More recent scholarship tends to concentrate on illuminating one or two aspects of allegory, rather than on redefining the entire system, or on addressing one particular text in detail. For instance, Ralph Flores' *The Study of Allegory in its Historical Contexts and Relationship to Contemporary Theory* concentrates on the role of personification in allegory, revisiting some of Fletcher's theories about contagion, projection, and the "demonic" attributes of personified figures.[12] Suzanne Akbari gleans insights from Tuve's work on visual allegory, but in her *Seeing Through the Veil: Optical Theory and Medieval Allegory*, the author defines "vision" and shows the various ways in which the

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[10] Rosemond Tuve, *Allegorical Imagery: Some Medieval Books and Their Posterity* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1966).
[11] Maureen Quilligan, *The Language of Allegory: Defining the Genre* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1979).
[12] Ralph Flores, *A Study of Allegory in its Historical Context and Relationship to Contemporary Theory* (Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen Press, 1996).

act of "seeing" is a metaphor for and in allegory.[13] Finally, Kenneth Gross's *Spenserian Poetics: Idolatry, Iconoclasm, and Magic* concentrates on the ways in which Spenser uses allegory as a means of revealing the intrinsic analogous problems of both iconoclasm and allegory.[14] Gross re-examines Fletcher's work, arguing that the power struggle associated with allegory is one that "grows out of a continuing tension between an attachment to the power and authority of an older set of images and the need to find a continuity (even an illusory one) between those images and present life, or the riskier desire for a new and more complete revelation."[15] My own research continues the more recent practice of close reading, but it does so by coupling allegorical theory with gender theory. I do not redefine the "genre," but I do offer the possibility of an additional purpose for allegory through investigating the performative acts, gestures, and utterances of early modern allegory's women characters.

To advance my argument that misogynistic and erotic discourses play a major role in the debate about images as it appears in allegory, I rely on some insights offered by those who study women in early modern culture. As expected, many early works addressing women in early modern writing concentrate their efforts on illuminating difference: the gender difference inherent in the patriarchal code, the oppositions found between women in different social classes, or the sexual and emotional differences between men and women established through misogynistic texts. Works such as Katharine M. Rogers's *The Troublesome Helpmate: A History of Misogyny in*

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[13] Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Seeing Through the Veil: Optical Theory and Medival Allegory* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 2004).
[14] Gross, *Spenserian Poetics*.
[15] Ibid., 59-60.

Literature act as a foundation for more recent developments in the fields of gender studies and early modern literature.[16] For instance, *Gender in Debate from the Early Middle Ages to the Renaissance* shows how a particular type of writing (debate literature), which has its roots in patriarchal society, can be subverted by women writers in an effort to redefine themselves.[17] Rather than concentrating on themes of difference, as do older body of works, many current works attempt to use theories embedded in gender or feminist studies to show how gender is performed or subverted in early modern literature. For instance, in *The Friend* Alan Bray questions the role of the "traditional" family when friendship functions as kinship in the early modern social fabric.[18] In doing so, he interrogates the assumptions underlying previous works, notably *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe*.[19] Likewise, *Presenting Gender: Changing Sex in Early-Modern Culture* employs gender theory to demonstrate why and how early modern men and women successfully engage in political and sexual 'passing.'[20] My own research draws on and devolps the idea that gender can be performed and that performativity embodies particular gendered ideologies is one that my research forwards. If "woman" is an unstable category, then what she symbolizes can be mutable as well. As "woman" becomes part of the discourse of multiple meanings, she becomes an allegory.

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[16] Katharine M. Rogers, *The Troublesome Helpmate: A History of Misogyny in Literature* (Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1966).
[17] *Gender in Debate From the Early Middle Ages to the Renaissance*, eds. Thelma S. Fenster and Clare A. Lees (New York: Palgrave, 2002).
[18] Alan Bray, *The Friend* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2003).
[19] *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Margaret W. Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan, and Nancy J. Vickers (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1986).
[20] *Presenting Gender: Changing Sex in Early-Modern Culture*, ed. Chris Mounsey (Lewisburg, Pa.: Bucknell Univ. Press, 2001).

On one level, my dissertation contributes to the established body of scholarship concerned with women in early modern England and, specifically, the representation of women in early modern allegories. Much of the current scholarship that analyzes early modern women focuses on women's bodies (exclusively), women monarchs, or women writers, for instance, Megan Matchinske's *Writing, Gender and State in Early Modern England: Identity Formation and the Female Subject* and the collection *Debating Gender in Early Modern England, 1500-1700*.[21] Other studies, such as Constance C. Relihan's *Cosmographical Glasses: Geographic Discourse, Gender, and Elizabethan Fiction* and *Material Strategies: Dress and Gender in Historical Perspective*, focus on the historical representation of woman's body, especially the body of the woman monarch.[22] *'This Doubled Voice'* does move toward identifying and evaluating representations of the woman's voice in early modern texts, but it does so with respect to women writers and men writers who write women's voices.[23] My dissertation adds to this body of scholarship by analyzing how writers of allegory employ women's voices to inform Protestant and Catholic ideas about the use of images. Such an analysis is valuable to both early modern and gender studies because it extends current analyses of gender in early modern writing beyond the historical female body, both the physical and political body. Instead, my study focuses primarily, though not

[21] Megan Matchinske, *Writing Gender, and State in Early Modern England: Identity Formation and the Female Subject* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1998); *Debating Gender in Early Modern England, 1500-1700*, eds. Cristina Malcolmson and Mihoko Suzuki (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).
[22] Constance Caroline Relihan, *Cosmographical Glasses: Geographic Discourse, Gender, and Elizabethan Fiction* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State Univ. Press, 2004); *Material Strategies: Dress and Gender in Historical Perspective*, eds. Barbara Burman and Carole Turbin (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003).
[23] *'This Double Voice': Gendered Writing in Early Modern England*, eds. Danielle Clarke and Elizabeth Clark (New York: St. Martins Press, 2000).

exclusively, on characterized bodies and the vocal utterances of women personifications and some of the specific messages encoded in both.

Through my analysis of how the image debate is argued through the employment of women characters, scholars can reach a new understanding of specific ways in which early modern writers use allegorical writing to think about and speak to the issues of iconoclasm and interpretation. By illustrating how the image debate can be argued through women characters, my dissertation contributes to current scholarship concerned with evaluating the early modern image debate relies upon literary textual evidence to illustrate the historical events it exposes. Susannah Monta's *Martyrdom and Literature in Early Modern England*, for instance, engages with hagiographical writing in order to document the religious divisions of the period.[24] By investigating Catholic and Protestant allegories simultaneously, my own work brings new insights to the ways in which allegorical texts, like hagiographical and other types of literature, document and engage in the early modern image debate.

My critique of women characters also adds to the body of knowledge principally concerned with the analysis of feminized personifications in allegorical texts because it discusses women characters in terms of both their physicality and vocalizations. Literary critics commonly analyze allegorical women characters in terms of physical appearance and overall role in the text. For instance, Anne Paolucci's *The Women in Dante's Divine Comedy and Spenser's Faerie Queene* finds that the significance of women characters in these allegories has principally to do with their physical beauty

[24] Susannah Brietz Monta, *Martyrdom and Literature in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2005).

and their moral and political roles in the texts.[25] In addition to exploring the physical nature of women characters, I also direct my efforts to investigating what, when, and why women characters speak and what the allegorical voice signifies in terms of the early modern discourse concerning images and the need for proper interpretation.

My dissertation makes an important connection among women, allegory, and images through the use of erotic and misogynistic discourses. Literary critics frequently couple and analyze two of these three elements but ignore, or simply touch on, the third. Paolucci analyzes allegory and women characters, but she does not bring images into her argument. Ernest B. Gilman's *Iconoclasm and Poetry in the English Reformation: Down Went Dagon* investigates iconography and its correlation to poetry and allegory but only alludes to the role of women characters in the relationship.[26] Because of the historically descriptive and conceptual similarities among women, images, and allegory, studying them concurrently illustrates a shared nature among the three and gives greater force to the argument that the image debate can be performed by women allegorical characters.

The methodology of my project relies heavily on gender theory and specifically the theory of performativity promoted by Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. Butler contends that gender "is the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal

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[25] Anne Paolucci, *The Women in Dante's Divine Comedy and Spenser's Faerie Que*ene (Dover, Del.: Griffon House Publications, 2005).
[26] Ernest B. Gilman, *Iconoclasm and Poetry in the English Reformation: Down Went Dagon* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1986).

over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being."[27] Such repetitive stylizations include acts, gestures, and utterances that a society has attributed to "woman" and "man" (rather than "female" and "male," which are terms that refer to an unchangeable biological nature), creating a binary system of gender. Butler goes on to argue that such "acts, gestures and enactments are *performative* in the sense that the essence or identity that they otherwise purport to express are *fabrications* manufactured and sustained through corporeal signs and other discursive means," such as vocalization.[28] Ideas and concepts about gender are manufactured and sustained by what is considered culturally intelligible in order to create a social fabric that predicates gender on binary definitions. However, because gender is culturally constructed, it becomes open to change through the performance of gender. I use the concepts related by Judith Butler to reach beyond social and cultural implications of gender toward literary representations of gender and gendered ideas.

By virtue of their being personifications, women allegorical characters, through their acts, gestures, and utterances, express an identity (at times, even multiple identities simultaneously) that is constituted by those very expressions that are said to be its results. This identity may be that of a gendered being, but it is also that of a gendered abstraction or a gendered object: a thing or idea that has been assigned attributes commonly connected to a specific gender. The woman allegorical character's utterances and gestures are culturally intelligible repetitions that continue to construct

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[27] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Rutledge, 1999), 33.

[28] Ibid., 136.

both the woman character and the ideology associated with the abstraction she performs. My work analyzes the ways in which these repetitions are used either to reinforce early modern ideas about images or to subvert established ideas about them through performativity.

Some of the ideas related to fiction making and examined in Bruce Smith's *Homosexual Desire in Shakespeare's England: A Cultural Poetics* also inform the methodology for my project.[29] In his work, Smith asserts:

> [i]n fictional discourse, "authority" is not so absolute: in creating a hypothetical imaginary reality author and reader are, in a sense, collaborators. Between them power is constantly being renegotiated, as the writer keeps offering new details of the hypothetical world he is constructing, as the reader draws on his own experience to amplify those details and gives or withholds his imaginative assent. In a word, fiction making is a performative act in which the reader or the listener is as much a participant as the author.[30]

The interaction between reader or listener and writer, outlined by Smith, is especially applicable to allegorical texts. Allegory begs for audience interpretation and thus, interaction. There is always already a collaborative effort between author and reader without which the deeper meaning(s) of an allegorical text could not be brought to light. This collaborative effort, however, can also be extended to the relationship between the reader and the allegorical character. Through the performative acts, gestures, and utterances assigned to her, the allegorical woman character sends a message to the reader, who is then required to interpret it or partake in making meaning of the character and her performativity. In order to participate fully in such a process, the reader must

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[29] Bruce R. Smith, *Homosexual Desire in Shakespeare's England: A Cultural Poetics* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1991).
[30] Smith, *Homosexual Desire*, 17.

recognize the array of possible interpretations associated with the character's performance and choose among them. It is through such intimate contact with the allegorical character that the relationship between the reader and the character becomes collaborative; the "truth" being conveyed through her only becomes knowable when the reader adequately interprets it.

Furthermore, I contend that the discourse concerned with images and that concerned with women historically interact with each other: historical "myths" about women are passed down from Paul to the Church Fathers to early modern conduct manual writers. Some of these "myths" are similar to the "myths" about images that are passed down from the Old Testament writers to the Church Fathers to early modern theologians. Hence, there is an historical trajectory for such "myths," but their performative function(s) lay in the culture's fiction where the "myths" of images and women can intersect and, in doing so, open new possibilities for subversion and reinforcement of such "myths." In allegory, the intersection of such "myths" takes its form in personification, the essence of which is both concrete and abstract, creative and created.

Of course, many early modern allegories meant to teach religious lessons either do not use women characters to do so or use them in ways that are very limited. Studying allegories that incorporate women characters, in some isolation from those that do not, allows for a more thorough comparison of how such allegories speak to one another and, at the same time, appropriate women characters to argue for different positions concerning images. I also confine my work to the specific time period marked

by Elizabeth I's reign. During these years, the image debate between Catholics and Protestants was exacerbated: the debate seemed to reach new heights because Elizabeth retained a crucifix in her private chapel and showed a certain amount of tolerance toward her Catholic subjects, and the Catholic Mary, Queen of Scots attempted to control the throne from afar. I do not, however, directly address the topic of images created by and of the monarch herself, although this is certainly an important aspect of especially political imagery. Instead, my analysis of early modern allegories should allow scholars to discuss Elizabeth's personal and political imagery with new perspective by looking at the ways Elizabeth "performs" in and through the images of her. Within the period of Elizabeth's rule, writers of allegory not only participated in the conversation concerning images to greater degrees than those before them, but also either dedicated their allegories to the monarch or incorporated her into the allegory as a character. In this period, the Protestant author Barnabe Googe wrote *The Shippe of Safegaurd* (1569) as a lesson to his young Catholic readers. Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1590) was dedicated to the queen and answered by Copley's *A Fig for Fortune* (1569). The dramatist, Cyril Tourneur, wrote *The Transformed Metamorphosis* (1600) as a pronouncement of faith in a transformed ruler and a new Protestant nation, going so far as to represent Elizabeth as a unicorn in his text. Each of these texts also participates in the image debate, but that debate begins well before this period, and using some of the texts written before Elizabeth's ascension helps to establish the period's ongoing conversation about images.

My work is limited to the reconstruction of religious discourse because this discourse most clearly relates both Protestant and Catholic ideas about images. I work with various primary religious and religio-political texts, such as the preface written by Thomas Cranmer for the *Book of Common Prayer* and the preface to the *Geneva Bible*. These texts demonstrate both Protestant and Catholic concerns about Biblical translation and dissemination, two topics enmeshed in the image debate. Additionally, I rely on the "Edwardian Injunctions of 1547," "The Act of Uniformity," the "Elizabethan Injunctions of 1559," and the "Eleven Articles" produced in Elizabeth I's reign. These works help to establish the state's (and the state-sanctioned church's) position on the use of images. I also rely on P.J. Holmes's *Elizabethan Casuistry*, a collection of original documents that includes questions from recusants to Catholic Church leaders; this text informs my work by offering insights into the issue of Catholic equivocation and recusant methods of survival in early modern England.[31] I also use the works of Catholic theologians, for example those produced by the early Church Fathers, such as St. Augustine, St. Jerome, and Tertullian, along with early modern Catholic writers, such as M. Harding. Furthermore, I utilize Protestant works concerning images, such as those written by Martin Luther, Ulrich Zwingli, John Calvin, Henry Ainsworth, and John Jewel. I rely on both Catholic and Protestant religious treatises to help establish how writers rely on the discourse concerning women to discuss images, but I also use these texts to facilitate my analysis of how women

[31] P.J. Holmes, *Elizabethan Casuistry* (Catholic Record Society, 1981).

characters advance ideas concerning images and interpretation on both sides of the debate.

The following chapters work together to argue that writers employ feminized characters to engage in the debate concerning images in sixteenth-century allegorical writings by first explaining how misogynistic, allegorical, and erotic discourses intersect in the image debate, and then by illustrating how these discourses are performed in particular allegorical works. These chapters show that this debate, however, is a complex one that also addresses methods of interpretation or "right reading," the role of the image in interpretability, and the ways in which the duplicitous woman mirrors the image and allegory. I argue that it is distinctly the duplicitous woman that is most often used to construct a debate about images, iconoclasm, and interpretation, regardless of the religious sympathies of the allegory's author. The concentration on the body of the woman represents the focus on the outward exterior of the image. However, the voice of the woman character often becomes a catalyst for change, either positive or negative, depending on the author's religious convictions. My argument becomes clear as the reader moves from chapters 3 through 6, which deal with the primary texts. First, however, I lay the groundwork for my argument in chapter 2.

Chapter 2 accomplishes two goals. First, it defines the important terms "icon" and "image," terms that appear throughout my dissertation and that are often used interchangeably in early modern Protestant texts. This chapter also discusses the ways in which different Protestant sects regard the use of images: for instance, Calvin,

Zwingli, and Luther each see the danger in and program of destroying images differently. While some Protestant reformers believe that the Bible is sufficient for man's attainment and retention of salvation, some also believe that images can be harmless teaching tools for the illiterate laity. Moreover, reformers appointed to the court of Elizabeth have opinions about the use of images that differ from those of her predecessors and, at times, from those of Elizabeth herself.

Second, this chapter examines both Protestant and Catholic participation in the discourse concerning images and translation, which helps to establish the intimate association among images, women, and allegory that is essential to this project. I trace the relationship among women, allegory, and images chiefly through primary sources, such as the writings of St. Augustine, St. Jerome, M. Harding, John Calvin, Henry Ainsworth, and Martin Luther. In the early modern era, each of these components has, according to one religious sect or the other, the ability to sway the innocent Christian from his/her narrow path toward redemption. This chapter illustrates why and how such swaying is possible and the role literature plays in establishing and perpetuating such an idea.

Chapter 3 begins the analysis of allegorical texts by looking at Barnabe Googe's *A Shippe of Safegarde*. I begin my examination with Googe's text for two reasons: first, it is the earliest of the texts (published in 1569) and second, although Spenser's knowledge of it remains unclear, there are arguably similar characterizations included in the allegories that will help establish the repetitive nature of Protestant ideas concerning the image debate in early modern allegories. Googe's work is one of the most obscure,

so literary criticism on it is rather sparse.[32] This text is written by a Protestant author to a private, young, female Catholic audience consisting of two girls who were Googe's nieces. Because of the age, religious sympathy, and gender of his readers, the allegory has a clearly didactic purpose. Though it is true that most allegories profess to have a didactic purpose, Googe's seems more blatant as his narrator teaches the readers how to interpret the internal message of the allegory within the text itself. In *The Shippe of Safegaurd*, the poet is teaching his young audience to read, according to Protestant definitions of this word, by asking them to engage in Catholic reading practices. While Googe may feel sympathetic toward his young recusant audience, his Protestant message is clear: "Do not be Catholic and do not be Female." This chapter discusses particular episodes in the allegory that make this message most obvious. For instance, "The Island of Fleshly Pleasure" analyzes the dangers inherent in the woman and the image, giving no positive female role models for the young girls to whom he is writing. If this allegory is meant to be a conduct book of sorts, then it falls short because of such an erasure. "The Rock of Heresy" vividly engages with anti-Catholicism and the Protestant program of Biblical translation that the Catholic Church felt was an abomination of the scriptures. Finally, "The Island of Idolatry" clearly moves toward the debate about images and the danger inherent in Catholic images. This section, like the one that precedes it, is clearly anti-Catholic, linking idolatry to the aged church.

Chapter 4 concentrates on the initial book of Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*. The sixteenth-century dilemma regarding the Catholic Church's use of images

[32] See some brief analysis in such texts as King, *Spenser's Poetry* and Monta, *Martyrdom and Literature*.

versus the Protestant reformist's use of woodcuts is a central theme in Book I of *The Faerie Queene*. In this initial book of Spenser's allegory, Duessa epitomizes the struggle for proper interpretation and the danger in improper interpretation of the woman, the image, and the allegory. Much criticism on Spenser's work has elaborated on the poet's Protestant sympathies where they concern iconoclasm. Duessa, in turn, has been identified as the Roman Church, as a representation of Queen Mary, as "sensual will," as an alter ego of Redcrosse Knight, as a symbol of witchcraft and whoredome associated with the Catholic mass, or simply as false religion.[33] I maintain that Duessa can also be associated with both a Catholic image and its transformation into a Protestant woodcut because of her specific physical attributes, her own acts, gestures, and utterances, and her intimate relationships with other characters in the work. I also examine Duessa's reappearance in subsequent Books of *The Faerie Queene*. Here, I contend that her role as an image is both stable and unstable in Books 2, 4, and 5, but that she remains intimately connected with ideas concerning images in these later books.

Chapter 5 focuses on Anthony Copley's *A Fig for Fortune*, a Catholic rewriting of the last four cantos of Book I of *The Faerie Queene*. Susannah Brietz Monta argues that "Copley's moments of comparative moderation co-exist uneasily alongside his insistence that Catholicism is superior to the threats and inconstancies of "Fortune," by which Copley usually means "Protestantism."[34] Copley's is an easily interpreted

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[33] See Sean Kane, *Spenser's Moral Allegory* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1989); Fletcher, *Allegory*; D. Douglas Waters, *Duessa as Theological Satire* (Columbia: Univ. of Missouri Press, 1970), and King, *Spenser's Poetry*.

[34] Monta, *Martyrdom and Literature*, 101.

allegory, and much of the literary criticism of it is entrenched in more comprehensive arguments concerning early modern Catholic literature.[35] Copley's text, unlike those of Protestant writers, does not include a personification of the image. He instead concentrates on the act of "seeing" as an advantage over the act of "hearing" in order to interpret "truth." These two sense-acts play an essential role in the discourse concerning images and Biblical translation. For the Catholic, "seeing" is a more value-laden sense than "hearing." It is in listening to the personifications of Despair and Revenge that Copley's Elizian Knight is threatened with spiritual destruction. As part of my comparative analysis of this text and Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, I also examine the character of Doblessa (the equivalent of Spenser's Duessa). In my analysis, I argue that while both women characters have a duplicitous nature, their duplicity serves different purposes in accordance with the religious views of the authors who create them. While Duessa acts as a Catholic image, Doblessa acts as a destroyer of images and a temptress who tries to "convert" faithful Catholics to Protestantism. Doblessa also acts as a representation of Queen Elizabeth, and as such, is one of the several elements in the allegory that bring into question Copley's political loyalty to the monarch.

In Chapter 6, I investigate Cyril Tourneur's first published work, *The Transformed Metamorphosis*. Tourneur's allegory is another that has engaged little literary criticism (or at least little positive criticism), and those who do address it

[35] See Frederick M. Padelford, "Anthony Copley's *A Fig for Fortune*: A Roman Catholic Legend of Holiness," *Modern Language Quarterly* 3 (1942); C.S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1944); Alison Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination*, 1558-1660 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) and Monta, *Martyrdom and Literature.*

generally limit their considerations to the historical identity of Tourneur's knight, Mavortio.[36] Although best known for his dramatic works, Tourneur's initial text is an ambitious allegory that endeavors to do several things simultaneously. First, the text directly engages Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* by attempting to formulate an allegorical history for the latter work. Second, produced shortly after Spenser's death, Tourneur laments the famous poet's passing, writing *The Transformed Metamorphosis* as an elegy of sorts. Third, by authoring a pre-text to Spenser's allegory, Tourneur is also engaging in the Lydgatian program of constructing a prequel to the work of a well-known author, thereby gaining poetic authority while writing a tribute to a famous poet. Tourneur's allegory begins with the global view of the damage done by the Catholic Church and then moves to a national view of England's initial troubles under the early Church of England. In the final episodes of his work, Tourneur rewrites the initial battle scene in Book 1 of *The Faerie Queene*, showing that a more radical Protestant program than Spenser offers is necessary to England's future religious survival. He then elicits the unicorn, a transformed representation of Queen Elizabeth, to re-transform the England into a virtuous Protestant nation.

In the early modern era, writers of allegory took their place among those authors who entered the image debate by creating literary works. If Catholic images, women, and allegory were all considered duplicitous, then a relationship among them can been established through the misogynistic and erotic discourses found in religious, literary,

[36] See, for example, Dorothy Pym, "A Theory of the Identification of Cyril Tourneur's 'Mavortio'," *Notes and Queries* 174 (1938), 201-4; K.N. Cameron, "Cyril Tourneur and *The Transformed Metamorphosis,*" *Review of English Studies* 16 (1940), 18-24; J.D. Peter, "The Identity of Mavortio in Tourneur's *The Transformed Metamorphosis,*" *Notes and Queries* 193 (1948), 408-12.

and religio-political documents. I argue that this relationship is crucial to understanding the early modern image debate as it appears and reappears in the allegory produced by Elizabethan writers.

CHAPTER 2

(RE)WRITING: WOMEN, ALLEGORY, AND THE IMAGE DEBATE IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND

> [C]oncrete images whether in paint, glass or stone have mirrored the devotions of the past along with obsolete political ideas and institutions. Frequently such symbols continue to live long beyond the experiences which had brought them forth. It was natural, then, that the associations with hated institutions and ideas would bring down the fury of Englishmen on the material forms which symbolized these practices.
> John Phillips, *The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England, 1535-1660*

> [Idols are] also called *Gillulim*, as it were *filth*, *dung*, or *excrements*; because they are lothsome and abominable to God, and do defile the consciences of men, proceeding as dung and excrements out of man's corrupt heart, and vain intention.
> Henry Ainsworth, *An Arrow against Idolatry,* 1611

Like Henry Ainsworth, many sixteenth-century Protestant theologians took exception to the Catholic Church's use of images because they believed that images were nothing more than idols. However, as John Phillips states, the issue was as much about the way images validated the practices of the Catholic Church as it was about the actual use of images. The historical and ongoing struggle between Protestants and Catholics over the use of images is well-documented by scholars in almost every area of both liberal and fine arts. The focus of this chapter is not to offer another historical account of the conflict, but instead to diagram some key concepts that help establish a framework through which to argue that the image debate is a purposely constructed

subject in Elizabethan allegorical writings, and that these writings include the development of women characters in order to engage fully in the debate.[37] By examining several ideas that intertwine throughout the debate, I argue that the role of "right reading" or proper interpretation of images, the duplicitous nature of allegory, and misogynistic and erotic discourses coalesce, allowing writers of allegory to contribute to the image debate through the literature they produce.

In an effort to untangle the ideas with which this dissertation engages, the present chapter follows a topical pattern of development. I acknowledge that this may be an unconventional organizational pattern, but it serves two main purposes. First, by using a topical rather than a chronological pattern of development, I foreground the issues most important to the image debate. I assert that it is the issues and ideas in the debate that are the most significant aspects of it, whereas chronological organization has the tendency to foregrounding the chronology rather than concentrating on the important topics being analyzed. Again, this present work is not another historical overview of the debate, but is instead an analysis of certain components of the debate. Second, the issues concerning the image debate are themselves intimately intertwined For instance, the section that examines the connection between images and misogynistic discourse treats such issues as embellishment and duplicity as relative to both images and women. To order this chapter chronologically would mean breaking that

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[37] See Aston, *England's Iconoclasts;* David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1989); John S. Pendergast, *Religion, Allegory, and Literacy in Early modern England, 1560-1640: The Control of the Word* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006); and Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Alters: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1992) for a few of the many works that give an historical account of the image debate and the issues raised by it in the Medieval and early modern ages.

connection by forcing the chronology to take the place of the intimacy each topic has with another, whether that relationship is among topical sections or within a given section.

Because the image debate is essentially between Catholic and Protestant thinkers, each section of this chapter uses primary texts from ancient, medieval, and early modern Catholic and Protestant writers in order to argue that both the repetition and subversion of ideas is essential to how the image debate emerges in allegorical writings. Sections concentrate on one religion's set of ideas at a time, and each section consists of several subtopics that enhance the associative nature of the main topics, forcing the internal primary references out of a strict chronological pattern. However, key phrases notify the reader when there is a shift in chronology where it concerns primary texts.

Section headings for chapter 2 include: "Redefining," "Remaking," "Reinterpreting," "Re-gendering," "Rereading," and "Vocal Performance and Transformation." The titles of the first five sections introduce the argument that there is first an idea about a particular point in the image debate and then there is a re-formation of that idea. There is, for instance, a moment at which the image is "defined," using specific connotative terms. One religious body (usually Catholic) will offer this initial definition. However, there is also a point at which the image is "redefined," using both similar and dissimilar terms in order to produce a revised definition that may also attempt to subvert the previous one. Each section's title, then, helps to demonstrate my

argument that there is both an original and an adaptation of particular concepts within a given section.

The first section of this chapter, “Redefining,” illustrates how certain terms used in the image debate are defined by both Catholic and Protestant religious thinkers with special attention to the meaning of “image,” “idol,” and “woodcut.” As part of my argument that ways of speaking about images are intimately connected with ways of speaking about women and interpretation, I show that each of these terms carries with it distinct connotations as well as denotations, which can be positive (as in the case of the Catholic use of “image”) or negative (as in the Protestant use of “image”). Such distinct connotative meanings are determined by Catholic and Protestant theologians; the latter, for instance, are likely to use “image” and “idol” interchangeably, while Catholics see the two terms as markedly different. These words and the ideas they represent are repeated and redefined by writers whose works span several centuries. Tracing such repetitions reveals how the often gendered definitions of such terms become either solidified or challenged through their usage.

Furthermore, by examining such terms, I argue that their definitions often rely on misogynistic discourse, which allows a writer of allegory to use women characters as representative aspects of the image debate. Some of the ways in which women and allegory reflect particular characteristics of the image is the focus of the second two parts of this chapter, “Remaking” and “Reinterpreting.” In these two sections, I contend that allegory, because of the characteristics it shares with women and images, has a rather exceptional ability to act as the battleground for the image debate. Allegory is a

writing style based on metaphor and figurative language that necessarily needs interpretation, and I maintain that because of such distinctions, writers of allegory can use the style to couch "truth statements" by making and remaking connections with prior cultural "myths."[38] However, allegory relies on reader interpretation, which is inevitably faulty because humankind and language are both fallen, and because allegory resembles a feminized text in that, like the woman at the center of misogynistic discourse, it is inherently duplicitous. Readers are necessarily beholden to established cultural "myths," so while allegory will tend toward separation, it will also tend toward repetition, never truly freeing its writers from the "myths" they attempt to recreate.

The use of certain gendered words and phrases to describe images and their referents is the focus of the "Regendering" section of this chapter. Here, more than anywhere else, I maintain that specific ideas shared by the discourses of eroticism, gender, and images allow early modern allegorists to feminize personifications that come to represent particular contentious aspects of the image debate. Both Catholics and Protestants use misogynistic and erotic discourses to gender the church, images, and idolatry because many theologians from both religions view eroticism and women in a similar light: both are sinful. By engaging with such discourses to speak about the church, images, and idolatry, Protestant thinkers are warning the layman against succumbing to the power of all three. I identify specific patterns of thought regarding images and women that will appear in the early modern allegories I analyze by first

[38] I use the word "myths" throughout to denote religious and cultural ideas that are embedded in the social conscious by centuries of repetition. Myths, in this context, appear as truth statements, and are, therefore, not easily overthrown. Such myths may include ideas concerned with the misogynistic characterization of women, for instance.

examining the repetition of key ideas embedded in erotic and misogynistic discourses. Because such ideas and concepts concerning images are gendered, the allegorical personifications of them are also gendered. For instance, some writers reduce “whore,” “adulteress,” and “idol” to the feminine, while they reduce those who make texts and images to the masculine. Through such a gendered reduction, writers can prove the seductive power of the object-woman over the subject-man. As the creator, the man often becomes the “whoremonger” and “idolater” (the desiring subject), while woman is the created: she is the “idol” and the “whore” (the desirable object). I maintain that the desirability of the woman directly reflects the desirability of the image, which, in turn, creates a desiring subject in the viewer of the image. The visual nature of the image is, for many Protestant thinkers, a misrepresentation of God’s word, and it can only enhance the inherent desire for visual stimulation that will lead the ignorant or illiterate layman into a state of idolatry.

In “Rereading,” I contend that Protestant and Catholic interpretative strategies further enhance the connotative relationship among gender, allegory, and images because the strategies employed to interpret each of these components are similarly problematic. Protestant and Catholic sects continually argued about exactly how to go about disseminating and teaching scripture to the layman, and they centered this argument on the difference between the layman seeing an image and hearing or reading scripture. Catholic theologians believed that because the layman was prone to misinterpret, teaching the layman how to read and interpret for himself could prove dangerous to his spiritual health. Instead, the Catholic Church relied on the layman’s

"sight" and produced images as books for the layman's consumption. Furthermore, the Catholic Church disseminated propaganda against Protestant-translated Bibles, deeming such translations heretical at best. However, many Protestant thinkers believed that teaching Biblical truths to the layman meant inducing him to read or "hear" scripture. These theologians often vehemently warned the layman about the dangers of mis-reading or idolizing the image due to the layman's reliance on "seeing" the image versus "hearing" scripture. According to Protestant thinkers, the practice of relying on the external or body instead of the internal or spirit to produce "truth" leads to misinterpretation, which leads to idolatry.

Finally, in the concluding section of this chapter, "Vocal Performance and Transformation," I argue that the gendered voice plays a distinct role in the debate about images. Vocal utterances, like acts and gestures, are part of the performance of image when the image is personified; with a voice, the personified image takes on the role of teacher (if the allegorist is Catholic) or seductress (if the allegorist is Protestant). The feminized image relies not only on outward appearances and seductive acts, but also depends on the erotic dimensions of women as speakers. For this reason, early modern allegories often include scenes in which the feminized voice is either silenced or acquired. These moments prove to be transformative in the progress of the allegory, often located at points where either loss or conversion takes place.

Redefining

To examine specific definitions and ideas that both Catholic and Protestant sects assign to images is to lay the groundwork for the argument that there is distinct

relationship among the image, as feminized, and female gender constructs. The definitions and ideas produced by both sets of religious thinkers are, in many instances, repetitive. These repetitions are important indicators that certain "myths" already exist in the discourses concerned with images and women, but such repetitions also act as opportunities for simultaneously solidifying and altering the ideas embedded in the discourses. The discourse concerned with images begins with "myths" created by or substantiated by the Catholic Church: historically, Catholic thinkers define images as books for the illiterate and ignorant, signs by which to remember Christ and the saints, and living vessels that can help the layman receive spiritual or physical healing or spiritual inspiration. Gregory the Great contends that men require sensible signs in order to achieve true spirituality. He asserts that images are essential when teaching Christian doctrine to the ignorant and illiterate, even though he also cites the second Commandment against the worshiping of graven images. For Gregory, images should be provided in churches "for the reason that those who are illiterate may at least read by looking at the walls what they cannot read in books."[39] Furthermore, Catholic theologians believed that sight was an important sensory tool that could lead even the literate to "truth" through direct contact with the image. David Freedberg's work on the Byzantine controversy over images illustrates the word-oriented position formulated by Nicephoros, the patriarch who defended images against Leo V:

> Nicephoros noted that the problem with words was that thought was required to make sense of them. Words could lead to doubt, indecisiveness, and equivocation. Sight, on the other hand, provided for much more direct perception. Holy images

[39] Gregory the Great, "Letter to Serenus, bishop of Marseilles," *The Letters of Gregory the Great*, vol. 2, trans. John R.C. Martyn (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2004), 674.

> were *less* prone to misinterpretation than sermons (or holy texts), and in this sense were less threatening to faith.[40]

To Nicephoros and many Catholic theologians that would follow him, words have the propensity to lead to misinterpretation of the "truth" because the layman must rely on thought or previous knowledge in order to properly interpret them. Such written signifiers have connotative meanings, hidden innuendos, and references to unknown texts and authors that may simply confuse the layman, leading him to doubt and indecisiveness. Instead, the direct perception offered by the image's pictorial program is meant to invite the layperson to ponder the significance of the object and to be stirred to devotion by visually engaging with it, leaving little or no room for doubt.

Later, in the sixteenth century, Thomas More takes a similar idea, but he advances it when he suggests that the plastic image can be superior to the verbal image: "[T]hese two words Christus crucifixus / do not so lyuely represent vs the remembraunce of his bytter passion / as doth a blessyd ymage of the crucifyx."[41] The idea that both images and texts can be considered books for the illiterate is reiterated by the recusant Thomas Harding later in the century, who maintains that there are three reasons for retaining images in the church. First, he believes that they are beneficial to knowledge: "For the simple and unlearned people, which be utterly ignorant of letters, in pictures do as it were read and see, no less than others do in books, the mysteries of

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[40] Freedberg, *The Power of Images*, 400-01.

[41] Thomas More, *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, vol. 2 of *The Complete Works of St Thomas More*, ed. Lawler et.al. (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1981), 1:39-40.

christian religion, the acts and worthy deeds of Christ and of his saints."[42] Second, Harding, like many of his Catholic predecessors, reiterates that pictures and writing are the same thing: "For things that be read, when as they come to our ears, then we convey them over to the mind; and the things we behold in pictures with our eyes, the same also do we embrace in our mind."[43] Third, Harding argues that images can act as signs of remembrance, which are important for proper lay devotion. This theory can be traced back to pre-sixteenth-century writers such as Reginald Pecock, who defines images as "seable rememoratijf signes" that must accompany "heereable rememoratijf signes."[44] Pecock contends that the latter types of signs are insufficient to bring about devout thoughts and behavior by themselves: "[I]f heereable rememoratijf signes hadden be sufficient to Cristen men into al her needful goostli remembrauncingis, wherto schulde Crist haue geue to Cristen men vndir comaundement seable rememoratijf signes, as ben hise sacramentis of the Newe Testament?"[45] Like other Catholic thinkers, Pecock acknowledges the importance of reading or hearing Biblical texts, but he argues that it is the image, the visible object, that will move man's heart toward God. In order to prove his argument, Pecock offers the example of the sacraments, showing that if Christ had thought that hearing were enough to obtain Biblical truth, then it would make little sense for Christ to command that his followers adhere to the New Testament sacraments, which are visible signs of man's obedience to Christ. Like the sacraments,

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[42] M. Harding's argument appears within the text of John Jewel's reply to him under the fourteenth article, "Of Adoration of Images" in "Reply to M. Harding's Answer." John Jewel, *The Works of John Jewel*, vol. 2, ed. John Ayre (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1847), 659-60.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Reginald Pecock, *The Repressorof Over Much Blaming of the Clergy*, ed. Churchill Babington B.D. (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1860), 209.
[45] Ibid.

the image is used as a tool to remember, but the *image* also acts according to that remembrance. The author of *Dives and Pauper* stated as much some eighty years before Pecock, elaborately detailing the process by which remembering leads to acting:

> PAUPER. Qhanne thu seeist the ymage of the crucifix, thynke on hym that deyid on the cros for thin synne and thi sake and thanke hym of his endeles charite that he wolde suffryn so mechil for the. Take heid be the ymage how his hed was corownyd wyt þe garland of thornys tyl they wentyn into the brayn and the blod brast out on euery side for to dystroyghe the heye synne of pryde that shewyt hym most in mannys hed and wommanys, and make an ende of thi pryde.[46]

Here, the speaker reiterates the method by which the layman should interpret the cross: first, the layman should concentrate on viewing it. Second, he should think about Christ's death upon it and thank Christ for His charity and suffering on behalf of the sinner. Finally, the layman should see and "take heid" of each bloody detail illustrated on the crown of thorns upon Christ's head and realize that this crown represents the destruction of pride in both man and woman. The author of *Dives and Pauper* continues to ascribe particular reactions to specific aspects of the crucified Christ's image. Each piece of the image should conjure a precise emotion from the viewing subject. By ascribing such detailed emotional reactions on the part of the layman, the author can renounce any perceived act of worship toward the image itself. After all, the author of *Dives and Pauper* takes heed of Augustine's warning that "[h]e is a slave to a sign who uses or worships a significant thing without knowing what it signifies" by telling his audience exactly what the image signifies.[47]

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[46] *Dives and Pauper*, vol. 1, ed. Priscilla Heath Barnum (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1976), 83.
[47] St. Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, trans. D.W. Robertson (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1958), 86.

Worshipping the image stands at the heart of the debate between Catholic and Protestant thinkers. The church fathers were aware of the possibility that the innocent layman might worship the image, rather than simply revere it as a valuable sign that pointed to the One who should be worshipped. Augustine, for instance, says that "[w]here pictures or statues are concerned, or other similar imitative works, especially when executed by skilled artists, no one errs when he sees the likeness, so that he recognizes what things are represented."[48] If the layman does not worship the image, then he does not commit idolatry, and the image remains a sign of remembrance. If, however, he worships the image, it becomes an idol and he becomes an idolater. Pecock reaffirms Augustine's statements when he contends that idolatry only occurs when man takes a creature for his God and then worships it as such.[49] Pecock goes on to say that this is not the case with images, because the layman is not a "natural fool" to think that the image *is* God rather than an image *of* God.[50] In its defense of images, the Second Council of Nicaea had, in 767, maintained the position that one's veneration *of* the image is transferred to the entity represented *by* the image.[51] In its statement concerning images, the Council contends that the layman should revere the image,

[48] Ibid., 61.
[49] Pecock, *The Repressor*, 148-149.
[50] Ibid. Pecock states, specifically, that "Forwhi ydolatrie is neuere doon, saue whanne a man takith a creature for his God and worschipith thilk creature as for his God; but so doith no man with eny ymage now in Christendoom, aftir that the man is come into yeeris of discrecioun and is passed childhode, and which is not a natural fool. Forwhi, if of eny of hem it be askid, whether this ymage is God in heuen, which made al thing, and which was euer withoute bigynnyng, and was therefore eer this ymage was maad; he wole seie anoon, that this ymage is not he, but that this ymage is the ymage of him."
[51] "For the more continually these [Saints, Jesus Christ, God, etc.] are observed by means of such representations, so much the more will the beholders be aroused to recollect the originals and to long after them, and to pay to the images the tribute of an embrace and a reverence of honour, not to pay them the actual worship which is according our faith, and which is proper only to the divine nature [.]" *Documents of the Christian Church*, 3d ed., ed. Chris Maunder (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1999), 103.

rather than worship it, out of a special kind of gratitude for the image's capacity to arouse in the layman a longing for the thing represented by the image.

Not only should veneration be given to the sign through the signifier, but the instruction to "embrace" the image contributes greatly to the additional definition of the image as a "living" thing: a thing that should be adored because of its capacity to arouse emotion and perform miracles. For Catholic writers, the image acts on behalf of the believer because of the miracles attributed to it. Gregory Martin speaks of two such miracles: one is a benefit while the other is a curse, but both are miracles nonetheless:

> The miraculouse Images especially of our Ladie, the sundrie benefittes of health and protection wrought by her intercession and testified in so manie tables and votive pictures hanging round about her Chappels and aultars; the famous Aultar of S. Anthonie the holie Eremite, where such experience of Gods justice against false and blasphemous swearers hath been so manifestly declared that no Italian dare take an othe at that Aultar, which he knoweth false, for feare lest S. Anthonies fyre consume him.[52]

Martin maintains that the images of "our Ladie" produce miracles that bring health and protection to the layman who seeks them, and that the tables, candles, and pictures hanging in the Chapels devoted to her bear witness to these miracles. Conversely, the altar of St. Anthony performs miracles according to "God's justice against false and blasphemous swearers." The image of St. Anthony produces fear in the layman, for should he swear a false oath in front of the image, St. Anthony's fire may consume the layman. Whether the image is presented as a source of comfort or fear, its performance helps to define the image as a living entity that can discern and act. For many Catholic thinkers, then, the image takes as some of its definitive aspects several ideas: 1) it acts

[52] Gregory Martin, *Roma Sancta*, ed. George Bruner Parks (Rome: Edizioni Di Storia E Letteratura, 1969), 42.

as a text for the illiterate, teaching them devotion and Biblical truth in a visual manner; 2) it acts as a signifier in that it points, by its visual nature, toward the holy sign (God) that should be worshipped; and 3) it is a living thing that has the ability to duplicate and perform the miracles associated with its pre-human counterpart, and thus, it can be of both spiritual and physical benefit to the lay viewer.

Protestant reformers counter-define "image" by duplicating and morphing definitions constructed by Catholic thinkers. In other words, they most often take a Catholic definition and expound all the ways in which the definitive aspects previously attributed to the image and its worth to the layman are misleading and potentially dangerous. To the extent that these Protestant theologians engage with Catholic definitions of the image, such Catholic definitions are forced into the Protestant discourse, and thus, the latter discourse is influenced by the previous while the definitions are simultaneously being denied. Protestants may see images as static symbols void of life, but the Protestant discourse concerning them is one that recreates the image in words because it must rely on and adapt a discourse put in place by Catholic theologians. However, Protestant thinkers also often disagree with one another about the ways in which images should be used, and many distinguish the role of certain images from that of others. For these men, there is a difference between images that are worshipped ("abused") and those that are merely taken as a sign of remembrance ("used").

Many Protestants believed that Catholic images shifted the emphasis from the Bible (hearing or reading the Word) to the object (seeing an image that supplanted the

Word) and could thus lead the believer into idolatry. Because of this diversion, there hardly seemed a more heinous way of tempting the illiterate layperson into sin than through the replacement of "the outward signs for the things signified."[53] However, there were Protestant thinkers who did not fully embrace the idea that the layman would categorically abuse the image. Although sixteenth-century Protestants disagree with some of the ideas proposed by the proto-Protestant John Wycliff, some do adopt the following suggestion made by him. As the scholar generally seen as the chief influence on the Lollard movement in late-medieval England, Wycliff agreed with Gregory the Great on the use of images as texts for the layperson, but only by degree. Wycliff contends that "images may be made both well and ill."[54] His position may seem rather ambiguous by later reformist standards because he says that there is a difference between "abusing" the image by worshipping it and "using" the image to "rouse, assist and kindle the minds of the faithful to love God more devoutly."[55] However, his warning is clear: if the image is "unduly delighted in for its beauty, costliness, or attachment to irrelevant circumstances," then the layman is "abusing" it and allowing the image to cause "deviation from the true faith."[56] Furthermore, Wycliff maintains that if images are to act as books for the laity, such books should be judged by their merits: "if you treat images as books, then there is as good a case for burning erroneous images as there is for burning erroneous books."[57] Later Protestants, such as Luther,

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[53] John Foxe, *The Acts and Monuments*, 4th ed., vol. 1 (London: Religious Tract Society, 1877), 82.
[54] Quoted in Margaret Aston, *Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion* (London: Hambledon Press, 1984), 138.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid., 163.

believed that the image should not be used as a book to teach the layman: "the prophets totally condemn the notion, taken as axiomatic by the papists, that images stand in place of books."[58] Priests, because they are readily replaced by images – and it is the image that does the work of teaching for priests – are the very image of sloth itself. Writing in England some thirty years after Luther, John Jewel argues that if the clergy were doing their jobs, images would not be needed as books for the layman:

> Of their priests they have made images, and of their images they have made priests. For their priests for the more part have eyes, and see not; have ears, and hear not; hearts, and understanding not; mouths, and speak not – in all respects even like unto their images. Their images have no eyes, and yet are made to see; have no ears, and yet are made to hear; have no mouths, and yet are set up to speak; and so in these respects do the duties that pertain to priests.[59]

Jewel transposes the attributes of the image with those of the priest. Because of their lax teaching methods, priests have become the dead image of a priest: they have unseeing eyes, deaf ears, ignorant hearts, and silent mouths. The image, on the other hand, has been given the authority of the priest in that it has none of the priest's living attributes, but it is performing the priest's duties by means of imagined sight, hearing, and speech. The double argument that Jewel advocates is that images are not only unnecessary in teaching the layman if priests are performing their duties, but that images are also dangerous when given human attributes and seen as living things.

[58] Jean Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. John T. McNeill, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960), 105.
[59] Jewel, "Of Adoration of Images," 660. See a similar argument made on page 40 of *Against Ierome Osorivs*, where these authors also believe that images are unnecessary for the teaching of the layman. M. Walter Haddon and M. Iohn Foxe, *Against Ierome Osorivs*, ed. Iames Bell (London, 1581).

Turning a dead piece of wood or stone into a human form that acts on and for the viewer is a particular concern for reformers.[60] Jewell contends that not only have "[t]he dead images […] been forced to sweat, to weep, to laugh, and to shift themselves from place to place," but three-dimensional images take the spiritual and place it into human shape, making the image even more precarious.[61] Many Protestant reformers sought to eradicate just such images because of the propensity of the layman to offer them worship instead of giving complete reverence to God. Calvin clearly states the danger of constructing a three-dimensional image that will entice the layman to false worship when the incorporeal "is made to resemble corporeal matter, the invisible a visible likeness, the spirit an inanimate object, the immeasurable a puny bit of wood, stone, or gold."[62] Such a danger, Calvin concludes, was at first addressed by Augustine, who states that when images are placed in "honorable loftiness," the image's "very likeness of living members and senses" will affect the layman's infirm mind to the degree that the layman will begin to believe that the image lives and breathes.[63] Such a belief inevitably occurs because "the shape of the idol's bodily members makes and in a sense compels the mind dwelling in a body to suppose that the idol's body too has feeling, because it looks very like its own body."[64] To Calvin, it was precisely the "humanness" that a layman could affix to the image as a three-dimensional form that

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[60] Margaret Aston outlines this concern: "Statues that were dressed and carried in procession, carvings that were painted with vivid likeness to living persons, saints who gazed at worshippers with a frontal directness that invited communication through the meeting of eyes: these were the most dangerous forms of religious imagery, as the most ambiguous. The Christian statue could itself be an actor, play a role in a performance, move and take a part. In the early Church, images could act as godparents [.]" *England's Iconoclasts*, 401.

[61] Jewel, "Of Adoration of Images," 665.

[62] Calvin, *Institutes*, 101.

[63] Ibid., 113.

[64] Ibid.

led them to believe that images wrought miracles, and these laypeople sought out images for such a purpose.[65] These are "abused" images and therefore, fall into the category of "idols" that should be abolished.[66]

By contrast to radical reformers, other Protestants, such as Luther, believed that the image was neutral, that there may be some use for it, and that it was in the image's application that idolatry was defined.[67] If an image was used as a replacement for the Word, it was idolatrous. If, however, it was used to enhance the Word, it became a "woodcut," which, according to the Edwardian Injunctions of 1547, was an object of "remembrance, whereby, men may be admonished, of the holy lives and conversation of them that the said images do represent."[68] Here, Biblical passages are not subordinate to images; "woodcuts" represent the Word visibly as they appear next to the written text (see Fig. 1 for an example of this medium). Ernest Gilman shows that because woodcuts were "[p]roduced by the same technology as the printed book and, in

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[65] The author of *The Lanterne of Light*, for instance, had argued, in the 15th century, that there is danger in a painted images to the ignorant: "The peyntour makith an ymage forgid with diuerse colours / til it seme in foolis ighen as a lyueli creature." *The Lanterne of Light*, ed. Lilian M. Swinburn (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1917), 84. Jewel also warns that "every thing that may delight or move the mind is not therefore meet for the church of God. God's house is a house of prayer, and not of gazing" (662).

[66] Calvin, like Zwingli, believed that sculpture and painting were gifts of God and not all images should be destroyed, but "only those things that are sculptured or painted which the eyes are capable of seeing" should be permitted (vol. 1, 112). Zwingli urges that "only those images which offend piety or diminish faith in God, such as are in human shape which are set up before alters or churches" should be destroyed and that those images should not be disturbed "which are put into windows for the sake of decoration, provided they represent nothing base, for no one worships them there." *Commentary on True and False Religion*, eds. Samuel Macauley Jackson and Clarence Nevin Heller (Durham, NC: Labyrinth Press, 1981), 336-37.

[67] Ainsworth argues that "idols are not only false resemblances of things which are not; and idolatry, not only the giving of divine honour to a creature as unto God, (as Antichrist's champions do pretend;) but that all religious images, or similtudes, made by man himself, are idols; and that all religious use and service of them is idolatry, appeareth by the words of the law." *An Arrow against Idolatrie Taken out of the quiver of the lord of Hosts* (Nova Belgia, 1640), 266.

[68] *Documents of the English Reformation*, *1526-1701*, ed. Gerald Bray (Cambridge: James Clark & Co., 1994), 249.

the case of text illustrations, contained within it, the Reformation image is absorbed into the verbal world and in a sense redeemed from the taint of idolatry by its verbal context."[69] The idea of imbedding a woodcut within a written text might seem a compromise in the image debate, but here the layman has at his disposal the formal Biblical text and a picture that glosses that text. The reformers have now taken the image out of the church window and placed it on the written page.

Remaking

Often, the overlapping moments in the discourses concerned with images and women are vague or covert, veiled in metaphor or clouded by illusory word play. Because of such veiling, allegory, the scene of such intersection, is an ideal medium by which to enter the debate. Allegory is a mode of writing that relies on metaphor and figurative language, and thus readily interacts with the discourses about women and images by its own inherent duplicity, a trait also associated with women and images. I investigate the connective fibers among allegory, women, and images in order to formulate a general framework by which scholars can understand the role that specific allegorical texts play in the early modern image debate involving Protestant and Catholic religious writers. Before I discuss allegory in terms of women and images, however, it is important to discuss *why* allegory is a particularly useful mode of writing through which authors can successfully engage in repetition, reinforcement, and subversion.

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[69] Gilman, *Iconoclasm and Poetry*, 36.

Allegory is a peculiar type of fictional text because of its inherent duplicity, but allegory is more than a mode of writing that hides messages beneath its literal surface. Allegory is a type of fiction that offers "truth statements" to its readers, and the insights put forward by critics of poetic discourse can be valuable when analyzing the ways in which allegory remakes "myths" in order to produce such "truth statements." Bruce R. Smith contends that "[r]ather than dictating or being dictated to, poetic discourse more often *mediates* between the official ideal and the quotidian real," and this mediation does not speak of or participate in laws or rules but of "possible 'schemes of action' that have been so internalized that actors in a given culture seldom or never think about them consciously."[70] The ideological repetitions that appear in poetic discourse are those that most naturally speak to historical "myths" already accepted as "truth statements" by the authors and readers of fictional texts.[71] Because such "myths" are embedded in the cultural ideology, "authority" in fictional discourse is not absolute: "in creating a hypothetical imaginary reality author and reader are, in a sense, collaborators."[72] The collaborative aspect of fiction making seems especially appropriate when discussing allegory because in this mode of writing the reader is conspicuously placed in the role of interpreter.

To interpret the text "correctly," the reader must recall and rely on the repetitive "myths" that have been accepted by the culture. In the early modern era, the "myths" directly connected with the question of images and women are being used by Protestant

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[70] Smith, *Homosexual Desire in Shakespeare's England*, 19, 22.
[71] See Note 27 for my use of the word "myths."
[72] Ibid,, 17.

thinkers to subvert, recreate, and re-enforce the ideology that is historically imbedded in the culture. It is through appropriation – the detachment of traditional signifieds from their signifiers – that Elizabethan allegorists can "connect their messages to the authority of the past" while simultaneously reconnecting them to their own ideas in the present.[73] According to Susan Frye's analysis of this reconstruction:

> The splitting of traditional signifiers and their signifieds reminded people that such connections are in fact arbitrary, that signs are not as natural, as eternal, or as fixed as their creators wish, and that meaning, although created in the contexts of culture and individual experience, is itself a process of shifting acceptances.[74]

Signifiers are unstable and arbitrary because their meanings change as a culture's ideas and values change to meet the needs of the individuals who reside in that culture. The changing or splitting of traditional signifiers forces writers and creators of these signifying systems to adapt to the new meanings assigned by the culture in which they reside. Yet, signifiers do have an historical relationship to particular signs and it is this relationship that allows for reinterpretation through repetition. Old sign systems help create new sign systems. It is the unstable space between the signifier and signified that allows for change; it is the instability of language that allows for re-presentation. Such a subversion of the discourse, however, is not an easy task for an author. Brian Cummings relates this hardship by explaining that "[t]he battle between books and images is part of a battle over signification, a battle to establish political and theological mastery over the signifying system."[75] This battle is ultimately fought between

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[73] Susan Frye, *Elizabeth I: The Competition for Representation* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1993), 35.
[74] Ibid., 35.
[75] Brian Cummings, "Iconoclasm and Bibliophobia in the English Reformations, 1521-1558" in *Images, Idolatry, and Iconoclasm in late Medieval England: Textuality and the Visual Image*, ed. Jeremy Dimmick, James Simpson, and Nicolette Zeeman (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2002), 188.

Protestants, who are bent on introducing a knowledge system based on the written Word, and Catholics, who believe that the old knowledge system based on images is the more beneficial of the two approaches to scriptural acquisition. However, inevitably, something of the old "myth" is always present in the newly created idea; there are always already inescapable Catholic notions imbedded in Protestant ideology, and these notions and ideas can never be completely replaced. According to Margaret Aston, some Protestant thinkers, such as John Bale and John Foxe, attempt literary sign system reversals with zeal:

> The literary reversal of making old heretics into new heroes involved more, as Bale saw, than the piecemeal editing of heretical literature. It meant taking over enemy territory, and using enemy ammunition. Official records, works compiled by authorities to condemn and eradicate heresy, were to be used as they had never been used before; for an anti-Catholic purpose. This was the task in which, of course, John Foxe pre-eminently excelled.[76]

While the above-mentioned texts are not considered allegories, the work that they do is very much like the work that particular early modern allegories attempt to do.[77] Instead of creating a new set of definitions and theories that may simply mimic the discourse that concerns heresy, Bale and Foxe rely on the already available discourse in order to turn it back upon itself. In other words, they take the present discourse and, through repetition, subvert it by identifying particular points at which this discourse leaves open the opportunity for reversal. For Bale and Foxe, the attempt is not to *free* the signifier so much as it is to *reassign* it, to recall the "myths" of the past and request their participation in a newly recreated "myth" of the present. For the present examination,

[76] Aston, *Lollards and Reformers*, 235-6.
[77] John Bale did write several dramatic pieces that use allegorical techniques. See *The Three Laws* and *King Johan*, for example. *The Complete Plays of John Bale*, ed. Peter Happe. 2 vols. (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1985-86).

these "myths" are concerned with defining "woman" and "image." It is with the intertwined "myths" that the war between the use and abuse of images can be fought on the battlefield of allegory.

Reinterpreting

Allegory, like its kinsman satire, makes for a rather safe field on which to wage war for and against hegemonic ideas, because both require a significant amount of interpretive ability on the part of their readers, but interpreting allegory can prove to be problematic. First, allegory is a space always already filled with tension. Meanings are hidden beneath metaphor, new ideas are attached to old ones in sometimes confusing ways, and the interpreter consistently wrestles through the puzzle in an attempt to find cohesion. Hence, according to Kenneth Gross, "the allegorical struggle grows out of a continuing tension between an attachment to the power and authority of an older set of images and the need to find continuity (even an illusory one) between those images and present life, or the riskier desire for a new and more complete revelation."[78] In essence, the texts do not simply reflect tension and debate but create them as well. Second, the tension inherent in allegory, especially when allegory is used to adjust hegemonic ideas, is mirrored in the tension felt by readers in their effort to interpret the allegorical message. The fallen nature of both humans and language means that the goal of interpreting correctly is doubly vexed. In its original state, language was flawless: the

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[78] Kenneth Gross, *Spenserian Poetics*, 59-60. When speaking in terms of the debate about images and the tension that this topic infuses in Early modern texts, Ernest P. Gillman argues that " 'iconoclasm' is something that can happen to texts and within texts written during this period, and […] the most compelling texts often betray a consciousness of the image-debate that reflects on the process of their own composition." *Iconoclasm and Poetry*, 11. It will be my contention that the image debate is not simply a reflection, but a topic of discussion.

name of a thing perfectly suited the thing's material nature. As Honig explains, "The names assigned are manifest images of the things, so that the name and thing are inevitably the same from the first, and the name and that to which the name is given differ not a whit."[79] To give anything a name is to have the power, in some ways, to evoke the thing – to bring it into existence by voice or memory "from a context which we presume is actual or fixed in all men's minds by the customs of language," as Pendergast notes.[80] Yet, because of the fall, language is unstable; it is incapable of naming a thing and making that name act as a truth-signifier. Allegory tends toward this arbitrariness because of its use of metaphor, whereby naming a thing often leads to multiple significations. Its multiplicity can be dangerous when readers attempt to find "truth statements" embedded in it, because words can no longer readily reflect Truth. Only through spiritual teaching can readers properly interpret such a system of language, and if readers are not spiritually healthy, they will not readily discover the intended truth under the veil of fiction. According to Augustine, readers must break through the hard shell of fiction to find the appropriate message, but "the text itself may partially blind or confuse readers, humbling them but urging them on in their interpretive labor."[81] Finally, the misinterpretation of allegory (as well as scriptural texts) is often referred to as an act of idolatry, which many early Protestant thinkers attribute to man's fall and his subsequent ignorance. As a consequence of the fall,

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[79] Edwin Honig, *Dark Conceit: The Making of Allegory*, (Providence: Brown Univ. Press, 1959), 24.
[80] Pendergast notes that this is one of the central ironies of spiritual understanding for many early Protestants. *Religion, Allegory and Literacy*, 106.
[81] Quoted in Gross, *Spenserian Poetics*, 116. Augustine also states that "no one doubts that things are perceived more readily through similitudes and that what is sought with difficulty is discovered with more pleasure." *On Christian Doctrine*, 38.

according to Sir Thomas Browne, humanity is inclined to idolatry, because the fall is when Truth was veiled.[82] Thus, man is now inclined to misread, to read idolatrously, and idolatrous reading "is a threat to the degree that it blocks the divine persuasions of the later Christian text and keeps the reader from recognizing how much the new readings" must surpass the old, as Gross contends.[83] To read and interpret is to find "truth," but no interpretation is completely "correct." No final interpretation is an island because all understanding is arrived at via prior truths and "myths" that intersect, making it possible for the allegorist to rewrite such "myths" in order to come to new ones. Gross maintains that "[o]ften the interpreter, in attempting to re-appropriate the earlier text's imagery, must discover or invent a mystery where before there was none. The text may thus become a seductive, even a corrupt revelation that only the allegorist can expose, or else a rationally determined covering for doctrinal truths."[84] Furthermore, Pendergast points out that "no matter how one eventually interprets, one always reads through the body, and therefore understanding begins in sensation, albeit internal."[85] Interpretation begins by reading, which begins by physically seeing the text. That the interpreter must rely, first, on bodily sensations in order to begin the interpretive task is dangerous because the process may eventually turn back on itself and invoke the imagination. The interpretive process, then, begins to mirror the process by which the layman comes to understand the image: the interpreter must first rely on sight in order to find the "truth" hidden beneath the literal text of both the image and

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[82] Thomas Browne, *Pseudodoxia epidemica* 1.3 in *The Prose of Sir Thomas Browne*, ed. Norman Endicott (New York and London, 1968), 101.
[83] Gross, *Spenserian Poetics*, 66.
[84] Ibid., 60.
[85] Pendergast, *Religion, Allegory, and Literacy*, 1.

allegory, but what begins with sensation may very well end in sensation rather than in rationality.

Even though reading begins in with a physical act, reading is also a gendered act. Many authors expound the notion of the author as masculine and the written text as feminine. For allegorical texts, however, such gendering goes further when the literal level of allegory is equated to the female body and Eve, while the underlying message is equated to the male spirit and Adam. To take pleasure in the letter or literal layer of the text is analogous to taking carnal pleasure of a woman. Carolyn Dinshaw's analysis of how readers engage with specifically medieval and patristic texts also clarifies how readers engage with allegorical texts. Dinshaw explains that in the Pauline model of reading, one must "rigorously pass through the text's female body on the way to its spirit – its male spirit."[86] The interpreted or translated text is equivalent to the unveiled, unclothed woman. Because of its inherent duplicity and deceptive nature, the allegorical text can also be equated to the female gender. Martin Luther forces such an equation when he expounds upon the reasons he dislikes the allegorical mode of writing:

> For allegory is like a beautiful harlot who fondles men in such a way that it is impossible for her not to be loved, especially by idle men who are free from a trial. […] Although this [the allegorizing of Ovid's *Metamorphosis* into a religious text] is absurd, nevertheless, when it is set forth to youths who lack experience but are lovers and students of literature, it is so pleasing to them at the onset that they devote themselves completely to those interpretations.[87]

[86] Carolyn Dinshaw, *Chaucer's Sexual Poetics* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 22.
[87] Martin Luther, "Against the Heavenly Prophets," 208.

Luther's statement forms a clear relationship between the dangers of the seductive woman and the dangers inherent to allegory. Allegory, as the seductress, preys upon "idle men" and ultimately turns them into "idolaters." Just as youths devote themselves to loving the enchanting woman, they also devote themselves to a specific interpretation of an allegory. Luther understands that an allegory's reader can come to any interpretation, and as long as the reader finds that interpretation pleasing, he will be dedicated to it. Ultimately, the allegory becomes the enchantress and the discourses concerning allegory and misogyny become a shared discourse. If early modern allegorists are using the "myths" associated with misogyny to speak of images (which are also gendered, as we will see), then such a lesson is doubly effective when using a feminized mode of writing. The gendered text mirrors its gendered topic.

Re-gendering

The discourse of misogyny lends itself well to theories concerned with allegory, but it is also useful when addressing the seductive power of the Catholic Church and the images this church supports because the discourse identifies all things duplicitous with women. If images are internally dead and externally seductive, then theologians can be speak of them using terms similar to those they use to describe wayward women and the men who fall under women's seductive powers. In fact, sexual reprobates and idolaters are parallel offenders of church doctrine: adultery is traditionally paired with idolatry, an analogy Tertullian expounds when he discusses the prohibition of adultery found in the Decalogue:

> For after spiritual chastity and sanctity followed corporeal integrity. And this (the Law) accordingly fortified, by immediately prohibiting its foe, adultery.

> Understood, consequently, what kind of sin (that must be), the repression of which (the Law) ordained next to (that of) idolatry. Nothing that is a second is remote from the first; nothing is so close to the first as the second.

While Tertullian may see a difference between adultery and idolatry, he manages to correlate them by sequentially ordering them. Adultery is the enemy of chastity, but it is also second to idolatry on the list of prohibitions. The propinquity of these two sins on the list ensures their reliability on one another, for "nothing is so close to the first as the second." In fact, the two are so close in physical and relational proximity that Tertullian has one sin speak for and about another:

> 'Many and many a time do I, Idolatry, subminister occasion to Adultery; witness my groves and my mounts, and the living waters, and the very temples in cities, what mighty agents we are for overthrowing modesty.'[88]

The language Idolatry uses to describe itself clearly associates this sin with Adultery, which by its natural denigration of female chastity is explicitly tainted with sexuality. Idolatry's feminization appears in words such as "groves," "mounts," and "living waters," with their association with the female body. Furthermore, Idolatry refers, in the last line, to itself and Adultery as "we," an inclusive indicator that forces the feminization of both sins. Many early modern Protestant thinkers follow Tertullian in connecting the feminine with both duplicity and idolatrous beliefs and practices. If the Catholic Church and its images appear to be one thing, and yet are quite another, then it is easy enough to speak of them in terms of the feminine. In fact, it is conventional to read references to the Catholic Church as feminine: the Church is the "mother" church and the "bride of Christ."

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[88] Tertullian, "On Modesty," 77-78.

Reformers are quick to seize on the Catholic Church's feminine, maternal imagery to make, via misogynistic stereotypes, critical coorelations between idolatry, women, and the Catholic Church. In his defense of the Church, *De catholicae ecclesiae unitate*, early church father Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, argues that "[t]he spouse of Christ cannot be made an adulteress; she is undefiled and chaste. Whoso stands aloof from the Church and is joined to an adulteress is cut off from the promises given to the Church."[89] When Protestant reformers refer to the Catholic Church and its followers in terms of the feminine, such references are far less flattering. While Stephen Batman defines woman as simply "[a] necessary evil," he defines Rome as "[a] Brothell house for Whores mayntenaunce."[90] Many early Protestants saw the Catholic Church as deceptive, as the creator of a religion that purposefully falsified and debased true Christianity. It is not only that this aged Church was guilty of promoting heresy and prostituting the Word of God, it was also that its amassment of wealth and its pomp were simply outward showings of an internal corruptive, seductive nature that was given distinctly gendered flavor and inflection by later Protestants like Henry Ainsworth:

> [The] princes of the earth [do] endow and adorn it with the riches and jewels of all worldly glory, that when this Jezebel shewed herself on the stage of the world, she made all men astonished at her majesty, enamoured the nations with her beauty,

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[89] *Documents of the Christian Church*, 79-80.

[90] Stephen Batman, *The Golden Booke of the Leaden Gods* in *The Renaissance and the Gods: a Comprehensive Collection of Renaissance Mythographies, Iconologies, & Iconographies, with a Selection of Works from the Enlightenment,* ed. Stephen Orgel, (New York: Garland Publishing, 1976), 28r, 26v. Something of the same nature occurs when the author of "A Treatyse Shewing and Declaring the Pryde and Abuse of Women Now a days," written around 1550, begins his poem with a statement on the pride of women: "But surely yf there we no proude hartes, / There woulde be no proude araye." In the same poem, he connects pride with the Catholic Church: "From Rome, from Rome, this earkerd pryde, / From Rome it cam, doubltes." *Early Popular Poetry of England*, ed. W. Carew Hazlitt (London: John Russell Smith, 1866) 232, 241.

> bewitched them with her sorceries, and made them drunken with the wine of her fornications. The forest of Rome was the high place where this *Miphletseth*, or *idol of horror*, should have her seat.[91]

In Ainsworth's view, the Church's followers are no less guilty than the Church itself of beguiling the innocent layman through feminized deceptive practices. The Catholic Church is the Jezebel who enamors men with her beauty and bewitching behavior, but her followers (the princes of the earth) not only allow such behavior, but sanction it with gifts of riches and jewels. The princes become accomplices in the sins and unwholesome practices performed by the Catholic Church. Although the English court took steps toward exiling, converting, or executing recusants, many remained in England, using methods sanctioned by the Catholic Church in order to survive in a country hostile to them.[92] According to Marotti, "[t]he recusant woman was, like Catholicism itself (the religion of the 'Whore of Babylon'), the target of Protestant misogyny."[93] Both men and women recusants, however, were purposely instructed to deceive Protestants through equivocation and disguise, practices that accomplish what could be considered feminine duplicity.

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[91] Ainsworth, *An Arrow against Idolatrie*, 321.

[92] Elizabeth I's letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1576 asks the church official to inquire "Whether any popish priests, either going as priests, or disguised in other apparel, or altering their names for any cause, or any other, or runagate persons, mislikers, or depravers of true religion, that do not minister or frequent common prayer now used, nor communicate at times appointed by the law, do resort secretly or openly into your parish, and to whom; and of whom be they received, harboured, and relieved, and what be their names and surnames, or by what names they are called." Art. 15, "Articles to be enquired of within…". *Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church Being a Collection of Injunctions, Declarations, Orders, Articles of Inquiry, &c. from the Year 1546 to the Year 1716*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1844), 404-05.

[93] Arthur F. Marotti, "Alienating Catholics in Early modern England: Recusant Women, Jesuits and Ideological Fantasies" in *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early modern English Texts* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 4.

Equivocation was a means of concealing the truth without actually lying.[94] Circa 1575, the Catholic authorities at Douai-Rheims published a number of answers to specific questions concerned with recusants living in England. This publication allows for duplicity among those Catholic priests residing in and traveling to England. In Case 1 of the Allen-Persons Cases, equivocation "is not lying, but pretence. Pretence, however, is lawful, for even Christ pretended that he would go further to those two men who met him at Emmaus." [95] Vocal deception, saying one thing and meaning another, goes some way to transforming the recusant into both an allegorical and a feminized figure. Playing body double takes this feminization one step further:

> [I]f it is assumed to be lawful to change one's clerical habit, it must be equally lawful to grow one's hair, for both are enjoined by the same human law; and priesthood is hidden less by a change of hair than by a change of clothes, especially since doctors do not wear the clerical habit. It is much more lawful to change one's name since this is prohibited by no law, and on entering religion people often change their names out of devotion. Since this is the case, why can it not be done for a similar good reason; so that these priests whose holy aim is to confirm the faithful in their faith and reduce heretics to the faith may protect their lives and avoid danger?[96]

Ultimately, recusants were to take all precautions against getting caught, but they were to do so according to what was lawful. The recusant acted within the law if he chose to change his hair, his clothing, or his name, especially if changing these elements would help to "confirm the faithful" or "reduce heretics to the faith." However, changing one's name and outward appearance so that what another person views externally does

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[94] Cari Sullivan explains that "[e]quivocation splits statements into four types: propositions can be made mentally, vocally, physically, or by a mixture of the three, allowing modifications of outright statements." *Dismembered Rhetoric: English Recusant Writing, 1580-1603* (London: Associated Univ. Press, 1995), 139.
[95] Holmes, *Elizabethan Casuistry*, 63.
[96] Ibid.

not reveal one's internal faith becomes duplicity in action. In misogynistic discourse, the idea that one's internal and external natures do not coincide is a performance of the duplicitous woman.

The feminine is also erotic, and the mysteries embodied by the Catholic Church, and its images could be eroticized and therefore feminized. The discourse concerned with women and that concerned with images intersect most vividly in erotic discourse. It is here that the harlot or the whore comes to represent the feminized Catholic Church or image, but many times references are more vague than direct, more allegorical than literal. Many of these eroticized references fuse the image, the act of idolatry, and the Catholic Church. Some of the most eroticized references come from Ainsworth's *An Arrow Against Idolatrie*, written so that "the allurement of this whore Idolatry with her deceits and snares, may be further manifested, and the people be warned to avoid her destruction."[97] In order to warn the innocent layman, Ainsworth will "uncover her skirts":

> For by these and innumerable more enchantments of idolatry, (which the day would not be enough to reckon up,) [*sic*] this Circe, this Lady of the Pseudo-Catholics hath intoxicated the earth, so that the inhabitants are drunken with the wine of her fornication; doting upon her revered clergy, her devout service, her sacred ceremonies, her hallowed churches, her saints relicks, and other like amatory potions[.] Hence it is, that the relicks of this Romish idolatry, are so fast retained among some which yet hate the whore, and eat her flesh, and burn her with fire.
>
> [T]he lothsome idols and excrements of the Queen of Sodom, and the filthiness of her fornication, hath she dishonoured and blasphemed the God of heaven, and all that dwell therein: With them she defileth the consciences of men; with them she delights and solaces herself in fleshly ease and pleasure, till, in one hour, she and all her riches, pleasures, wares, merchandise, shall perish.[98]

[97] Ainsworth, *An Arrow against Idolatrie*, 292.
[98] Ibid., 337-38.

In these two sections of his work, Ainsworth clearly associates the eroticized female with the Catholic Church. The Church and its head, the Pope, are represented by the "Queen of Sodom" and "Circe," both the woman leader of defilement and the enchantress. The roles of both the woman and the church are several: First, they intoxicate the earth with fornication, leaving innocent laymen so inebriated with falsity that they can no longer discern "truth." Second, because of her allurement, the seductress leads laymen to succumb to specific acts of idolatry by means of her services, sacred ceremonies, saint's relics, and "amatory potions." Third, even if laymen wanted to rid themselves of such feminine enchantment, they would be unable to do so because of their own powerlessness. The only end to the "idols and excrements of the Queen of Sodom" that defile the consciences of men is in the future, when the Queen/Catholic Church shall perish under all the riches, pleasures, wares, and merchandise she has amassed. Ainsworth does not limit his outrage to the Church, but in such outrage, also attacks the act of idolatry associated with the teachings of the Church, speaking of it too as resembling "a foolish woman, ignorant and knowing nothing."[99] Both the religion and its vices are erotically feminized, but erotic discourse also exemplifies the act of image worship in which Protestants accused Catholics of participating, as in this statement against the ideas of Osorius: "What els do ye then when as you throw your selves prostrate before pictures, and never make any end

[99] One of the many references Ainsworth makes to idolatry as a feminine figure is: "Therefore is this vice [idolatry] resembled to a foolish woman, ignorant and knowing nothing; yet troublesome and talkative, and loud in her babbling; of a smooth and flattering tongue, and her mouth more soft than oil; yet cruel also and malicious, hunting for the precious life of a man; bringing him to beggary, death, and hell." Ibid., 340.

almost of embracyng them, licking them, kissyng them, deckyng them, presentyng them with giftes […]"[100] Even the unnamed Elizabethan homilist refers to the statues of women-saints as "well trimmed harlots."[101] These several quotes indicate that the use of erotic discourse to discuss women, the Catholic Church, idolatry, and images is prevalent among Protestant theologians. If the feminine can be couched in terms of duplicity, seduction, and sin, then referring to images in terms of the feminine will necessarily give greater strength to the argument that images should be destroyed.

Among the problems many Protestants articulated concerning images and their construction was the highly embellished physical nature of the image, which further feminizes it. The process of creation, embellishment, and worship can be seen in the Pygmalion images produced in one of many *Le Roman de la Rose* manuscripts (Figs. 2 – 5) where the image is feminized. An unknown Lollard writer had addressed the issue of embellishment and worship as a particular concern in his essay on images and pilgrimages in the early fifteenth century, and his thoughts on the matter were bequeathed to and accepted by many later reformers:

> And yit men erren foul in this crucifixe making, for thei peynten it with greet cost, and hangen myche siluer and gold and precious clothis and stones theronne and aboute it, and suffren pore men, boughte with Cristis precious blode, to be by hem nakyd, hungry, thursty and in strong preson boundun, that shulden be holpyn by Cristis lawe with this ilke tresour that is thus veynnely wasted on thes dede ymagis.[102]

Two important points of contention appear in the Lollard's statement: 1) the costly ornamentation of images is an extravagance that helps to aid the visual appeal of the

[100] *Against Ierome Osorivs*, 38r.
[101] *Certain Sermons or Homilies* (Oxford, 1844), 235.
[102] John Wycliffe, "Images and Pilgrimages," in *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings*, ed. Anne Hudson (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1978), 83.

object, which in turn draws the innocent layman into idolatry because of the image's visual attraction; and 2) the image is not a living but a dead thing, a static signifier unworthy of the attention that good Christians should give to the poor man who is the living resemblance of God. Embellishing the image, making the image attractive to the viewing eye, is a problem that Protestant reformers also attribute to tainted women and the feminized Catholic Church (see examples of such image garnishment in Figs. 6 – 9). In fact, some of the very words used to describe the adorned image appear in texts that speak to the falseness of decorated women and the Catholic Church. Ainsworth again describes the "whore" that represents the Catholic Church:

> She taketh her fair jewels of God's gold and silver, and with them she maketh her images and heresies; and covereth them with broidered garments, as wrought by God's own Spirit; and setteth his oil and perfume before them. She washeth herself, as if she were clean from all iniquity; and painteth her eyes, as if she had the very visage of true faith; and decketh her with ornaments, as wanting no gifts of knowledge, or utterance, or other furniture of the Spirit; and she sitteth upon a costly bed, as being seated and constituted in the best perfection.[103]

This passage speaks to two arguments that Protestants have against the Catholic Church and its practices. First, it refers to the deception of the Catholic Church when it describes "her" as pretending to cleanse herself of sin, falsifying truth by covering it with lies, decking herself with false knowledge, and feigning perfection. Each of these accusations is couched in terms of pomp and embellishment through words such as "ornaments," "painteth," and "costly bed," all of which represent both the wealth and femininity of the Church. Second, and perhaps more importantly, this passage makes clear references to the Catholic Church's practice of beautifying images. The Church

[103] Ainsworth, *An Arrow against Idolatrie*, 291.

uses "her fair jewels of God's gold and silver" to make an image that "she" then covers with embroidered garments. After embellishing the image, the Church sets oils and perfumes before it, creating a figure of beauty that is empty of "truth." We see here a general view of what Harry Berger argues specifically about Una and the satyrs in Book 1 of *The Faerie Queene*: "[w]hat is worshipped is the beautiful, not the true. The brightness of beauty blinds the viewer to the truth or falsity of the image; truth reduced to beauty depends for its definition on those who admire and desire the beautiful as true."[104] Because images are beautifully adorned, because they "give content to the worshipper's conscience, and please the mind no less than a feast with peace-offerings," they have the potential to create desire in the viewing subject.[105]

To feminize the image further, writers attribute masculine characteristics to the image's maker. It is commonly argued that artistic and literary activities are gendered activities. In her study of Chaucer, Dinshaw relates the common assumption that "literary activity has a gendered structure, a structure that associates acts of writing and related acts of signifying [...] with the masculine and that identifies the surface on which these acts are performed, or from which these acts depart, or which these acts reveal [...] with the feminine."[106] This theory, while strictly identified by Dinshaw with the creation of literary texts and their meaning, could serve to characterize artistic creation as well. According to many Protestants, the *making* of images was not prohibited; the worshipping of them was. Yet the error, as Tertullian saw it, begins with

[104] While Berger is specifically speaking of the encounter between Una and the satyrs in Book 1 of *The Faerie Queene*, his argument could apply to images in general. "Sexual and Religious Politics in Book I of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*," *English Literary Renaissance* 34.2 (Spring 2004): 209-210.
[105] Ainsworth, *An Arrow against Idolatrie*, 283.
[106] Dinshaw, *Chaucer's Sexual Poetics*, 9.

such making: "Nay, you who *make*, that they (the idols) may be able to be worshipped, *do* worship; and you worship, not with the spirit of some worthless perfume, but with your own; nor at the expense of a beast's soul, but of your own."[107] This maker, this creator of the image is Luther's male whoremonger running after a female harlot.[108]

Rereading

The image's ability to create, as a desirable object, a desiring viewer and ultimately to entice the viewer to worship the object of desire is directly related to the image's visual nature and its physical adornment. The act of viewing the image and the vices that follow from man's desire for the image work discursively: two of the outcomes of desire, pride and lust, lead the viewer to construct the object of desire, and the object increases or magnifies these vices in the viewing subject through visual enticement. Images are visibly alluring; according to Ainsworth, viewing subjects will call "idols their *delectable things*, because of their desire that is toward them, and their pleasure in them."[109] Images, as part of the visible world, can only lead the layman into vice; the spirit, as part of the invisible world, brings the layman to salvation. Brian Cummings clearly illustrates this point: "the visual incorporates the world of the material, and is limited to it. The world of the spirit is by definition immaterial and invisible, beyond the reach of images, which can, by seeking to imitate it, only become

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[107] Tertullian, "On Idolatry," trans. S. Thelwall in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of The Writings of the Fathers Down to A.D. 325*, vol. 3, ed. Alexander Roberts, D.D. and James Donaldsonm LL.D. (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdman's Publishing, 1994), 64.
[108] Martin Luther, "The Last Sermon in Wittenbedrg, 1546," ed. Conrad Bergendoff, vol. 51 of *Luther's Works*, ed. Helmut T. Lehmann (Philadelphia: Mehlenberg Press, 1958), 374.
[109] Ainsworth, *An Arrow against Idolatrie*, 282.

idolatry."[110] The body cannot replace the spirit, and to attempt such a transformation is to engage in idolatry: transubstantiation is a lie. Like other Protestant thinkers, Miles Coverdale maintains that in order to move toward perfect godliness, laymen should always "apply [them]selves to ascend from things visible to things invisible: which if [they do] not, then [they are] no true honourers of God, but plain superstitious."[111] The idea that the visible image can tempt its viewer into idolatry is, of course, not an explicit contention of all Protestant thinkers. Some, such as Luther, believed that it was the use of the image, not necessarily its inherent nature, which led to idolatry. Others were more categorical about the danger of the image as a visual object. Well before the Reformation, the author of the fifteenth-century *The Lanterne of Light* urges: "Forsothe loweli housis & pore. refreynen the coueitise of othir / & we owen rathir to mervaile in the siȝt of bilding of mannes handiwork / & miche more schulde we mervaile. the greet werkis of God / than the werkis of deedli men. that duren but a while //."[112] The medieval emphasis on *libido videndi* is carried into the English Renaissance, where sight remains potentially dangerous, erotic, and spiritually deviant. To put trust in the visible as opposed to the invisible was to dance the deadly tango with desire that leads to vice. The argument that the imagination has the ability to "deceive not only by reflecting an inaccurate image of the external world, but also by actively creating false concepts" focuses primarily on man's interior mental state as the creator of an exterior

[110] Cummings, "Iconoclasm and Bibliophobia," 187.
[111] Miles Coverdale, "Abridgement of the Enchiridion of Erasmus," *Writings and Translations*, ed. George Pearson (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1854), 510.
[112] *Lanterne of Light*, 41.

sensory world, John King reminds us.[113] The exterior image coupled with the sensory faculties of hearing and sight recreates or reproduces the interiority of the lay Christian. In this process, man makes for himself an idol or image and that image in turn works to reconstruct the man when he sees and treats it as an entity in its own right. Pecock states as much in his *Repressor of Over Much Blaming of the Clergy,* and many in the Reformation will take up his sentiment:

> Perauenture thei wolen seie thus: Manye hundredis of men clepiden this ymage the Trinyte, and thei clepen this ymage Crist, and this ymage the Holi Goost, and this ymage Marie, and this ymage Seint Petir, and this ymage Seint Poul, and so forth of othere; and thei wolden not so clepe, but if thei feeliden and bileeueden withinneforth as thei clepen withouteforth; for ellis thei weren double.[114]

The danger of making or reproducing an image that will be set before the layman who may then improperly transfer the *latria* due to God onto the image is a great concern of later Protestant thinkers as well as the Lollard's in Pecock's time. Indeed, Pecock wrote this work in response to ideas proposed by the Lollards, many of whom were against images and icons. Worshipping the image is a direct result of seeing and making emotional connections to it, and because of this danger, many Protestant thinkers believed that seeing an image should not replace hearing or reading the Word.

Although Luther saw the image as neutral and only idolatrous if worshipped, he still believed that God desired "to have his works heard and read, especially the passion of our Lord."[115] Reading is essential to finding "truth," but reading must be done properly in order to find "truth" successfully. Even though she is speaking of medieval and

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[113] John King, *Spenser's Poetry*, 69.
[114] Pecock, *The Repressor*, 150.
[115] Luther, "Against the Heavenly Prophets," 99.

patristic reading habits, Carolyn Dinshaw's insights are, again, still applicable when speaking of the ways in which male gendered readers approach texts in the early modern period. Dinshaw's theory is especially helpful in my analysis of the way in which Redcrosse Knight attempts to read Duessa in *The Faerie Queene*. Dinshaw argues that to "read like a man" is "to impose a structure that resolves or occludes contradictions and disorder, fulfills the need for wholeness. It is to constrain, control, or eliminate outright the feminine […] in order to provide a single, solid, univalent meaning."[116] Such resolution offers the reader rest and closure, but these are achieved through unacknowledged exclusion, elimination, constraint. "Reading like a man" constitutes the feminine as disruptive Other, and the reader finally turns away from it. Such a hermeneutical practice totalizes the text: "it not only insists on a unified reading but construes as feminine and consequently excludes whatever does not accord with that whole."[117] Dinshaw also reminds us that "the reader is drawn to the text by its attractive appearance; the text is then interpreted – stripped of its stylistic and fictional blandishments, revealing and preparing its wisdom for Christian use."[118] This stripping of textual embellishments continues to feminize the text, as does Jerome in the conversion story he writes to Magnus, an orator of Rome:

> And if this were not enough, that leader of the Christian army, that unvanquished pleader for the cause of Christ, skillfully turns a chance inscription into a proof of the faith. For he had learned from the true David to wrench the sword of the enemy out of his hand and with his own blade to cut off the head of the arrogant Goliath. He had read in Deuteronomy the command given by the voice of the Lord that when a captive woman had had her hair cut off, and her nails pared, she might then be

[116] Dinshaw, *Chaucer's Sexual Poetics*, 51.
[117] Ibid., 54.
[118] Ibid., 24.

> taken to wife. Is it surprising that I too, admiring the fairness of her form and the grace of her eloquence, desire to make that secular wisdom which is my captive and my handmaid, a matron of the true Israel?[119]

Jerome is here converting the pagan woman (or text) into a Christian one by stripping her of those things (her nails and hair) that are heathen. Indeed, drawing on the Biblical injunction found in the Book of Deuteronomy, Jerome sees it as the Christian's duty to conquer and strip away the pagan influence, the garnishment, in order to ascertain the "truth." Such conquering, however, means that the Christian must engage in either of two tasks: 1) destroy the text or image as David does Goliath, or 2) convert the text or image as the leader of the Christian army does the captive woman. If the image is feminized, then a more proper response to it would coincide with the latter of these two choices. In order to reveal "truth," the woman and the image must be laid bare, and iconoclasm can perform this task.

It appears that the visual culture of the Catholic religion was identified as the enemy of the literate Protestant religion, as many books as images and icons were destroyed during the period. Jennifer Summit shows that in accordance with the hostility Protestant thinkers felt toward the Catholic Church in general, many of the books that Protestant radicals destroyed were housed in monastic libraries, which acted as "representatives of a perceived, and resented, ecclesiastical control over literacy and its privileges."[120] Those books that were not destroyed were altered or "purified" through glossing techniques that aimed to "separate truth from falsehood, and history

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[119] St. Jerome, "Letter to Magnus an Orator of Rome," in *The Principal Works of St. Jerome*, trans. W.H. Fremantle, M.A., vol. 6 of *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of The Christian Church*, eds. Philip Schaff, D.D., LL.D. and Henry Wace, D.D. (Grand Rapids: Wm.B. Eerdmans, 1996), 149.

[120] Jennifer Summit, *Memory's Library: Medieval Books in Early modern England* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2008), 9.

from fable."[121] The ways in which books and images were destroyed, however, were significantly different. Cummings reminds us that books were most often burned, and although many images were burned as well, images were often stripped, because "[d]evotion to images, and their destruction, was concerned not with the object but with what it was felt to contain, not with what was seen but with ways of seeing," with ways of reading.[122] Latimer took part in just such a program when, in the summer of 1537, he participated "in the ceremonial defrocking of Our Lady of Worcester, undressing her of jewels and clothes, and revealing her (according to a carefully promulgated rumour) to be an old statue of a previous bishop in drag."[123] The image, like the woman, can only be properly read after her defrocking; underneath the adorned woman or image is a perversion that has previously performed "truth," but this "truth" can be revealed as false once the visual outer layer is removed. To hear, read, and interpret the text correctly would ultimately lead to the remaking of the man from a heathen into a Christian, just as to interpret the woman correctly would keep the layman pure. Active reading is key: spiritual fornication stems from idle reading or reading the idol rather than the Word. In his preface to the 1540 edition of the Bible, Thomas Cranmer argues that "[t]he reading of the scriptures is a great and strong bulwark or fortress against sin; the ignorance of the same is the greater ruin and destruction of them that will not know

[121] Ibid., 121. Jennifer Summit offers a comprehensive analysis of the ways in which reformists censured medieval texts in order to rid those texts of Catholic "fables and wives tales" while retaining the texts in post-Reformation libraries.
[122] Cummings, "Iconoclasm and Bibliophobia," 194.
[123] Ibid., 195.

it."[124] Scripture by itself is sufficient to make men "absolute and perfect;" images are useless in that they contribute nothing to man's salvific experience.[125] Zwingli makes a similar point in his treatise "On True and False Religions": "We ought to be taught by the word of God externally, and by the Spirit internally, those things that have to do with piety, and not by sculpture wrought by the artist's hand."[126] If laypersons could not read the Bible, then it should be read to them in order to circumvent idolatrous temptations provoked by the image. In order to secure such an ambitious program, Protestant reformers believed that the Bible should be translated from the Latin into the vernacular language so as to make scripture more accessible to the layperson.

The Catholic Church, of course, saw Protestant translations of the Bible as corrupt, and even as the Catholic Church began trying to adapt to the emergence of Protestant translated Biblical texts, it published clear rebukes of such translations. In the preface to the Rheims New Testament of 1582, the Catholic translators accuse Protestants of having:

> so abused the people, and many other in the world, not unwise, that by their false translations they have, instead of God's Law and Testament, and for Christ's written will and word, given them their own wicked writing and fantasies, most shamefully in all their versions, Latin, English and other tongues, corrupting both the letter and sense by false translation, adding, detracting, altering, transposing, pointing, and all other guileful means.[127]

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[124] Thomas Cranmer, "Prologue or Preface to the English Bible" in *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer*, ed. John Edmund Cox (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1846), 121.
[125] See *Against Ierome Osorivs*, Book I, for a comprehensive view on this topic. This text was written by three Protestant leaders: M. Walter Haddon, M. John Foxe, and James Bell. For these men, reading or hearing the Word has the additional power of healing one from idolatry: "I boldly pronounce that without great danger of Idolatry, Images can not be placed in Churches, to the viewe of the rude people being naturally inclinable to all superstition. And therefore it is most necessary to abandone Images out of Churches, and to instruct the people in the holy Scriptures, the often hearying and readyng wherof, will make the diligent and virtuous followers, to finde no want of any such pynted bables" (41r).
[126] Zwingli, *Commentary*, 331-32.
[127] *Documents of English Reformation*, 375.

Many of the Catholic indictments against Protestant translated works are as forcefully expressed as the accusations Protestants produce against the Catholic Church's use of images. The above statement charges the Protestant translator with creating "wicked writings and fantasies" that are meant to deceive the layman because these translators purposefully corrupt both the literal and metaphorical layers of scripture. Not only are the Protestants falsely interpreting the scriptures, but they are creating false interpretations of them and are likely to lead the layman into sin by asking him to read these translations. To counter this possible effect on the innocent layman, the Catholic Church continued to caution the layman to forgo any interpretation of the scriptures that was not condoned by the Church. In fact, Pope Pius IV had already issued a Bull in 1564 that required all Catholics to recite the Tridentine Profession of Faith publically. The recitation requires that the layman promise never to interpret the scriptures for himself nor accept an interpretation to which the Church has not consented.[128] Three years after the Bull was issued, Nicolas Sander reiterated Pius's words: "The waies to see and heare the Church of Christ is to see and heare the gouernors of his Church, with the people that obey them and agree with them."[129] To the Catholic Church, Protestants corrupted or adulterated the scriptures simply by translating them into the vulgar language. The Vulgate is a sound translation, but because it is written in Latin, the layman must rely on the Catholic Church to translate it for and teach it to him. The

[128] The full oath reads: "I acknowledge the sacred Scripture according to that sense with Holy Mother Church has held and holds, to whom it belongs to decide upon the true sense and interpretation of the holy Scriptures, nor will I ever receive and interpret the Scriptures except according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers." *Documents of the Christian Church*, 281.

[129] Nicolas Sanders, Preface to *A Treatise of the Images of Christ, and his Saints: and that it is vnlawfull to breake them, and lauful to honour them* (Lovanii, 1567).

Catholic Church argued that this was a biblically sound theory because not all men were created to be teachers; some were created to be students, and it was best if these students were taught by those who were experts in the sound and assured doctrine passed down through the Catholic Church. Harding argues a commonly held assumption when he states that a layman who attempts to act as a priest has "no purpose or profit" because "the labour of a worldly and natural man" is not toward attaining the "things that be of the Spirit."[130] In other words, the layman's job is to listen to the priest, not to be the priest. For Catholic writers, by translating the Bible into English, Protestants defiled what was sacred, what was pure, and transformed it into a whore that then acted upon the ignorant layman. Harding argues this point in one of his many rebuttals against John Jewel: "This is certain, divers chapters and stories of the old testament contain such matter as occasion of evil thoughts is like to be given, if women, maidens, and young men be permitted to read them."[131] The Catholic Church clearly condemned all Protestant translations of the Bible, because such translations not only took interpretive control of the Word out of the hands of the ancient church, but they were also the corrupted texts that corrupted the layman.

Vocal Performance and Transformation

When Augustine speaks of the distinguishing features of *Felicitas* and *Fortuna*, the most disturbing difference between the two goddesses is that *Felicitas* does not

[130] M. Harding in John Jewel, "Of Reading the Scriptures," *The Works of John Jewel,* ed. John Ayre, 4 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1847), 679.

[131] Ibid., 674. Harding goes on to say that "seeing the poison of heretics doth most infect the common people, and all heretics draw their venom out of the bible, under pretence of God's word; it is not thought good by these men to let every curious and busy body of the vulgar sort to read and examine the bible in their common language" (681).

"speak" and *Fortuna* does: "Fortune is presented as a chatterer, while Felicity is dumb."[132] Engaging in misogynistic discourse, he goes on to say that "it would have been better to have the "'Fortune of the Men' speaking, not the 'Fortune of the Women'"; for then it would not be suspected that this impressive miracle was a piece of female gossip."[133] These comments not only perpetuate the "myth" of women as loquacious, but also associate feminine vocal utterances with images. In their performance of Protestant ideas concerning images, the Catholic Church, and idolatry, women allegorical characters use vocal utterances to sway other characters with whom they come into contact. These vocal performances coincide with particular gestures and acts. The unsuspecting Christian can be beguiled more readily, and more thoroughly, if the desired object speaks. Tertullian, in his tract *On Modesty*, shows how an extra layer of enticement is added when the sins of adultery, idolatry, and murder speak: "'We either detain Adultery, or else follow her.' These words the sins themselves do speak. If the sins are efficient in speech, hard by (the door of the church) stands an idolater, hard by stands a murderer; in their midst stands, too, an adulterer."[134] It is not only the sins who speak, but their maker speaks as well. According to Tertullian, Satan "makes it his aim, that, what he cannot effect by *our* mouth, he may effect by the mouth of his servants, introducing idolatry into us through our ears."[135] Augustine and Tertullian establish the role of vocal performance in the study of idolatry and images, and this role is repeated and reconstructed by early modern Protestant and Catholic theologians.

[132] Ibid., 158.
[133] Ibid.
[134] Tertullian, "On Modesty," 78.
[135] Tertullian, "On Idolatry," 74.

However, instead of attributing a voice to sin, as Tertullian does, many Protestant writers take the feminized vocalizations identified by Augustine and transfer them to ideas that support "hearing" over "seeing." These feminized voices are often the salvific impetus for the Protestant protagonist: "seeing" most often coincides with specific moments of tribulation for the protagonist while "hearing" coincides with moments of rescue or acquired knowledge even when the voice is that of a personified image. For Catholic authors, on the other hand, the feminized voice lures the protagonist into danger whereas the protagonist's reliance on his sight leads to salvation or comfort. In Catholic-authored works, vocal silence is a catalyst for positive spiritual and moral change.

If the corrupt Catholic Church is feminized by Protestants, then its teachings and teachers are also feminized, which in turn will necessarily produce a voice that is both female and corrupt. Richard Bancroft states, in his *Sermon Preached at Paules Crosse*, that Catholic priests "hide their errours under their counterfeit *and faire speeches*: to *Helena*, of Greece, for that they moove as great contention in the church as she did troubles betwixt the Grecians and the Troians" (emphasis mine).[136] Ainsworth, like Bancroft, uses the vocal utterances of the feminized idol or image to show how the female voice can transform the Christian:

> So this idol of indignation, being crept into God's throne, to be judge and lawgiver, surmounteth far Jeroboam's dumb calves, which had mouths, and spake not: for this image can speak, because she hath a spirit, and exacteth worship of the inhabitants

[136] Richard Bancroft, *Sermon at Paules Crosse the 9.of Februarie, being the first Sunday in the Parleament, Anno. 1588* (London: Gregorie Seton, 1588), 6.

> of earth, that all should adore her, as mother and mistress of all the churches; receive, believe, and obey her word [.][137]

The moment of feminized vocal utterance or vocal silence is a transforming one, as shown in the above passage by Ainsworth and the previous Augustinian passage. Not only does Augustine distinguish *Fortuna* as a female gossip, but he also indicates that her ability to speak acts as a moment of conversion or transformation. Because she has a voice, *Fortuna* is transformed from a static image into a living image with the potential to lead men into idolatry. Transformation takes place because of the presence or absence of the feminized voice. These transformations happen most readily under two conditions: 1) at the moment of vocal reacquisition or vocal loss, when feminized allegorical characters are, or have been, intimately associating with personified images; or 2) when feminized personifications of concepts and actions directly related to the image debate (such as Protestant Biblical translations and the actions of radical reformers) address or stop addressing allegorical characters. The former condition most often occurs in allegories written by Protestant authors, while the latter condition occurs in allegories written by Catholic ones. As an allegory written by a Protestant author to a female Catholic readership, *The Shippe of Safegaurd* accomplishes the task of transformation in a third way: the transformation is imagined taking place outside the allegory in the female reader.

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[137] Ainsworth, *An Arrow against Idolatrie*, 323.

CHAPTER 3

THE FEMININE READER, THE FEMINIZED IMAGE: PROTESTANT DIDACTIC MANEUVERS IN *THE SHIPPE OF SAFEGARDE*

The codes of allegory demonstrate a placatory quality, the courteous desire to please those of similar opinions while not antagonizing other readers.
Alison Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination, 1558-1660*

The problem of discriminating between true and false images furnishes the comprehensive pattern of English Reformation literature. The Protestant eradication of external, worldly authorities made the search for the true image of both the church and oneself an arduous and dangerous process that every believer had to resolve for himself.
John N. King, *English Reformation Literature: The Tudor Origins of the Protestant Tradition*

Barnabe Googe's *The Shippe of Safegarde* (1569) is, in some ways, a unique text in that its author is Protestant and its audience is Catholic even though it was eventually published in Protestant England. Under these circumstances, the "placatory quality" demonstrated in the "codes of allegory" becomes essential to the success of Googe's work. He must simultaneously keep from antagonizing his immediate audience if he wishes to convert them and stay true to the religious convictions he shares with the larger English culture. Furthermore, because Googe's is a Protestant effort to proselytize, the allegorical journey on which his ship travels mirrors the both "arduous and dangerous process" of coming to "truth" that King notes every believer must resolve for himself, according to Protestant theologians. Googe's allegory likens man's journey through life to a ship's journey through dangerous seas. The ship is steered by man's soul toward the Haven of Bliss, but the soul must negotiate a course

through life's temptations represented by the Rock of Pride, the Rock of Avarice, the Quicksands of Destraction, the Sandbanks of Gluttony, the Island of Fleshly Pleasure, the Rock of Heresy, the Island of Idolatry, and the Rock of Hypocrisy. Only the most spiritually and morally mature pilot will be able to reach the heavenly port by means of helpful beacons, such as Prayer, Peace, Love, Mercy, Patience, and Faith. As the narrator of the allegory, Googe must bring his readers to the necessary level of maturity that will allow them to reach the Haven of Bliss successfully. Of the eight stops listed above, I analyze three: The Island of Fleshly Pleasure, the Rock of Heresy, and the Island of Idolatry. Unlike the remaining five, these three locations most clearly emphasize issues that pertain to women, reading, and images, respectively.

Because *The Shippe of Safeguard* is a relatively obscure text, criticism on the work is scant, but when literary critics analyze Barnabe Googe's allegorical work, many often speak of it in reference to Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*.[138] The two texts certainly share some characteristics: both are "sophisticated brands of allegory;" both are didactic in nature (though Googe's is more blatantly so than Spenser's because of the respective audiences of the poets); and both are written from a clearly Protestant perspective.[139] Some similarities also appear in the allegorical content of these two poems. For instance, Googe's ship travels through dangerous waters toward the Haven

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[138] John King maintains that Googe's text shares "with *The Faerie Queene* an encyclopedic combination of romance, quest narrative, didactic allegory, and Protestant polemics." *Spenser's Poetry*, 5. Susannah Brietz Monta includes both Spenser's and Googe's allegories in her discussion of the St. George legend and its relationship to martyrdom in *Martyrdom and Literature*. See also William E. Sheidley, *Barnabe Googe* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1981) and Simon McKeown and William E. Sheidley, Introduction to *The Shippe of Safegarde(1569)*, by Barnabe Googe (Temple, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001).
[139] Ibid., xiv.

of Bliss, much like Guyon travels to the Bower of Bliss in Book II. However, Googe's allegory dates from some twenty years before Spenser's and was likely unknown to Spenser.[140] The similarity in content could be attributed to a long history of writers using the literary ship motif as a metaphor for the Christian man and its pilot as a metaphor for the soul that "must trust to the divine compass and card to negotiate a course through the dangers."[141] Ultimately, Googe's and Spenser's allegories may have some similarities, but these likenesses could simply be literary conventions used by both authors.

Googe's Protestant use of allegory does not seem to be as potentially volatile as does Spenser's owing to the unique personal audience of *The Shippe of Safegaurd*.[142] Googe's lack of concern over the use of allegory could be attributed to two distinct aspects of his work. First, his allegory is clearly, even transparently, didactic on a personal level, unlike Spenser's didactic work, which is unquestionably written for a public audience. *The Faerie Queene* is a dedicatory work to Queen Elizabeth that expounds on, through dense metaphors that overlap and coalesce on various levels

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[140] However, Anne Lake Prescott sees a direct link between Spenser and Googe, stating that Googe's allegory "must have given Spenser food for thought when he was not thinking about Virgil, Ariosto, and Tasso" due to the Protestant religious sympathies shared by Spenser and Googe. "Spenser's Chivalric Restoration: From Bateman's "Travayled Pylgrime" to the Redcrosse Knight," *Studies in Philology* 86.2 (Spring, 1989): 194.

[141] McKeown, Introduction to *The Shippe of Safegarde*, xiii. This motif has for its Christian origins the Biblical stories of the ark saving Noah's family during the flood (Gen. 6-9:17), as illustrated by Augustine in *The City of God*, XV.26 and Jesus protecting Peter's boat and the apostles on the Sea of Galilee (Mark 4:35-41). Other uses of this motif appear in medieval texts: Guillaume de Deguileville's *Pilgrimage of Human Life* narrates the pilgrim's experience of the Sea of the World. V.A. Kolve offers numereous other examples of this motif in his chapter "The Man of Law's Tale: The Rudderless Ship and the Sea" in *Chaucer and the Imagery of Narrative: The First Five Canterbury Tales* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1984).

[142] Prescott maintains that "Googe's doubts about images goes beyond Spenser's even as he, too, relishes them: when his sailors reach Heresy they find among other abominations a picture of Saint George killing a dragon." "Spenser's Chivalric Restoration," 170.

simultaneously, a number of political, national, spiritual, and moral issues. As such, Spenser's allegory combines religious didacticism with polemical and analytical writing that concerns issues such as fiction writing and regicide; Spenser's allegorical purpose is much more complex than simple personal didacticism would warrant. Because allegory, before and during the early modern period, was "primarily an instrument for education," it is a plausible means by which to teach a young audience such as Googe's.[143] Second, Spenser's audience is undoubtedly a Protestant public one that might question the author's use of allegory, leading the poet to construct an elaborate apology for doing so. Googe's audience, however, is private and it can be assumed not at all troubled by the author's use of allegory; this poet's readers are distinctly feminine and Catholic.[144]

It must be kept in mind that Googe most likely did not intend that *The Shippe of Safegaurd* should be publically consumed and that he wrote the allegory as a Valentine's gift for his nieces and signed it "G.B." in order to maintain anonymity.[145] Consequently, Googe's allegory is a little known text that was not reprinted in the decades after its initial publication, even though, as the editors of *The Shippe of Safegaurd* maintain, the author "was an important pioneer of native English poetry in the mid-Tudor period."[146] What or whom Googe is "fashioning" with *The Shippe of Safegarde* seems, at times, unclear because of the religious faith and gender of his

[143] See Pendergast for a clear analysis of the relationship between allegory and literacy. *Religion, Allegory, and Literacy*, 133.
[144] McKeown believes that Googe's nieces must have been at least twelve years old, juding by their grandfather's will. Introduction to *The Shippe of Safegarde*, xxviii.
[145] Ibid.
[146] McKeown, Introduction to *The Shippe of Safegarde*, xvii.

audience.[147] Googe is ostensibly writing the allegory for his two young sisters-in-law who are residents in a recusant household, so it would be less likely for the poet to say that he is trying to "fashion a Protestant" with his allegory than to say he is trying to "fashion a gentlewoman" with it. However, Googe's purpose does emerge in allegorically veiled ways: both of these "fashionings" may be a part of his overall program. McKeown rightly maintains that as a Protestant poet, Googe seems "[c]onvinced of the efficacy of the written word to challenge and persuade the unreformed."[148] The thoroughly Protestant text shows that Googe is not necessarily more tolerant of Catholic religious practices than are other early modern Protestant writers. For example, he emphasizes that scriptural rather than priestly authority is at the center of the true Christian experience. However, Googes's allegory is not overly controversial and in some ways is even restrained, as the Dedicatory Epistle, in which Googe states his authorial purpose, demonstrates:

> Debating thus a whyle with my selfe what matter might best herein serve both our turnes, I was thorowly resolved with as much diligence as I could to make some discourse upon the perfite estate of a true christian, an estate above all others most happie and worthy, if it were as well renowned for lyfe, as it is reverent for name, the perceiving the lyves of Christians in these dayes so farre differing from the sinceritie that is required in a Christian profession. (A2v)[149]

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[147] McKeown states that "[e]ven Googe himself sometimes seems unsure of his exact allegorical intentions." Ibid., xxvii. I use the term "fashioning" in a slightly different way than Greenblatt uses the term in his *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1980). Greenblatt analyzes the "fashioning" of one's sense of self while I use the term in the sense of "fashioning" or reconstructing another person. In this sense, my use of "fashioning" more aptly recalls Spenser's use of the word in his letter to Raleigh where he states that his allegory will "fashion a gentleman" out of the reader.
[148] McKeown, Introduction to *The Shippe of Safegarde*, xxx.
[149] Barnabe Googe, *The Shippe of Safegarde (1569)*, ed. Simon McKeown and William E. Sheidley (Temple, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001). All quotations from the primary text come from this edition.

The dedication is a softened statement that would not offend his audience, even though such words as "true Christian" would more clearly be attributed to "Protestant" in the actual allegory. Furthermore, and as Sheidley argues, Googe "speaks as one in possession of the answer rather than in search of it, embodying given wisdom in a simple analogy chosen no doubt for its ready accessibility to an audience of intellectual inferiors who require an elementary guide to life."[150] Googe repeatedly strips away the allegorical veil that may cause his young female audience to interpret the text incorrectly; he, in the position of narrator, explains the text's meaning within the allegory itself. By doing so, he reveals his effort to "fashion a Protestant woman," but some aspects of this "fashioning" seem rather unfinished when one turns to the allegory proper. Furthermore, the lessons Googe is teaching his audience become somewhat repetitive, showing that poet may mistrust his readers' ability to grasp the lesson at its initiation. The central objective of this chapter is to analyze the program through which Googe endeavors to reconstruct his readers and into whom or what he attempts to reconstruct them. His aim is to convert his Catholic readers, and with this end in mind, I argue that Googe addresses, through his use of women characters and feminized allegorical locations, a number of topics central to the image debate, including misogynistic discourse, interpretation, and the importance of "hearing" over "seeing." Because his primary goal is conversion, he must engage with Catholic discourse at the same time that he must also take a Protestant stand against Catholic theology.

[150] Sheidley, *Barnabe Googe*, 92.

Because his explicit audience is Catholic, Googe exploits the discourse of the Catholic faith in order to subvert it. His interpretive strategies might work toward subversion because of the ways in which sixteenth-century recusants were admonished to approach the texts with which they engaged. As Ceri Sullivan writes in her outline of Catholic reading practices:

> [T]he subject which a Catholic text discusses is fixed; the material of the faith is, in terms of rhetoric, a series of commonplaces. Nor can the speaker's approach be altered, since an interpretation provided by the Church is regarded as immutable. Thus in recusant prose of the three elements of the speech described by rhetoric, only that of the audience can be adapted. The reader is urged to become engrossed in the works, taking on their points of reference. Put into the reading situation as a learner, the reader becomes the rules which he learns.[151]

The reader is the only changeable "element" in the suggested reading practices of the Catholic Church, but the reader is also gendered female regardless of whether the reader is actually a woman or a man, especially when that reader is engaging with meditative texts. Sullivan argues that recusant authors suggest that a reader "be humbly submissive in approaching devotional texts. He is to be silent and obedient to the text's meaning. Perhaps "she" would be more appropriate, since the listening figure inside each meditation is most often female, and the reader is expected to model his reception on hers."[152] Moreover, Sullivan states that "readers wait to be picked up by the text's eloquence or subject. The text's reference points are used by the reader rather than him furnishing his own."[153] Googe initially relies on the Catholic method of consuming texts outlined by Sullivan: he is the narrator/teacher within the text to whom the

[151] Sullivan, *Dismembered Rhetoric*, 14, 124.
[152] Ibid., 137.
[153] Ibid.

audience must listen. The audience is to be submissive to his words and absorb the message he offers. Googe's interpretive technique is fixed in the allegory, according to the Catholic method of reading to which his audience may already subscribe. Googe may also engage with Catholic discourse because, as Anthony Milton notes, many "English Protestants wished to claim the high ground of moderation by pointing out how far the Church of England shared many of Rome's doctrines."[154] Such an association with Catholicism allowed Protestant theologians not only to show the defects of the Catholic religion but also to revise the texts (such as the Decalogue) already in existence but only obtainable through the original Christian Church because "the Church of Rome still retained what might appear to be the essentials of true Christian belief."[155] Anthony Milton reminds us that because of Protestant claims to moderation, much "English Protestant controversial writing developed increasingly subtle and flexible forms."[156] If Googe can work within an established Catholic discourse, whether through what seems a moderate tone or through subtlety, then he can also convince his Catholic readers that his "truth" is also their "truth."

Engagement with the discourse of Catholicism is not Googe's only conversionary tactic. His is, indeed, both a subtle and covert technique in that while he engages with Catholic discourse, he also subverts that discourse through delicately stated anti-Catholic insinuations. Showing his audience the "true" path to spiritual safety takes up more space in the allegory than does showing the "false" way of

[154] Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought 1600-1640*, (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1995), 176.
[155] Ibid.
[156] Ibid.

Catholicism. His message is distinctly Protestant but especially so in sections of the allegory that directly relate to "seeing" versus "hearing." It is when his "shippe" reaches the Rock of Heresy and the Island of Idolatry that Googe's allegory most readily speaks to the Protestant ideal in an effort to fashion a "true" Christian.

The second contention of this chapter is that Googe's allegory is also written as a conduct manual of sorts. At particular points in the allegory, the poet is clearly offering lessons to his young female readers concerning how to be Christian women. However, Googe's lessons are arguably deficient, which could be due to the fact that women are viewed as inherently lacking. By engaging misogynistic and erotic discourses, Googe creates a relationship among women, Catholicism, and the image that appears at points at which Googe offers his female audience lessons on how to be Christian women, showing that each of the above three components is deficient. Googe continually expounds that what is pleasant to the eye (the image and the woman) is also destructive to the soul:

> Forsake this waye that pleasant is,
>   at first unto the eye:
> And as a daunger foule and great,
>   such flattering pleasures flye. (20, A4v)

The constant admonition to flee from the erotic beauty one "sees" is at once Protestant and misogynistic. A woman who artificially beautifies herself risks being perceived as other than virtuous. If Googe is "fashioning" a virtuous woman as part of the moral point of his allegory, then one would expect that he, like the authors of many conduct manuals for women, would provide examples of virtuous female characters within his

text, but this is not the case.[157] Googe gives only negative exempla, and in fact it could be argued that he is not, indeed, "fashioning a woman" but is rather "fashioning a man" out of his young female audience. In fact, the women characters in *The Shippe of Safegarde* are overwhelmingly seductive and false, and nowhere is this more apparent than on the Island of Fleshly Pleasure.

The Island of Fleshly Pleasure

The sensuality embodied in the Island of Fleshly Pleasure begins and ends with the feminized image; the island and its inhabitants, like the image itself, offer a false paradise to the viewer. Additionally, this section of Googe's allegory seems to equate "woman" with "danger" and thus begins the poet's effort to "fashion a Christian woman." Because the woman and the image are equally alluring and seductive, both are dangerous to the layman/sailor:

> And round about in everie place they meete,
> With shalls of Mermayds swimming here and there,
> Whose beautie great and pleasant singing sweete,
> So daunts the eyes and eares of them that heare,
> That marvaile is it if they hold their feete,
> From flying over to that lustie cheere,
> Their beautie is such, their voyce doth so delight,
> That with their tongues they conquer everie wight. (105, C5v)

The mermaids are not only women of great outward beauty who draw looks from the wayward or ignorant layman/sailor, but also creatures that enchant the layman/sailor

[157] Even though Juan Luis Vives gives many examples of the types of women he asks his readers to avoid, he also gives many examples, from classical and Biblical texts as well as from European historical texts, of admirable women. Among the many in this latter group of women are Edesia of Alexandria (for her "immense learning and purity of life"), Corinna of Tanagra ("a young girl of great intelligence"), and "a certain French girl among the retinue of those who accompanied Marguerite of Valois to Spain." This girl responded to some prospective Spanish lovers, who proclaimed that they would die for her love, saying, "Well, die and be done with it." *The Education of a Christian Woman: A Sixteenth-Century Manual*, ed. and trans. Charles Fantazzi (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2000), 67, 148.

with delightful singing. In fact, the most dangerous attribute of the mermaids is their voices, as it is ultimately with "their tongues they conquer everie wight." Rather than concentrating on sight as the force behind the misinterpretation of images, Googe travels a middle road between this Protestant theory and a more Catholic one that advises the layman to beware of the lies he may *hear*. However, if Googe's narrative voice is the one to which his young readers are "listening" in accordance with Catholic ways of reading, then a seeming complication arises: is Googe's one of those "sweet singing" voices of which the reader should be leery? The fact that Googe is asking his young readers to beware of what they may "hear" is an initial step in converting his Catholic readers to Protestant readers – from being those who simply submit to the embedded messages in a Catholic text (both written and visual) to those who interpret the "truth" in a text for themselves. Googe's might seem a compromise between Catholic and Protestant reading theories, but it is also a subversive maneuver. He must engage with the Catholic theories to which his nieces are accustomed in order to show them how such theories are inadequate. However, the island and its inhabitants also act as a commentary on women more generally, and therefore contribute to the poet's reconstruction of a "Christian Woman."

The Island of Fleshly Pleasure acts as an initial warning about the inherent sensual nature of the woman and the image, both of which are at the same time pleasant and treacherous. After their sweet songs have caught the attention of the layman/sailor, the island's damsels lure the men to the island through conspicuously visual means. The damsels, like the image, are outwardly embellished: "sundrie colours dide, / Of

flowers fresh that fragrant odors have, / Wherof fine garlands about their heads are tide" (111, C6v). The outward adornment of the women catches the viewer's eye, but it is through her "wanton gesture wave" and "countnance sweete and becke of pleasant hand" that the layman/sailor is ultimately trapped (111, C6v). Once the laymen/sailors have been successfully seduced by the falsity of women, the falsity of the image that they have visually misinterpreted and by which they have been enticed, they are literally and metaphorically blinded to the truth. The laymen/sailors are:

> stripped quite from all their owne array,
> And blindfold close, so that they can not see,
> Away from thence these Damsels them convay,
> Unto this pyle and tower of sovereigntie,
> Which seemed late to them so sweete a play,
> Upon whose gates is written thus in sight,
> The resting place of fleshly fond delight. (114, C7)

The "truth" might have set them free, but the falsity that appears as "truth" has now captured them and proceeds to lead them to spiritual death, much like worshipping the image leads to spiritual corruption and death. The "resting place" suggested on the sign on the gate announces the *death* of delight, the end of pleasure sought through visual means and embodied in the towering castle of the Island's female ruler.

The "sumptuous Queene" of this island is another of Googe's misogynistic examples meant to teach his young readers about the (im)moral codes of women generally and women rulers specifically. This female monarch embodies a specific misogynistic tradition as she enacts the monstrous female behavior illustrated in John Knox's 1558 "The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women," in which Knox uses scripture and references to antiquity in order to

demonstrate that there is an esteemed history of opposition to women rulers.[158] Mirroring Knox's female monarch, Googe's queen is the cause of bloodshed, rampant evil, and monstrous practices. All the miseries of the Island guests are attributed to its ruler, "whom with joye she scornfully doth smile, / Condemnes them all to paines and torments vile" (115, C7). The queen may be externally beautiful, but she both performs and leads the other island inhabitants to perform evil.

Because Googe is writing during Elizabeth I's reign, this latter message could be seen as a commentary on the ineffectual leadership of the queen – a possibility that in turn suggests why he may have signed the work "G.B" in order to maintain anonymity. Stephen Hamrick argues that Googe had already, in his *Eclogues, Epitaphes, and Sonnets* (1563), "combined existing erotic discourses and the Catholic imagery to inform the Queen that the prideful practices constituting courtly discourse [would] not allow her to create a godly commonweal or choose an appropriate consort."[159] Henrick contends that Googe never attacked Elizabeth directly, but his series of poetic pieces certainly contained a coded critique of the court and "attacked the courtly modes used to accentuate and secure her power."[160] A staunch Protestant, Googe reacted strongly to the blurring of "distinctions between religious worship and the culture of Elizabethan courtship" and feared that Elizabeth might take a Catholic suitor.[161] Even if Googe did not directly attack the queen, his discontent with the personal choices of the queen and

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[158] John Knox, "The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women" in *Selected Writings of John Knox: Public Epistles, Treatises, and Expositions to the Year 1559*, ed. David Laing. (Dallas: Presbyterian Heritage Publications, 1995).
[159] Stephen Hamrick, *The Catholic Imaginary and the Cults of Elizabeth, 1558-1582* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2009), 37.
[160] Ibid., 66.
[161] Ibid., 57.

his concern with her *modus operandi* were published and met with a hostile audience.

The loathsome behavior and extravagant splendid exterior of the Island's queen offer a double lesson to Googe's young readers. On one hand, the queen represents a warning to the young woman, illustrating that a woman should be internally what she portrays externally. On the other hand, the visually beautiful but internally wicked queen exemplifies the spiritually corrosive outcome of misinterpreting the duplicitous woman and the image – her counselors are none other than the seven deadly sins:

> Wherein upon the Queen they still do waight,
> Sometime like Swine, and Asses oft in sight,
> Sometime like Buls or Beares that dogs doe bayte,
> Sometime like Lions and Tigers fierce in fight,
> Such force hath fleshly pleasure in this Ile,
> To alter those whom she doth thus beguile. (119, C7v)

Those who wait upon the queen are those whom she has led to sin. The swine, asses, bulls, bears, lions, and tigers all represent sin, but these beasts were once sailors – after having been led to sin, they are now embodiments of those sins. The queen has a particular power over those who partake in the fleshly pleasures offered on the island. She has the capacity to "alter those whom she doth thus beguile"; she has the ability to transform the innocent layman/sailor into "a sin" by leading him to that very sin. The queen's behavior materializes into a lesson in how "not to be a woman," and the lesson concerning how "to be a woman" is incomplete without an example of an alternative virtuous woman. If Googe is "fashioning" his young female readers into Christian women, then the lack of a noble woman character gives his readers no means by which learn such virtue. The only alternative then is to become a man: a Ulysses or an Odysseus who learns the moral and spiritual lessons (even after moments of failure)

offered him on his way "home."[162] "Become a man" may actually seem a more apt lesson for Googe's young readers, especially in a section of his poem that sends such a directly misogynistic message. Unfortunately, the alternative is not entirely positive either, since it is the layman/sailor who is enchanted and captured by female eroticism. The choice becomes whether to be a corrupted man or a corrupting woman.

While using the queen as a conduct lesson for his young female readers, Googe also uses her to teach about the abuse of images. Her status as a monarch conveys a sense of the power, and even tyranny, of the image. Kenneth Gross maintains that, "[t]hough the idol may be empty of knowledge, it is nonetheless the agent of both power and pleasure."[163] For instance, Ainsworth expounds upon the seductive power associated with the image, connecting it to the ultimate evil woman authority figure, the Whore of Babylon:

> [W]ithout God's special grace, none can keep himself from her, for she sitteth in the high-places of the city, calling them that pass by the way; and her lips drop the honey comb liquor, and her mouth is softer than oil, though her end be bitter as wormwood.[164]

The picture Ainsworth creates is one of the image represented by false royalty: the queen seems pleasant and caring as she speaks to her subjects with soft, sweet words, but this queen, like Googe's, is really exacting and bitter. The description offered by Ainsworth associates Googe's queen with the image:

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[162] While these two classic figures are often allegorized to represent "the Christian" everyman in English literature, they are also distinctively male.

[163] Gross, *Spenserian Poetics*, 35. Jewel, "Of Adoration of Images," 668. In 1564, Jewel argued against Harding, maintaining that "Thus, by M. Harding's distinction, we must honour God and serve images. And therefore this reverence so given may not be called *idololatria*, but *idolodulia*; that is to say, "not the honouring, but only the serving or obeying of images."

[164] Ainsworth, *An Arrow against Idolatrie*, 291.

> This image can speak, because she hath a spirit, and exacteth worship of the inhabitants of the earth, that all should adore her, as mother and mistress of all the churches; receive, believe, and obey her word, constitutions, canons, commandments, doctrines and decrees, without contradiction.[165]

Like Ainsworth's image, Googe's queen has the ability to lure the layman/sailor into the trap of idolatry, only to torture and demand obedience from him. The layman/sailor comes to spiritual death because of his own visual reading habits coupled with the enticement of the queen or image to which he has succumbed. Googe's young female readers are being taught two distinct, yet interactive, lessons from the Island of Fleshly Pleasure: 1) To be moral, one must not be a woman, and 2) to rely on one's sight in order to interpret "truth" is to commit idolatry. Googe repeats this latter lesson in the Rock of Heresy and the Island of Idolatry, the two "locations" that most clearly represent the sins of the Catholic Church.

The Rock of Heresy

The Rock of Heresy continues the lesson introduced on the Island of Fleshly Pleasure by focusing not on women generally, but by transferring the lessons already given on duplicitous women to the image. Because of its deceptive nature, Googe's Rock of Heresy serves as a lesson to his audience that "hearing" or reading the Protestant translated Word should be placed above "seeing" a Catholic image in order to come to "truth." The Rock of Heresy "oft deceives the eyes," but its "chiefest daunger doth under water lie," hidden beneath the beautiful exterior of the rock (140, D2). Googe's narrator begins by warning his readers that those who have drowned here are they "Who counsayle none, nor no advise would *heare*, / For warning good did ever

[165] Ibid., 323.

them displease, / Still trusting to their owne deceived wit, / From whose advise they would not stirre a whit" (emphasis mine) (142, D2v). The dangers here are hidden underneath a veil of beauty and enchantment; the rock's "smoothly polished" top only hides the ultimate destruction to which the forces of the rock will bring the layman/sailor (141, D2v). Googe's description indicates that heresy, like both the Catholic image and the wayward woman, is externally pleasant but ultimately deadly. Here Googe makes clear references to the authority of the Protestant translation and the Catholic Church's lack of credibility: the first should be trusted to bring forth "truth" while the second should not.

When Googe wrote *A Shippe of Safegarde*, the government had for some time encouraged the layman to interact with vernacular translations of the Bible by either reading them or hearing them read. Some twenty years earlier, Thomas Cranmer had written to the reader in the preface of his own translation of the Bible:

> every man that cometh to the *reading* of this holy book ought to bring with him first and foremost this fear of Almighty God, and then next a firm and stabled purpose to reform his own self according thereunto; and so to continue, proceed, and prosper from time to time, shewing himself to be a sober and fruitful *hearer* and learner (emphasis mine).[166]

For Cranmer and later Protestant theologians, it is only through reading or hearing the word that man can "reform his own self." John Jewel would echo Cranmer only five years before Googe's work appeared in publication: "The people, without understanding the particular words and syllables, cannot know the speech: not knowing the speech, they cannot attain this doctrine; and without this doctrine they cannot be like

[166] Cranmer, "Prologue or Preface to the English Bible," 124.

unto God."[167] McKeown remarks that Googe's own text coincides "almost exactly with the publication and distribution of the new Bishop's Bible, that peculiarly Anglican translation commissioned and regulated by Matthew Parker."[168] As with other allegorical locations in *The Shippe of Safegarde*, Googe clearly expounds what the readers should derive from the initial metaphoric description of the place. The lesson concerning scriptural translation and the need to read for oneself are unambiguous. Because "[t]he devil himselfe can seeme an angell bright, / The simple soule the easier to betraye," Googe asks his readers to "[l]ooke well about and trust not everie sprite, / That seemes to teach the safe assured waye" (150, D3v). The warning is clear: do not allow those who seem to have Biblical knowledge to interpret scripture for you; Googe shows that Satan also knows the scriptures but is bound to misinterpret them in order to sway the innocent layman. To help eradicate the possibility of being swayed by false teaching, Googe offers a solution to the dilemma of misinterpretation:

> But Christ hath left you here his scriptures plaine,
> A touchstone true to trie religion vaine.
>
> By these examine everie prating sprite,
> By these go trie what unto thee is tought,
> Let these be judge who teacheth wrong or right,
> Let these discerne the good things from the nought,
> Of these in darkenesse borrow all the light,
> Of these still let thy wavering minde be tought,
> So shalt thou well be able thy selfe to trie,
> Where shadowes false, and where deceit doth lie. (150, 151, D3v)

[167] Jewel, "Of Adoration of Images," 670.
[168] McKeown, Introduction to *The Shippe of Safegarde*, xxxi. See also F.F. Bruce, *The History of the Bible in English* (London: Lutterworth, 1970), 92-95.

In order to interpret an image, the laymen only need see the image and then react to it based on the internal feelings conjured by it. In order to interpret the text, however, the layman must exercise his intellect; his "wavering mind" must be taught to "trie," "judge," or test what he is told by comparing such information to the "scriptures plaine." Furthermore, such methods of examination should extend to those in authority over one's spiritual health; one should also "judge who teacheth wrong or right," for many who do so may "in darknesse borrow all the light." Googe's move to proselytize his young readers includes arguing that it is only first by reading and then by applying the written Word that they can avoid heresy. Such an argument especially pertains to the Catholic Church, because, as Calvin maintains, "those in authority in the [Catholic] church turned over to idols the office of teaching for no other reason than that they themselves were mute."[169] In turning over the office of teaching to idols, the Catholic Church has become idle; the authority to discern truth must now rest in the hands of the layman.

In addition to providing a lesson concerning "hearing" or reading scripture, the Rock of Heresy is an appropriate location for a discussion of the Catholic Church's lack of authority. The "Rock" of Heresy, indeed, calls to remembrance the Catholic Church's Patriarch, Peter, the "rock" on which the Catholic Church is built – an allusion that would not be lost on Googe's audience. While Googe does not explicitly *name* the Catholic Church in his text, he makes it obvious that it is the religious body about which

[169] Calvin, *Institutes*, 107.

he speaks when warning his young readers about the lack of authority and judgment to which they currently adhere:

> Beleve not those same slaundrous mouthes untrue,
> Who make report how that the bookes devine,
> Corrupted are with false translations newe,
> Of only malice these envious beasts repyne,
> They see the spirite of God will them subdue,
> That in these sacred letters bright doth shine,
> And therefore for to bring them in contempt,
> These slaundrous lyes maliciously they invent. (152, D3v)

In the above stanza, Googe is producing a counterargument to certain claims made by Catholic theologians. Gregory Martin, for instance, passionately argues against the Protestant translation of scripture throughout his *A Discovery of the Manifold corruptions of the Holy Scriptvres, by the Heretikes of our daies[...]*. He accuses Protestant translators of willfully corrupting scripture for their own purposes:

> If in words of ambiguous and diuers signification, they wil haue it signifie here or there, as it pleaseth them: and that so vehemently, that here it must needes so signifie, and there it must not: and both this, and that, to one end and in fauour of one and the same opinion: what is this but willful translation?[170]

For Martin, as for many Catholic theologians, Protestant translators simply choose what they will include and what they will delete from Biblical translations, and the practice of doing so is purposely selective according to the translator's impulse. Googe's answer to this charge is that the Catholic theologians who make such accusations will be held in contempt by a higher judge than the Pope. Googe goes on to ask his readers

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[170] Gregory Martin, *A Discoverie of the Manifold Corrvptions of the Holy Scriptvres by the Heretikes of our daies, specially the English Sectaries, and of their foule dealing herein, by partial & false translations to the aduantage of their heresies, in their English Bibles vsed and authorized since the time of Schisme* (Rhemes, 1582), 7. Most of this work addresses specific issues of translation, such as how Protestant translators corrupt scriptural references to justification, penance and satisfaction, sacrifice and altars, and the role of religious leaders.

to test the "worthy judgement" of their leader and, in doing so come to "see his fonde and foolish braine" (153, D4). The Pope and the church he heads contemptuously and foolishly ignore the "truth" found in the scriptures and therefore are incapable of teaching such "truth" to their followers.

Googe's lesson about reading scripture includes and presumes another about the inherent falsity of the Catholic Church. He demonstrates both lessons by taking an explicit Biblical theme and creating a correspondence of it to Catholic authority figures:

> Beside, another marke there is to know
> These wretched sprites that leades men thus to hell,
> Though clad in pelts of sheepe they simple show,
> And many tales of God and heaven tell,
> Yet malice doth their mindes so overflow,
> That all things can they not dissemble well,
> Their bloudie teeth doth still appeare in sight,
> Wherewith like Wolves continually they fight. (154, D4)

By generating a stanza that essentially elaborates on a Biblical passage, Googe is accomplishes two goals. First, he illustrates how the wolves in sheep's clothing are those who possess the priestly authority of the Church of Rome.[171] Here, Googe is relying on the long-standing anti-clerical satiric tradition of the Middle Ages whereby wolves in sheep's clothing were often associated with Catholic friars. The wolves are now priests who "clad in pelts of sheepe they simple show / And many tales of God and heaven tell," appearing humble and lowly as they relate Biblical stories to their congregation. However, their success is doomed because their minds are full of nothing but malice as they continually fight over what constitutes doctrinal truth.

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[171] Some references to wolves as deceivers can be seen in the following Biblical passages: Ezek. 22:27, Matt. 10:16, and Acts 20:29.

Second, he interprets and translates scripture for his readers in order to show them how to do so for themselves. At this point, the poet seems to have become a priest figure with whom his recusant audience is familiar, solidifying his position as teacher to them. Acting as a priest figure is another maneuver in Googe's effort to subvert the Catholic discourse by entering into that discourse. However, his is the role of an instructor who is not clothed in lamb's wool in order to hide a malevolent nature; Googe is not attempting to force his own interpretation of scripture upon his audience. Instead, he presents himself as a Protestant teacher who is demonstrating for his readers how to go about interpreting the scriptures for themselves. After the interpretive task is complete, one must then apply the lessons learned from reading the scriptures to one's spiritual and physical life. To do otherwise is to become idle/idol or to risk falling into idolatry, to succumb to the influences on the Island of Idolatry.

The Island of Idolatry

The Island of Idolatry embodies Googe's most forceful argument against the Catholic Church's use of images, making this section the most didactic in terms of "seeing" versus "hearing." As McKeown notes, Googe shows "the redundancy of worshipping false gods and the superiority of the Christian God to all other deities" in this section.[172] Because the discourse concerned with images interacts so intimately with the discourse of misogyny, this section is an overt lesson to Googe's young readers about the danger of images and a covert lesson about the duplicity inherent to their own gender.

[172] McKeown, Introduction to *The Shippe of Safegarde*, xxxiv.

While it is true that the layman/sailor is first attracted to each of the islands in Googe's poem because of its pleasant appearance, the Island of Idolatry is the most visually appealing and thus most clearly embodies the image:

> [H]ereabouts an Iland faire doth lie,
> That to the saylers mischiefe great doth breede,
> That flames farre off like Phebus in the skie,
> Which glistering *sight* the gasers minde doth feede,
> And doth allure them for to travaile nie,
> Perswading them some worthie *sight* is there,
> That so encompast is with shining clere. (161, D5); (emphasis mine)

This island glistens as brightly as the sun, but its illumination comes from a false sun, one that is only "like Phebus." The sun often represents divine illumination or divine enlightenment, but this island only offers what seems divine to the layman/sailor's. The *sight* or beauty of the "shining clere" island engages the laymen/sailors, who then use their own *sight* to interpret the island as fair and enchanting, eventually setting up idols in order to worship what they can see. The word "travaile" in the above stanza is a foreshadowing of the danger, inherent in the Island, of becoming idle/idol. Once the layman/sailor journeys or "travailes" to the island, he is no longer required to "travaile," or work, to discern "truth."[173] Without such labor, the layman/sailor naturally becomes idle/idol. The pilgrim (in this case, the layman/sailor) can be seen illustrating this process in Figures 10 and 11, where Idolatry points to image worship, a falsity that leads to spiritual imprisonment. Such "Idoll servers are quite deprived of grace, / And by no meanes the almightie Lord can please" (176, D6v). They are blind to the truth

[173] *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (Oxford Univ. Press, 2010).

embodied in the written Word because they rely on their vision to establish truth. For Googe, the remedy for such mis-reading is a Protestant one:

> That worship only doth delight his minde,
> That he himselfe hath taught in scriptures plaine,
> To this his servants doth he staightly binde,
> Ne suffers them to honor this or that,
> But plainly hath himselfe appointed what. (177, D7)

The way to find "truth" is not through delighting one's mind through visual means, in honoring "this or that," but by reading "scriptures *plaine*" that God has "*plainly*" offered (emphasis mine).

Googe reiterates that images are embellished, rather than plain, and cannot provide a means for acquiring "truth" when he further describes the landscape of this island. Where Googe had previously showed the image's feminine nature through the queen of the Island of Fleshly Pleasure, here he is now reiterating the point by using a particular landscape:

> In everie place here Pyramides do rise,
> With costly stones compact of gorgeous show,
> Whose stately tops doe seeme to touch the skies,
> The bases square are framed faire below,
> With such proportions as pleaseth best the eies. (162, D5)

The Island of Idolatry's Near Eastern terrain adds both an exotic and erotic layer to the Island's landscape and, by doing so, such an erotic/exotic layer also affixes a feminine component to it, reemphasizing the Island's representation of both an image and a woman. Historically, the Near East represented, for the English, a strange, mysterious place inhabited by imagined monsters and people whose customs and culture were

based in superstition and magic.[174] Pyramids in particular represent false or heretical religions, and Googe has already provided a commentary on how the Catholic Church represents a heretical religion in the previous section of his allegory. On Googe's island, "A thousand altars garnished here doe stande, / With cloth of golde and Purple passing faire" (163, D5). The description of these altars begins to recall those often given, again, to the Whore of Babylon by Protestant writers such as Ainsworth: "This is the Woman whom John saw in the wilderness, arrayed in purple and scarlet, and gilded with gold and precious stones and pearls, with a golden cup in her hand, full of the filthiness of her fornication, even the great city, (Rome) that reigneth over the kings of the earth."[175] The island has been transformed from a place to a gendered body – a feminized body.

Furthermore, it is not only the island that has been feminized; the images upon the altars have also been feminized, if more ambiguously than the island itself:

> There standes a saint in straunge disguised sort,
> To take it for a man or woman you may chuse,
> For of them both it seems to beare a port,
> Arrayed in gownes as women most do use,
> A Lettice cap it weares and bearde not short,
> And thus disguised in straunge and masking Cotes,
> Esteemes no other offring here than Otes. (167, D5v)

The image upon the altar is a Catholic saint, and Googe seems to give his readers an interpretive option. On one hand, the saint's gender does not matter because engaging

[174] England's exoticism of the Near East has a long history stretching back to the early Middle Ages. See "The Marvels of the East" contained in the Cotton Tiberius B.V. and "The Wonders of the East" found in the Cotton Vitellius A. XV manuscripts, for instance. A comprehensive study of the ways in which England imagined the Near East can be found in *Marvels, Monsters, and Miracles: Studies in the Medieval and Early Modern Imaginations*, ed. Timothy S. Jones and David A. Sprunger (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2002).
[175] Ainsworth, *Arrow against Idolatrie*, 324.

in worship of any saint is idolatrous. Googe's image is part man and part woman; it wears a woman's gown but also has a man's beard, making it simultaneously both and neither gender. On the other hand, because it is "disguised in straunge and masking Coates," it can be more readily interpreted as female and specifically the wayward woman. Those who are enticed by the embellished pyramids eventually come to this altar and perform the very idolatry that Protestant thinkers warn the layman to avoid. Here, Googe demonstrates such behavior by showing the actions of those who seek out and pray to the image for the purpose of obtaining a miracle:

> The people kneeling round about in sight,
> With hands helde up and voyces lowed doe crie,
> Eache one complaining of his wretched plight,
> And seeking there redresse of myserie.
> Doe call upon their goddess with fervent minde,
> Supposing thus a perfite helpe to finde. (169, D6)

The performance of the worshippers in this stanza is clear: they kneel at the foot of the image, complain to it, and cry to it for a "redress of myserie." It is against such behavior that the third point in the 1559 Elizabethan Injunctions addresss:

> works devised by men's fantasies, besides Scripture, as wandering to pilgrimages, offering of money, candles or tapers to relics, or images, or kissing and licking of the same, praying upon beads, or such like superstition, have not only no promise of reward in Scripture, for doing of them, but contrariwise, great threats and maledictions of God, for that they be things tending to idolatry and superstition, which of all other offences God Almighty doth most detest and abhor, for that the same diminish his honour and glory.[176]

Googe reiterates the details of this Injunction in the Island of Idolatry when he has the laymen/sailors reenact them. The layman/sailor has made a pilgrimage, a "travaile," to the Island; the pyramids that embellish it are products of superstitious beliefs that reap

[176] "The Elizabethan Injunctions, 1559" in *Documents of the English Reformation*, 336.

no reward in heaven, and the idols set up by the layman/sailor are simply devices of his own fantasy. Because the layman/sailor is not working or "travailing" his mind, but is relying on his emotions, he, like the image, becomes feminized. This is a lesson that Googe had already promoted in the Rock of Heresy, but because his audience is female, it seems a lesson that bears repeating.

The Island of Idolatry is another example of the dangers of being a woman, but this lesson is now illustrated through the act of idolatry rather than the interpretation of scripture. The way to avoid idolatry is to read and interpret scripture for oneself, but it is also the way to avoid being a woman. If one relies on the Holy Spirit rather than priestly authority to teach one the "truth," then one will find the road to "truth" more easily. To this end, Googe, as the narrator, specifically states that he is offering information that with the "helpe of holy sprite" should be internalized (9, B2). It is the Holy Spirit who will "vouchsafe to teach us plaine the trade," and therefore the lesson offered is substantiated by the third member of the Trinity (10, B2). Googe encourages his audience to read the Bible by also warning them about those who would block such an endeavor. Because Googe feminizes the structures found on the island (such as pyramids and the idols on the altar), making them alluring to the innocent Christian, he further engages with anti-Catholic and misogynistic discourses.

The Lesson Plan

Googe's method of teaching his young readers coincides with the age, belief system, and gender of his audience, showing that while he is not necessarily sympathetic to their Catholic faith, he is sensitive to them as young female readers.

Many of the lessons he is teaching them are reiterated or repeated throughout the work. Such repetition could be due to the age of his readers, but it could also be because, while he is instructing them how to read appropriately, he also recognizes the limitations of them as women readers. Googe does not, for instance, include in his allegory a clear hero or protagonist, which forces his readers into the double position of both student of and participant in his allegory. Sheidley makes this point in his work on Googe:

> The only protagonist in Googe's poem is the reader, whom Googe continually enjoins to see himself as the emblematic mariner. Since this shadowy second person can never actually enter the fiction and fall to any temptation – it is always *they*, the other foolish sailors, who fall, though *you may* – the dangers remain untested and the opportunity for repentance undreamt of. [177]

Not given the opportunity to identify with a concrete protagonist, the reader remains at a safe distance from the allegorical message. The reader has limited engagement with the text, giving her little opportunity to interpret it for herself, which could be seen as a contradiction. Googe and his audience are not making meaning together. Googe asks his audience to listen – to read the allegory and hear the words of the narrator who takes the latter half of each section to explain the allegorical episode to them. Sheidley argues that Googe, "as if swayed by his master to place the highest value on explicit teaching, literally leaves nothing to the imagination but sets aside his figure whenever he deems it necessary to convey his meaning in no uncertain terms or to include noteworthy tangential information."[178] Googe's teaching technique is, on the one hand, a result of his humanist background, as argued by Sheidley: "Googe dresses up his

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[177] Sheidley, *Barnabe Googe*, 96-97.
[178] Ibid., 98.

doctrine in the threadbare rags of an epic voyage, but, since in the eyes of humanist pedagogy the purpose of stories given to young readers […] was to teach wisdom in a pleasant form, he tries to play the roles of bard and schoolmaster at once."[179] On the other hand, Googe's endeavor to teach explicitly could be because he is taking into account the age or the gender of his audience members, or both of the above; either of these conditions would warrant a non-offensive attitude from the writer. The poet seems to find it necessary that the girls understand that the message is from their uncle, a person whom they trust to relate particular lessons in a clear and loving way.

Googe never uses the words "papist" or "Catholic" in *The Shippe of Safeguard*, perhaps as a way of "softening" the Protestant lesson he is imparting by taking into account the religious faith of his immediate audience. For instance, he does not revel in the act of iconoclasm; there is no *destruction* of images in his allegory. Instead, he seems to follow Luther by approaching "the task of destroying images by first tearing them out of the heart through God's Word and making them worthless and despised."[180] He does, however, continually ask that his young readers do just that: read. In almost every section of Googe's allegory, he admonishes his audience to read or hear the scriptures rather than using inherently Catholic authority figures and rituals to come to God's "truth." Furthermore, at no point in his allegory does a personification or a character of either gender actually speak. The only voice in Googe's work is that of the narrator/interpreter.

[179] Ibid.
[180] Luther, "Against the Heavenly Prophets," 84.

Googe's instructional method is at once informing and problematic: it both relies on and rejects Catholic reading practices, such as the feminized reading system outlined earlier, and the need for a priest figure who would interpret scripture for the layman. As recusants, Googe's young audience would not be expected to interpret the text, but they would, instead, be required to absorb the text as quiet listeners and Googe does ask them to do this. Googe is, then, asking that his readers engage in a feminized means of acquiring "truth" while at the same time warning them against "becoming a woman" – a lesson that, at least at first, seems rather confusing. Furthermore, if he is teaching his young readers to engage personally with and learn from the scriptures, then he is also denouncing the need for a Catholic priest figure who is appointed to teach the layman Biblical truth. Much of the Protestant program of scriptural translation denounces the necessity for such a figure. However, Googe himself is assuming this duty by interpreting the allegorical text for his readers. It is Googe's voice that acts as the catalyst for change, and that change should occur in the reader/protagonist. In Googe's allegory, the poet/narrator's interpretation of the scenes is an important way for his young readers to learn both how to interpret an allegory and also how to become better readers – masculine readers.

The best alternative to being Catholic and woman is for the reader to escape her gender by converting to the Protestant faith and, in doing so, to become masculine. Above, I stated that at the same time Googe asks his young readers to engage with feminized reading practices by listening to his narration of the allegory, he also insists, within the allegory, that they read and interpret scripture for themselves. While the

lesson on how to read may seem initially problematic, it is one that actually reinvests Googe's endeavor to convert his young recusant audience. If Googe is asking his readers to listen and *absorb* the message embedded in his allegory, then the message he is asking them to absorb is one that produces a Protestant reader. In other words, he is asking that they simultaneously employ and deny Catholic reading practices; he is engaging them in the role of listeners in order to teach them how to become readers. Even though he is speaking specifically about Thomas More and William Tyndale, some aspects of Stephen Greenblatt's "self-fashioning" argument apply to Googe's mission to "fashion a Protestant" out of his young readers. According to Greenblatt, embracing the idea that "a single, unaided man's judgment is sufficient unto itself to distinguish the true from the false, to find and understand God" is a particularly Protestant maneuver in Tyndale's effort to "fashion" himself, and Googe is inviting his nieces to adopt this idea.[181] Googe, rather than directly asking his young readers to "fashion themselves," is covertly instructing them how to do just this by asking that they first listen and absorb his message like the feminized Catholic reader and then interpret like a Protestant reader. By grasping the message rooted in the allegory and then replacing an existent Catholic reading practice with a Protestant one based on personal interpretation, Googe's recusant readers can develop what Greenblatt argues is a "core principle of negation powerful enough to tear itself away from the body of the Church, to attack its communal rituals, to refuse even a theatrical accommodation to its

[181] Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 158-59.

sacraments."[182] The replacement of Catholic reading habits with Protestant ones ultimately signals a conversion to the Protestant faith from the Catholic, but transforming reading habits also signals the re-gendering of the reader and, in doing so, becomes a means by which Googe can reinforce his message: "Don't be a Woman."

Googe's insistence on regendering his readers becomes even clearer when we take into account male-centered reading practices. If passive listening is a feminized way to read, then actively engaging with the text, interpreting the text, and selecting "truth statements" from it, is a masculine way to read. Caroline Dinshaw maintains that "reading like a man" in the Middle Ages meant selectively reading or totalizing the text's message by stripping portions of the text away (Dinshaw argues that such "stripping" is gendered, because the text is often metaphorically associated with the woman's body). More recently, Jennifer Summit furthers Dinshaw's argument by showing how early modern readers contended with medieval manuscripts.[183] Since medieval manuscripts were written by Catholics, early modern readers confronted "the primary source as a vehicle of potential falsehood."[184] Because of such a potential, Protestant readers "polished" or removed the Catholic "blemish" from the book.[185] The process is a selective one whereby the reader becomes both the interpreter of the text and the "re-creator" of the book and its message. The re-creative process is a masculine one, and to engage in such re-creation could re-gender his readers while converting them. If this is the process to which Googe is asking his readers to submit, then he is

[182] Ibid., 159.
[183] Dinshaw, *Chaucer's Sexual Poetics*.
[184] Summit, *Memory's Library*, 7.
[185] Ibid., 112.

effectively asking them to take on the male gender. Furthermore, this male-centered reading practice is one in which Spenser's the Redcrosse Knight engages, but the text he endeavors to read is multilayered and, unlike Googe's young audience, Redcrosse does not listen to those who interpret the text for him.

CHAPTER 4

DOUBLE THE WOMAN…DOUBLE THE TROUBLE: SPENSER'S DUESSA AND THE DANGERS OF THE CATHOLIC IMAGE

Therefore to make your beautie more appeare,
It you behoues to loue, and forth to lay
That heauenly riches, which in you ye beare,
That men the more admyre their fountaine may,
For else what booteth that celestiall ray,
If it in darknesse be enshrined euer,
That it of loving eyes be vewed neuer?
Edmund Spenser, "An Hymne in Honovr of Beavtie"

In "An Hymne in Honovr of Beavtie," Spenser contends that the purest attraction between lovers lies in the spiritual union of their souls rather than in the physical realm of bodily desire. In fact, he ends this poem with the lover formulating, in his mind, an image of the beloved that mirrors the beauty of her soul rather than the beauty of her body. However, this poem also relies, as do many of his other hymns, on the act of "seeing." Whether defined as natural or spiritual, "seeing" must first be directed toward an external object before any internal beauty can be "seen." When such internal beauty is identified, it in turn must be performed through the body. Much of what Spenser says about beauty in his hymn, about the illusions brought about by physical "seeing," the poet also says in *The Faerie Queene*. These illusions not only pertain to certain women characters in his allegorical work, but also reflect ideas found in the discourses concerning women, generally, the act of interpretation or reading, and the early modern image debate. If "That Beautie is not, as fond men

misdeeme, / An outward shew of things, that onely seeme," then relying on one's physical sight to interpret the woman is to move dangerously close to mis-reading, to misinterpreting her and the image that can be represented by her (90-91).[186] As a Protestant poet, Spenser would be aware of such dangers. *The Faerie Queene* is an elaborate allegorical work or a "dark conceit"; it is a multilayered text that hides its meaning behind a veil of obscurity and begs readers to look beyond its external surface to interpret the underlying meaning. Within Book 1, Spenser places an externally beautiful woman whose interior is especially grotesque. By simultaneously engaging with the discourses concerning women, images, and visual versus auditory interpretation, Spenser teaches readers not only how to interpret allegory properly, but also, how to discern false images and the dangers to which they lead.

Most of the recent criticism of Spenser's work has concentrated on his Irish writings, but there are those who have added to the body of criticism on Book 1 of *The Faerie Queen* in the last ten years. Katherine Eggert's *Showing Like a Queen: Female Authority and Literary Experiment in Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton* (2000) focuses on how literary works "engage in nostalgia either for a king or queen" and how "the political 'problem' of queenship, either current or remembered, is turned to literary advantage."[187] In the case of Spenser, Eggert concentrates her argument on heroic and anti-heroic representations of Elizabeth Tudor and Mary Stuart. In 2006, Christopher Burlinson wrote *Allegory, Space and the Material World in the Writings of Edmund*

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[186] Edmund Spenser, "An Hymne in Honovr of Beavtie," *The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition*, ed. Edwin A. Greenlaw et. al., 10 vols. in 11 pts. (Baltimore: John Hopkins Univ. Press, 1932-57). All quotes from Spenser's works come from this edition.

[187] Katherine Eggert, *Showing Like a Queen: Female Authority and Literary Experiment in Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 14.

Spenser. Burlinson's work seeks to discover "what happens to objects in the rhetorical and poetic structure of Spenserian allegory."[188] His main contention is that "Spenser presents us with an abunadance of objects, and disavows his interest in them; his allegory not only destabilizes the representational role of the maerial, but actually exposes it."[189] *Reading the Alleogrical Intertext: Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton* (2008) by Judith H. Anderson moves beyond a comparison of specific elements among the texts, and instead investigates a "relationship or series of relationships with a single text or multiple texts that enrich and reorient the signification and reception of the text in question."[190] Anderson shows, using postructural theory, that there is a sense of both continuity and revision among the texts she investigates (for instance, she establishes a relationship or intertext between Chaucer's *Pardoner's Tale* and Spenser's canto of Despair in Book 1). Finally, in 2009, James Kearney wrote *The Incarnate Text: Imagining the Book in Reformation England*. Kearney's work, as it pertains to Book 1 of *The Faerie Queene*, examines the ways "in which Spenser addresses both the veneration of sacred texts in Reformation England and the attendant anxieties concerning bibliolatry."[191] He argues that in Spenser's initial book, the poet "explores the paradoxes and contradictions generated by early modern Protestantism's desire to wrestle with the problem of the signifier, the problem of the materiality of language."[192]

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[188] Chirstopher Burlinson, *Allegory, Space and the Material World in the Writings of Edmund Spenser* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006), 6.
[189] Ibid., 21.
[190] Judith H. Anderson, *Reading the Allegorical Intertext: Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton* (New York: Fordham Univ. Press, 2008), 1.
[191] James Kearney, *The Incarnate Text: Imagining the Book in Reformation England* (Philadelphia, Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 32.
[192] Ibid.

Of these recent studies, Kearney's is the most useful to my own work because he offers insights into the reading habits of the Redcrosse Knight that prove valuable when analyzing the knight's encounter with Errour. However, current scholarship on Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* neither offers a detailed analysis of Duessa nor treats the image debate as a significant argument within Spenser's work.

The sixteenth-century image debate is an important element in Book 1 of *The Faerie Queene.* This book clearly shows Spenser's Protestant sympathies in that he includes in it personifications of the Protestant Church, the Catholic Church, and the struggle of a Christian knight to discern between "true" and "false" churches and "true" and "false" images. Criticism of Spenser's work has elaborated on the poet's Protestant sympathies where they concern iconoclasm in the House of Holiness, the Bower of Bliss, and Orgoglio's Castle.[193] Yet, relatively scant attention has been paid to the ways in which the character of Duessa epitomizes the Protestant struggle with images. Readers can easily identify Duessa as the proverbial wolf in sheep's clothing, and she certainly symbolizes duplicity and man's double nature. She has variously been identified as a representation of the Roman Church, a prototype of Mary Stewart, "sensual will," an alter ego of Redcrosse Knight, a symbol of witchcraft and whoredome associated with the Catholic mass, a "demonic" parody of Queen Elizabeth's authority, or simply false religion.[194] More recently, Caroline McManus treats Duessa as a type of "anti-nurse" because of her possession of the golden cup

[193] See King's analysis of these three locations in his *Spenser's Poetry* and Gross's elaboration on Orgoglio's castle in Chapter 3 of his *Spenserian Poetics*.

[194] See Kane, *Spenser's Moral Allegory*; Fletcher, *Allegory;* Waters, *Duessa as Theological Satire*; and King, *Spenser's Poetry.* Tuve, however, states that Duessa "is not an image for the false church; rather that the church…has become an image of her." *Allegorical Imagery*, 106.

"which brims not with life-giving milk" but with a poisonous concoction.[195] Duessa well may represent all of these, especially since it is not uncommon to see the intertextual shifting of character identities in Spenser's work. However, she can also be associated with a Catholic image, the seed of idolatry, because of specific physical attributes and performative acts, gestures, and utterances associated with her. As such, her character not only illustrates the dangers intrinsic to the image and its destructive power, but also demonstrates the peril of mis-reading, of misinterpreting the image – of using one's sight rather than one's hearing as the most reliable means to discern "truth."

Sean Kane rightly confirms that "Duessa has all the psychological features of an idol," and his analysis of her includes various gendered indicators that contribute to this insight.[196] Kane concentrates his argument on the gendered physical traits assigned to Duessa and how they may determine her iconic status, but he does not necessarily address other features, such as the gestures, acts, and utterances that further establish her role as an image. I elaborate on Kane's argument by further detailing these physical attributes. Furthermore, her relationships with other characters, such as Night and Lucifera, and the presence of other characters, such as Una and Fradubio, add to Duessa's status as an image, but they also speak to the transformative power of the image. I begin my analysis of her performance (her gestures, acts, and physicality) in two complementary sections of this chapter: "Body Double" and "Double Desire." The section "Redoubling" analyzes how Duessa's embodiment and performance of the

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[195] Caroline McManus, *Spenser's* Faerie Queene *and the Reading of Women* (Newark: Univ. of Deleware Press, 2002), 236.
[196] Kane, *Spenser's Moral Allegory*, 38.

image continues beyond the initial book of *The Faerie Queene* into Books 2, 4, and then ultimately 5, where she is destroyed. In this final section of the chapter, I argue that these reappearances show how Duessa remains associated with the dangers implicit in the image or ideas that are central to the image debate

In this chapter, I also argue that Duessa's relationship with Redcrosse Knight suggests the need for proper interpretation of an image and an allegory, as both must be read correctly in order to come to the "truth" hidden beneath their surfaces. Correct interpretation is a critical feature in both the early modern image debate and Protestant theories about allegory. "Double Talk" and "Reading the Double" focus on the Protestant idea of "hearing" versus "seeing" as a reliable basis for interpretation. "Double Talk" analyzes the role of the feminized voice as a means of transformation while "Reading the Double" directly addresses interpreting the image, allegory, and the woman. According to Protestant thinkers, mis-reading or misinterpreting is a product of relying on one's vision and focusing on the exterior, whereas hearing is associated with access to an interior truth. Because there must first be a message to hear, feminized vocal utterances often become a catalyst for physical or spiritual transformation (either positive or negative, depending on the speaker) in Book 1 of *The Faerie Queene*.

As a Protestant poet, Spenser seems especially aware of the danger to the reader if the poet's own text is mis-read. As he states in the opening line of his letter to Sir Walter Raleigh:

> Sir knowing how doubtfully all Allegories may be construed, and this booke of mine, which I haue entituled the Faery Queene, being a continued Allegory, or darke conceit, I have thought good aswell for auoyding of gealous opinions and misconstructions, as also for your better light in reading thereof, (being so by you

> commanded,) to discouer vnto you the general intention and meaning, which in the whole course therof I haue fashioned, without expressing of any particular purposes or by-accidents therein occasioned. (1:169)

In order that Raleigh not misjudge Spenser's "intention," the poet employs an "interpretive safety net" and doubly secures it at the end of his letter:

> Thus much Sir, I have briefly ouerronne to direct your understanding to the wel-head of the History, that from thence gathering the whole intention of the conceit, ye may as in a handfull gripe al the discourse, which otherwise may happily seeme tedious and confused. (1.170)

Knowing that his "Methode will seeme displeasaunt" to those who "had rather have good discipline delivered plainly in way of precepts, or sermoned at large, as they use, then thus clowdily enwrapped in Allegoricall devises," Spenser makes his objective clear and gives the reader a brief explanatory overview of his allegory in both his letter to Raleigh and in the initial stanzas of each canto. While he may seem anxious about his audience's acceptance of his use of allegory because of its historical association with Catholic writers and its burdensome use of metaphor, Spenser can reclaim allegory as a Protestant mode of writing. He, like other moderate Protestant writers such as Luther, sees both a proper and improper use of fiction, just as there is a proper and improper use of images. King notes, "although *The Faerie Queene* incorporates an iconoclastic attack against the abuse or misapplication of art, Spenser never equates art with idolatry. Instead, he juxtaposes the eradication of "false" products of the imagination with the reciprocal construction of "true" literature and art."[197] King rightly argues that, as a maker of images, Spenser engages in a process that is both destructive and reconstructive: as the poet attacks the Catholic image, he simultaneously

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[197] King, *Spenser's Poetry*, 7.

raises the Protestant woodcut in its place, and both are represented by Duessa. Because discerning between the two types of images can prove to be problematic (and indeed deadly, according to some Protestant theologians), Spenser includes in his fiction an argument for interpreting accurately, reading correctly. That Redcrosse Knight, the inexperienced Christian who "armes till that time did he neuer wield," must learn to do so is displayed through his intimate interactions with Duessa, an image and the essence of doubleness and duplicity (1.1.1).

Body Double

In the beginning of Book 1, Duessa's appearance signals her initial embodiment of the image and the wayward woman. Both are alluring, but their external embellishment only serves to hide their internal repulsiveness:

> A goodly Lady clad in scarlot red,
> Purfled with gold and pearle of rich assay,
> And like a Persian mitre on her hed
> She wore, with crownes and owches garnished,
> The which her lauish louers to her gaue;
> Her wanton palfrey all was ouerspred
> With tinsell trappings, wouen like a waue,
> Whose bridle rung with golden bels and bosses braue. (1.2.13)

Duessa's external embellishment, her scarlet red attire embellished with "crownes and owches," stands as a contradiction to the ways in which scholar, royal tutor, and conduct manual writer Jean Luis Vives's sixteenth-century *The Education of a Christian Woman* compels modest Christian women to appear in public.[198] Duessa is not only dressed in "ritch weedes and seeming glorious show," but also bejeweled with

[198] Jean Luis Vives, *The Education of a Christian Woman: A Sixteenth-Century Manual*, ed. and trans. Charles Fantazzi (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 2000).

gifts given to her by her lovers (1.2.21). Both Duessa and her horse are highly embellished with pearls, gold, tinsel, and bells. I will discuss how her embellishment mirrors that of the Catholic image at length later, but at this moment I want to emphasize that Duessa's attire is a comment on her feminine nature and what it means to be a woman, generally. When the outward adornment of the woman does not coincide with her inward nature, then she, like the image, entices the innocent and the ignorant into adultery or idolatry, as it is the ignorant who have an unrefined ability to discern "truth" beyond the outward appearance. For sixteenth-century society, the modest outward appearance of the truly virtuous woman must coincide with her unblemished internal character; to perform otherwise is to deceive, to be Delilah, who notoriously seduces Sampson. John Lydgate's late medieval interpretation of this story appears in his *Examples Against Women*:

> Sampson also, the strengest man of might
>
> That ever was, loved Dalida the ffeyre,
> On whom his hert was sett, both day & nyght,
> She cowed here ffayne so meke and so debonayre
> Make hym suche chere whan hym list repaire;
> But I may call here "Dalida the double,"
> Cheff cuase and rote of his mortall trouble.
>
> For he ment trouth, and she was variable;
> He was feithfull, and she was vntrewe;
> He was stedfast, and she [was] vnstable;
> He trustith euer oon, she loved thynges newe;
> She wered colours of many diuers hewe,
> In stede of blewe, which is stedfast & clene,
> She loved chaungis of many dyvers grene. (10, 11)[199]

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[199] John Lydgate, "Examples against Women," *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, ed. Henry Noble MacCracken, vol. 2 (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1961), 444.

In this short narrative, Sampson is the true, steadfast, faithful man while Delilah is the variable, unstable, and untrue woman. Sampson's (man's) heart is set on Delilah (woman) because he believes that she is meek and refined. She, however, has the ability to feign meekness and refinement. Ultimately, Sampson becomes trapped by Delilah's enchanting behavior and appearance, and he pays a heavy physical and moral price for submitting to her. Not only does Delilah prove to be the ultimate seductress, she is also "double:" she does not represent internally the beauty she expresses externally.

For Protestant thinkers, the idea of adorning the image works in a similar fashion. The highly decorated church or image may dangerously hide the internally wayward nature of its indwellers: the sinful spiritual state of the body is hidden beneath the lovely visual exterior. The criticism is already evident in the late-medieval *Lanterne of Light*:

> Mathew Mark & seint Luk. Acorden togidir in this oo sentence / that whanne Iesu went out of the temple ther neighed to him hise disciplis / for to schewe him the bildyng therof & the curiouse werk in stones / weyng thus to plese her maistir in seing of so faire a temple || But Crist that had an ynward sight how the dwellars therynne brooken his lawe [.][200]

Like many later Protestant theologians, the author of *The Lanterne of Light* uses a Biblical story to illustrate that the outward adornment of a church or image is not necessarily mirrored by its internal condition image. The temple may be beautiful, but the truth is that what is internal is false, and those who dwell in the beautiful temple are law breakers. The Catholic *Roma Sancta* author, however, views the adornment of

[200] *Lanterne of Light*, 42.

churches differently. He believes that beautifying the exterior of such places pays homage to the internal holiness of the place:

> What chappels, aultars, what garnishing and beutifying of them. namely when Duke Marcus Antonious Columna the Charitian Captayne against the Turkes next under Don John of famous memorie, after his returne from that glorious victorie, being presented of the Citie of Rome with a verie pretious gift, al of gold, gave it al forthwith to the Church of our Ladie called *Ara coeli*, to garnish the seeling or vault therof throughe out, which is done and finished most beautifully.[201]

The gold with which the church is adorned came from the war against the Turks. When the Turkish or pagan gold is used to decorate the Christian church, the metallic substance is transformed. The gold gains the status of the sacred because it is placed *on* something sacred. The idea that a pagan substance can become holy due to a legitimate use of it is one that had previously appeared in St. Augustine's *On Christian Doctrine.* Augustine states that the Egyptians "had vases and ornaments of gold and silver and clothing which the Israelites took with them secretly when they fled, as if to put them to better use. They did not do this on their own authority, but as God's commandment […]."[202] Augustine continues this narrative in order to show that some of the pagans' "liberal disciplines are more suited to the uses of truth, and some most useful precepts concerning morals."[203] The defiled becomes undefiled, legitimate, when made holy through God's commandment and used in God's service. What happens, however, when ornamentation, changing the outward appearance of an image, does not change the internal vulgarity of the image? What happens when the gold and gems placed upon

[201] Martin, *Roma Sancta*, 58.
[202] Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, 75.
[203] Ibid.

it are not transformed by the "holiness" of the image? The answers to these questions, I argue, are found in the character of Duessa.

Duessa's interior state is never changed by her outward appearance, and in fact one of her own family members seems confused by her external beauty because of this "mis-matching." Duessa's grandmother, Night, plays a double role in the analysis of Duessa as an image: first, Night speaks to the unchanging internal nature of the image even though it is outwardly attractive; and second, Night epitomizes the "dead" object that Protestants accused Catholics of embellishing with funds that should have be used to feed the living poor. In the first instance, Night does not initially recognize Duessa upon the latter's arrival at Night's abode:

> Who when [Night] saw Duessa sunny bright,
> Adornd with gold and iewels shining cleare,
> She greatly grew amazed at the sight,
> And th'vnacquainted light began to feare:
> For neuer did such brightnesse there appeare,
> And would haue backe retyred to her caue,
> Vntill the witches speech she gan to heare,
> Saying, Yet O thou dreaded Dame, I craue
> Abyde, till I haue told the message, which I haue. (1.5.21)

Night lives in a dark cave and does not recognize Duessa because the latter seems "sunny bright:" she is "adornd with gold and iewels shining cleare" (1.5.21). The gold and jewels Duessa wears have not been consecrated through their use, as the Turkish gold has been. The costly decorations are completely disassociated from Night's realm; she has never seen them in her cave, but she has been in the company of Duessa before. Night's own fear only begins to fade when she starts to identify Duessa by the latter's acts, gestures, and utterances. It is not until "the witches speech she gan to heare" that

Night begins to recognize her own granddaughter (1.5.21). Night later admits to her confusion: "I scarse in darksome place / Could it discerne, though I the mother bee / Of falsehood, and roote of Duessaes race" (1.5.27). Here, Spenser shows, through Night's confusion, that the image's adornment is simply a covering for the inherent falseness hidden beneath. This scene also illustrates the argument against discerning "truth" by using one's ability to see rather than one's ability to hear or read. Night cannot discern who Duessa is through visual means, but as N/night, the irony is that she always already has difficulty "seeing." It is Duessa's voice that allows Night to *hear* the truth and "read" her granddaughter properly.

In the second instance, Spenser shows that Duessa's inner falsehood stems from her familial connections: she is the daughter of Deceit and Shame and the granddaughter of Night, who represents darkness or death. Unlike Duessa, Night's appearance matches her internal nature. She is "in a foule black pitch mantle clad, / She findes forth comming from her darksome mew, / Where she all day did hide her hated hew" (1.5.20). Night is dressed in a black cloak and lives in the dark cave of hell. She is death personified, which for an early modern audience could mean either physical or spiritual destruction. The concept of death embodied by Night would be transferred to her prodigy. In light of such an inheritance, Duessa represents that dead thing, the image, on which Protestants believed Catholics were wasting money. However, it is also possible to see Duessa as a living thing. She does act, gesture, and speak. While recognizing her as a living thing could problematize her status as a dead image, it actually continues to argue for her role as an image from a different standpoint.

Catholics saw the image as a living thing that performed certain functions associated with its signified saint. These theologians often reminded their followers that the image was a conduit for miracles, and to venerate it would somehow "release" its power to perform such miracles. Reformers, however, equated the performance of the image with idolatry. In fact, they believed that destroying such highly embellished images and then using the gold and jewels covering them to procure food for the living poor, the true images of God, were Godly endeavors. To treat images as though they were living was "worse than an insult; it was a death-sentence to the living," Aston contends.[204] Protestant radicals argued that the poor would benefit, both spiritually and economically, from the stripping and destruction of the image, even though much of the wealth gathered from such actions actually went to fill the coffers of the rich (see Figs. 12 - 14 for examples of image stripping and destruction, and see Fig. 15 for the process of destruction under Edward's reign). The stripping of the image's finery, of its outward adornment, is a Protestant maneuver in which Una and Prince Arthur engage in canto 8 of Spenser's initial book. If Duessa personifies the Catholic image, then her physical disrobing becomes a significant theological statement.[205] Once she is unembellished, her true physical nature shows the monstrous dead object that hides beneath a beautiful exterior, appropriately stripped by the Protestant reformer.

Double Desire

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[204] Aston, *Lollards and Reformers*,159.

[205] The Reformation compulsion to strip away falsity in order to reveal truth was not limited to images. Jennifer Summit shows that this compulsion extended to libraries as well as images: "When "the fabulous" was seen not as the *integumentum* of truth but as a dangerous perversion of it, it became possible to argue, as Bale does, for the necessity of stripping libraries of their fabulous accretions in order to preserve the "profytable corn" alone" (113). *Memory's Library*.

Duessa's ability to evoke a state of passion in the one who gazes upon her mirrors the Protestant idea that the Catholic image's visual nature entices the layman to idolatry. She is the representation of the seductive power of the image in both her physical appearance and in her performative acts, gestures, and utterances.[206] Jerome insists that a woman's dress should not be "so remarkable as to draw the attention of passers-by, and to make men point their fingers" at her.[207] Just as the external display of an image leads to the desire to worship the adorned object, Duessa's elaborate attire initiates Redcrosse's desire for her. It is upon *seeing* her that his "stout heroicke heart" is "much emmove[ed]" (1.2.21). Her illusory nature is then compounded by the incongruity of her conduct and her claim to be "A virgin widow, whose deepe wounded mind / With loue, long time did languish as the striken hind" (1.2.24). By Renaissance standards, Duessa's conduct coincides with neither that of a true virgin nor that of a true widow. Juan Luis Vives explains that "those who preserve the body intact but whose mind is defiled foolishly arrogate to themselves the name or the praise proper to virginity."[208] Within the mind of a virgin, he writes, "there should be no thought of anything that is outside," because "our natural weakness induces us readily to listen to such flatterers; but, though we may blush and reply that such praise is more than our due, the soul within us rejoices to hear itself praised."[209] If one claims to be a virgin, she should not keep the company of men or wander outside the safety of her home, but

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[206] See Kane's *Spenser's Moral Allegory* and his discussion of Duessa as Redcrosse's sensual substitute for faith and her representation as the delight of the senses.

[207] St. Jerome, "Letter to Eustochium," in *The Principal Works of St. Jerome*, trans. W.H. Fremantle, M.A., vol. 6 of *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of The Christian Church*, eds. Philip Schaff, D.D., LL.D. and Henry Wace, D.D. (Grand Rapids: Wm.B. Eerdmans, 1996), 33.

[208] Vives, *The Education of a Christian Woman*, 80.

[209] Ibid., 32.

instead she "should be in very fact what she appears to be externally – she must appear and be humble, chaste, modest, and upright."[210] Duessa is initially found in the company of Sansfoy and "With faire disport and courting dalliaunce, / She intertainde her louer all the way" (1.2.14). A self-proclaimed virgin, she is not simply found in the company of a man, but is also seductively entertaining him, as she will later entertain the Knight of Holiness. When Duessa speaks to Redcrosse, "He in *great passion* all this while did dwell" (emphasis mine) while "she coy lookes: so dainty they say maketh derth" (1.2.26-27). Duessa, appearing to "Let fall her eyen, as shamefast to the earth," is attempting to perform virginity/widowhood while seducing Redcrosse (1.2.27). Vives also cautions the widow about her dress and behavior, stating that the widow should adorn herself with tears, mourning, solitude, and fasts. The widow should be less physically adorned than the virgin; her ornamentation should be internal rather than external.[211] Jerome speaks of widows who change their clothes but retain their self-seeking natures: "To see them in their capacious litters, with red cloaks and plump bodies, a row of eunuchs walking in front of them, you would fancy them not to have lost husbands but to be seeking them."[212] Duessa's behavior echoes the very woman Jerome warns "must not bring discredit upon her profession of widowhood by too great attention to her dress, that she must not draw troops of young men after her by gay smiles or expressive glances, that she must not profess one thing by her words and another by her behavior" because they "let their garb be their adornment" rather than

[210] Ibid., 115.
[211] Ibid., 312.
[212] St. Jerome, "Letter to Eustochium," 28.

their behavior.[213] The portraits of true virgins and widows are in complete opposition to Duessa's, even as she declares to be both. However, unlike Spenser's readers, Redcrosse does not detect Duessa's falsity because he has yet to learn how to read properly.

Redcrosse's desire for Duessa is based initially on reading her according to her outward appearance, but the desire he displays toward Una seems to come from his inability to read another's actions appropriately. In the cases of both Duessa and Una, Redcrosse's reliance on sight as a tool to recognize "truth" leads him to act on the desire he feels once he has "seen" what he considers "true." David Norbrook contends that Redcrosse's choice between Una and Duessa allegorically figures the choice "between the Invisible Church and the corrupt Visible Church."[214] Una, of course, is no less visible than Duessa even though Una's body is hidden "vnder a vele, that wimpled was full low, / And ouer all a blacke stole she did throw, / As one that inly mournd" and thus, her "heauenly beautie" is concealed (1.1.4, 1.12.22). Redcrosse may not desire Una because of her outward adornment, but desire is not completely irrelevant to his relationship with her. When he is confronted by the false Una, whom Archimago gives the ability "to imitate that Lady trew," Redcrosse suspects that the sprite is false and asks her to depart from his chamber (1.1.46). Yet, when the Knight of Holiness comes upon the false Una with the false knight, his reaction is very different: "he burnt with gealous fire, / The eye of reason was with rage yblent, / And would haue slaine them in

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[213] St. Jerome, "Letter to Ageruchia," and "Letter to Nepotian" in *The Principal Works of St. Jerome*, trans. W.H. Fremantle, M.A., vol. 6 of *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of The Christian Church*, eds. Philip Schaff, D.D., LL.D. and Henry Wace, D.D. (Grand Rapids: Wm.B. Eerdmans, 1996), 89, 231.
[214] David Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2002), 120-23.

his furious ire, / But hardly was restreined of that aged sire" (1.2.5). Redcrosse's passion, as it concerns Una, is not based solely on seeing the desirable visible object, but on seeing *and* misperceiving the actions of one whom he has previously believed to be faithful to him. His desire is not the lustful desire he will feel for Duessa, but instead a "gealous fire" based on his inability to read properly. If Redcrosse feels desire for Una, it is because Una has aided him, as Truth, in his quest. Ultimately, Redcrosse has made Una into an idol or, as Zwingli would say, "a god of that which he hopes can help him when occasion demands."[215] Unlike Duessa, Una does not intentionally provoke in Redcrosse the state of passion he seems to display. She does not lead him astray or perform the false god into which he has made her. Another important aspect of the above scene is the way in which it speaks to Redcrosse Knight's predisposition to misinterpretation based on using his sense of sight. Even though he has yet to encounter Duessa in canto 1, he has already begun to rely on visual stimuli in order to interpret the "truth" before him. Redcrosse's reaction to seeing the false Una and the knight sprite is due to such a wrong reading practice, showing his propensity toward idolatry that will become more fully apparent in his relationship with Duessa. The type of fervor Redcrosse displays toward Una in the above scene is a precursor to the lustful type of desire he will feel for Duessa.

Duessa is successful in rousing desire in the Knight of Holiness because Redcrosse "bends his gentle wit" to her seductive acts and gestures (1.2.30). The desire that she stirs in Redcrosse is the same desire that Duessa will incite in other male

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[215] Zwingli, *Commentary*, 335.

characters throughout Book 1. Hers is both a visual and dramatic seduction. She is the "dearest love" of Sansfoy, she is the "deare love" of whom Fradubio speaks, and she willingly becomes the mistress of Orgoglio. To the innocent and the ignorant, she seems "like Truth, whose shape she well can faine, / And fitting gestures to her purpose frame" (1.7.1). As an image, Duessa is Fidessa, a false image of faith that initially attracts the unsuspecting Christian with its impressive beauty and passionate appeal. Like a Catholic image, Duessa is both a creature and creator of man's desire. The more a man desires to "see" the Word in images, the more images incite man's desire to "see," rather than read or hear the Word. What is worshipped is the beautiful, not the true, and this beauty, Harry Berger argues, "blinds the viewer to the truth or falsity of the image."[216] Zwingli contends that "the greater and more precious it [the image] is in our sight the less is our trust in God."[217] In loving and delighting in temporal, visible objects, one is in danger of falling into idolatry and unleashing lust, which will in turn lead to fornication, whoredom, and other vices.[218]

As one of these vices, pride is often portrayed as the basest in religious literature, and it also plays an important role in the definitions assigned to the image and to the woman (even beyond the claim that Eve was the conduit of sin because she was seduced by the king of pride, Satan). The author of "A Sermon Against Whoredom and

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[216] Berger, "Sexual and Religious Politics in Book I of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*." Berger applies this concept to both Una and Duessa.
[217] Zwingli, *Commentary*, 334. This section of his commentary addresses images made in the likeness of humans and the layman's attributing divinity to them.
[218] The author of "A Sermon Against Whoredom and Uncleanness" preaches that fornication and whoredom are joined to all sins of the flesh and describes the coupling of them as "a monster of many heads" (10). For him, whoredom seems likened to a consuming woman – perhaps a medusa who enchants the virtuous only to turn them into dead idols who are molded out of the materials of vice. Lloyd Davis, ed., *Sexuality and Gender in the English Renaissance: An Annotated Edition of Contemporary Documents* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998), 5-15.

Uncleanness" asks those women who tempt others by means of visual appeal, "What else doest thou but settest out thy pride and makest of the indecent apparel of thy body the devil's net, to catch the souls of them which behold thee?"[219] Her pride leads the woman to adorn herself and entice those who look upon her. As Redcrosse's desire escalates, Duessa becomes more proficient at luring the knight with her seductive powers, simulating "truth" while leading him toward spiritual destruction through the door of pride. One of Spenser's personifications of pride is Lucifera, Queen of the Palace of Pride, which is built on shifting sand and entombs the proud in its dungeon. King argues that the "falsity of Lucifera's appearance and her delight in using a "mirrhour bright" to view her "selfe-lov'd semblance" embody abuses attributed by the reformers to the uncontrolled imagination (1.4.10).[220] However, Lucifer's appearance and the vanity she embodies also speak to some reformers' ideas about image creation.

Duessa's guidance of Redcrosse Knight to the Palace of Pride performs such a Protestant idea. After being ushered in by Vanity, each of Lucifera's crew "did paine / All kindnesse and faire courtesie to shew; / For in that court whylome her [Duessa] well they knew" (1.4.15). Duessa is a familiar attendee of Lucifera's court and, as such, is seated next to the diabolic queen "in all mens open vew" during the battle between Redcrosse and Sansjoy. Certainly Lucifera has not "created" Duessa, but the coupling of these two women characters reflects the relationship among the image and pride (1.5.5). Wycliff, and the sixteenth-century Protestant theologians who would support many of his ideas, argues that it is the sin of pride that leads man to create images and

[219] Ibid., 22.
[220] King, *Spenser's Poetry*, 87.

then embellish them with precious jewels. These images do not represent and cannot replace the true image of God incarnate; Christ lived a life of poverty, not one of riches. Wycliff bequeaths this sentiment to early modern Protestant thinkers:

> And so of ymagis of pore apostlis of Crist, and other seyntis that lyueden in pouert and gret penaunse, and dispiseden in worde and in dede the foul pride and vanyte of this karful lif, for thei ben peyntid as thoghe thei hadde lyued in welthe of this world and lustus of theire fleyshe as large as euere dide erthely man.[221]

Those images that show Christ living in wealth are no different from the prideful women who adorn themselves in costly array: both lead the innocent to worship the image and embrace the vice of pride that has contributed to the construction of both the image and the viewer. Such images, according to Henry Ainsworth, "are in every respect false, vile, vain, and worthless, so do they carry the titles of Vanity, lies, unprofitable, false vanitites, leasings; and Aven, i.e. Vain iniquity."[222] Pride can only be cured by repentance, which must include the destruction of the image. Redcrosse Knight, of course, neither repents nor destroys the image.

Redcrosse eventually manages to escape the Palace of Pride, but he has allowed the seductive image to lead him to physical pride, which then leads him into a state of mental and spiritual pride. After his flight from Lucifera's court, Redcrosse in his "wearie" state rests "him selfe, foreby a fountaine side" (1.7.2). When Duessa finds him, he is "Disarmed all of yron-coted Plate" (1.7.2). Because, in his careless and prideful condition, he has shed the armor of God, he is now open to spiritual defeat by Orgoglio, a personification of diabolic and arrogant pride mirroring Redcrosse's own

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[221] John Wycliff, "Images and Pilgrimages" in *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings*, ed. Anne Hudson (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1997), 84.
[222] Ainsworth, *Arrow against Idolatrie*, 269.

state. Duessa, as an image, has enticed Redcrosse into a "false theology": a theology of the self.[223] In his leisurely frolic beside the spring, Redcrosse has not only been immersed in pride, but he has also become effectively idle.[224] To reformers such as Calvin, idleness is the result of embracing the idol: "many are so delighted with marble, gold, and pictures that they become marble, they turn, as it were, into metals and are like painted figures."[225] James Kearney rightly states that by the time Duessa and Redcrosse are re-paired at the fountain, the knight is further "blinded to his true identity and purpose by his spiritual idleness and becomes an idol, a static sign that fails to signify."[226] At this point, Redcrosse has become a feminized character twice over. First, he drinks out of the magical fountain, thereby participating in Ovid's myth of Hermaphraditus and Salmacis.[227] Second, his main companion has been Duessa: Redcrosse not only "catches" demonic idol-ness from Duessa, but he also "catches" her feminine nature.[228]

The idol/idle-ness internalized by Redcrosse is further illustrated when Prince Arthur comes to the knight's rescue in the dungeon of Orgoglio. After receiving no

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[223] Fletcher, *Allegory*, 334.
[224] Maureen Quilligan makes the argument that "through a close analysis of some selected episodes in a number of allegories, [the "text"] exemplifies the theory that allegorical narrative unfolds as a series of punning commentaries, related to one another on the most literal verbal levels – the sounds of words." *Language of Allegory*, 22. Earnest B. Gilman also believes that "the connection between "Idle" and Idol is no mere coincidence. The idolater captivated by the image "sits down with the wanton harlot." *Iconoclasm and Poetry*, 77-78.
[225] Calvin, *Institutes,* 10.3.
[226] James Kearney, "Enshrining Idolatry in *The Faerie Queene*," *English Literary Renaissance* 32.1 (2002), 19.
[227] Ovid, *Metamorphoses,* trans. Rolfe Humphries (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1955), 90-93. This myth culminates in the merging of Hermaphroditus's and the female nymph's bodies after the former drinks from the fountain, Salmacis, which causes men to be weak and feeble.
[228] Angus Fletcher argues for the idea of contagion whereby a more noble character virtually "catches the disease" that is another character who personifies vices or sins as they relate to the demonic. *Allegory*.

information from Ignaro concerning the actual whereabouts of Redcrosse, Prince Arthur comes upon a room elaborately decorated in "royall arras and resplendent gold" (1.8.35). The floor of the room is covered with the "bloud of guiltlesse babes, and innocents trew, / Which there were slaine, as sheepe out of the fold"

> And there beside of marble stone was built
> An Altare, caru'd with cunning imagery,
> On which true Christians blood was often spilt,
> And holy Martyrs often doen to dye,
> With cruell malice and strong tyranny:
> Whose blessed sprites from vnderneath the stone
> To God for vengeance cryde continually,
> And with great griefe were often heard to grone,
> That hardest heart would bleede, to heare their piteous mone. (1.8.35-36)

The dungeon is filled with the corpses of those who have been sacrificed on the Catholic altar. They are now the spirits of Protestant martyrs who eternally cry out to God from under the sacrificial marble stone. This chamber can represent the image or idol because it is externally embellished, but it is internally dead (literally housing the dead within). The room and Redcrosse's entrapment in it represent both the extensiveness of the knight's idolatrous reading habits and a sense of where those habits will lead the unaware Christian. The Knight of Holiness is now completely idle and trapped within an idol. Redcrosse's relationship with the idol, Duessa, and his own idle-ness have entrapped him in the idol represented by his cell. How he gets out of this idol/cell is directly connected to the knight's now-feminized voice.

Double Talk

Because Protestant theologians speak about the importance of hearing a text rather than seeing an image, voice becomes an important element in the argument

against the use of images. One must hear a voice that will help to bring about change in the listener, especially if one cannot read and interpret the scriptures, in order that such a change can occur. Spenser's allegory uses vocal utterances and vocal silence in two ways. On one hand, the poet uses vocalization to illustrate how change can happen when one listens or hears "truth" rather than relying on sight to interpret "truth." On the other hand, he shows how this is a distinctly Protestant reading practice. In both instances, however, it is the feminized voice that elicits change and points toward the Protestant program of right reading.

Redcrosse's continual dalliance with Duessa transforms the knight, and this is one reason that he acquires a feminized voice. When Redcrosse is captured by Orgolio, the knight leaves off all manner of speech, making it difficult for Prince Arthur to find and free the knight. In his quest to rescue Redcrosse, Prince Arthur comes upon a certain "yron doore" and he sends "his voyce, and lowd did call / With all his powere, to weet, if liuing wight / Were housed therewithin, whom he enlargen might" (1.8.37). It is not until Arthur yells outside the door that Redcrosse's voice returns:

> Therewith an hollow, dreary, murmuring voyce
> These piteous plaintes and dolours did resound;
> O who is that, which bringes me happy choyce
> Of death, that here lye dying euery stound. (1.8.38)

The re-aquisition of his now feminized voice signals the moment of Redcrosse's physical rescue and the beginning of his spiritual rehabilitation. He can now step from the darkness into the light, from the pit of hell onto a new journey toward the revelation of grace. Similar transformative instances happen with the women characters Duessa and Una. In her introduction to *This Doubled Voice*, Danielle Clark argues that the

feminized voice "always proceeds from the body, from the *interior* spaces of experience, maternity and privacy" (emphasis mine).[229] If the female voice proceeds from the body and its interior spaces, then the performance of that voice (whether heard or silenced) could lead to the identification of change(s) that the feminized voice may bring about in either the character or those around "her." In other words, the feminized voice is the catalyst for change, whether positive or negative. Vocalizing and silencing become opportunities for learning what is "true" and what is "false," and the effects brought about by "hearing" cannot be fully realized without an initial vocalization.

The first time readers encounter an alteration because of a "woman" character's vocal utterance appears in the den of Errour in canto 1 of Book 1. The she-monster Errour is most commonly interpreted as the Catholic Church, which was for Protestant reformers quite literally full of errors.[230] The books and papers she vomits represent Catholic propaganda, and the consuming children she bears show that the Catholic Church will be self-consumed through its own doctrinal errors.[231] Margaret Aston reminds us, however, "that books themselves became voices. Wherever they existed they were heard as well as seen, and the reverberations of vocalized texts resounded

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[229] Danielle Clark, introduction to *This Doubled Voice: Gendered Writing in Early Modern England*, eds. Danielle Clark and Elizabeth Clarke (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000), 7.

[230] Errour also signals "the propagation of lust and idolatry and superstitious legend" according to Linda Gregerson, "Protestant Erotics: Idolatry and Interpretation in Spenser's *Faerie Queene,*" ELH 58(1):27 (1991).

[231] Caroline McManus demonstrates that Errour "serves as a frontispiece not only for Redcrosse's quest for exegetical skill but also as a specifically gendered illustration of the dangerous results of (corrupt) women reading and dispensing (corrupt) spiritual doctrine" and that Redcrosse's encounter with the she-monster initially "seems to reverse gendered notions of spiritual errancy; women were assumed to be more easily led astray and susceptible to false prophets than were men." *Spenser's* Faerie Queene, 234-35.

outward."[232] If books are voices, then the Catholic propaganda Errour spews forth is as much vocal as it is written. She is essentially attempting to persuade the knight to "read" an opposing Catholic doctrine by vocally producing such propaganda. Because Redcrosse is not yet able to read properly, he does not succumb to Errour's utterances. This is the only moment in Book 1 that the knight's poor reading habits actually work to his advantage, but this instance may be because Spenser's Protestant program would not be as effective should the poet have his hero "read" Catholic propaganda and succumb to it. Redcrosse's endeavor to destroy Errour by means of stabbing her is useless because it is her voice that is most dangerous. Silencing her is the only way to defeat her, effectively stopping her vocalizations. Errour's defeat gives the Knight of Holiness the conviction he needs in order to travel out of the dark wandering wood and along a path "which beaten was most plaine" (1.1.28). While Errour's silence does prove to be a catalyst for change in Redcrosse's immediate physical and mental condition, that change is only temporary. Later in the book, Redcrosse will acquire a feminized voice himself, and it will be the acquisition and use of his feminized voice that will prove to be the prime initiation into his spiritual salvation. However, in the early episodes of the book, such as the one with Errour, the changes wrought in the knight must come from external feminized vocalizations.

The above shift in the knight's perspective could not have taken place without the voice of another woman character. Una, as a personification of the One True Church and Truth, possesses a voice that is a powerful Protestant theological tool.

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[232] Aston, *Lollards and Reformers*, 216.

Una's voice signals important changes in the spiritual life of the individual Christian and in doing so contributes to the debate concerning images. In the scene with Errour, we see the performative nature of Una's voice and the importance of listening to Truth in order to step out of error. Una has previously warned Redcrosse not to enter the cave, but he is determined to find adventure. When he is at his most vulnerable in the fight against Errour, Una cries out

> […] Now now Sir knight, shew what ye bee,
> Add faith vnto your force, and be not faint:
> Strangle her, else she sure will strangle thee. (1.1.19)

Una's voice acts as the turning point in the battle; it is not until she shouts to Redcrosse that he adds the one element to his armor that will defeat the she-monster. In this moment, Una's voice performs the Biblical injunction to put on the whole armor of God.[233] Because she is cloaked and wears simple attire, it is not her outwardly embellished appearance that takes precedent, but rather her voice that becomes the most important tool in the battle.

In the previous instance, Una's voice has a transformative power over Redcrosse, but in the later scene with the fauns and satyrs, her vocal silence indicates a type of re-transformation in her own character. When the woodgods meet Una

> They all as glad, as birdes of ioyous Prime,
> Thence lead her forth, about her dauncing round,
> Shouting, and singing all a shepheards ryme,
> And with greene braunches strowing all the ground,
> Do worship her, as Queene, with oliue girlond cround. (1.6.13)

[233] See Ephesians 6:11-17 for a full description of the armor of God.

The fauns and satyrs continue to worship Una, attempting to make an idol of her. When she discerns their motives, she tries "To teach them truth, which worshipt her in vaine, / And made her th'Image of Idolatryes" (1.6.19). Una's attempt to teach truth to the woodgods is a performance of the Protestant argument that only speaking or reading the scriptures will enlighten the ignorant. As a personification of Truth, Una represents the Word, but as Kane points out, "[l]ike the pagans described by the homilist as 'making altars everywhere, in hills, in woods, and in houses,' the idolatrous satyrs demonstrate the psychological basis of Catholic saint-worship."[234] That the satyrs are half beast attests to the implication that people who engage in image worship are less, rather than more spiritual. Una is ultimately unsuccessful in thwarting the woodgods' efforts to turn her into a Catholic image, and it is when she stops speaking (teaching the woodgods) and begins to formulate a plan of escape that she is transformed, or converted, from an idol into Truth again. Una's silence here underscores the anti-loquacious nature of the divine, which is in complete opposition to the antifeminist commonplace that all women constantly speak, as exemplified by Augustine's gossipy *Fortuna*.[235] The feminized voice, as a tool for transforming the allegorical figure and its meaning, is not only performed by Una, but it is also performed by Duessa.

Duessa's voice procures changes in Night and Redcrosse, but her vocal utterances and subsequent silence also mark a particular moment of transformation in her own character. When Redcrosse and Sansjoy are battling at the Palace of Pride,

[234] Kane, *Spenser's Moral Allegory*, 47.
[235] St. Augustine, *Concerning the City of God against the Pagans*, trans. Henry Bettenson (London: Penguin Books, 1972).

Duessa's call, "Thine the shield, and I, and all" marks the initial point of Redcrosse's victory over Sansjoy (1.5.11). As already noted, Night does not know Duessa "Vntill the witches speech she gan to heare" (1.5.21). The changes in Redcrosse and Night are important indicators of the power of Duessa's vocal utterances, but it is not until canto 7 that a complete picture of Duessa's own transformation and its connection to her vocal utterances and silence become explicit. Here, Duessa most vividly portrays particular scenes from the Book of Revelation, becoming fully recognizable as a representation of the Whore of Babylon (see Figs. 16 and 17 for two of the most famous sixteenth-century depictions of the Whore of Babylon).[236] As John N. King notes, her appearance and the battle scene in the seventh canto "come directly out of Revelation and the tradition of Bale's *Image of Both Churches*."[237] Equipped with a "gold and purple pall to weare, / And triple crowne set on her head full hye, / And her endowd with royall maiestye: / Then for to make her dreaded more of men, / And peoples harts with awfull terrour tye," Duessa boards Revelation's monstrous beast (1.7.16). Up until the false Duessa climbs aboard the beast, she is the personification of a Catholic image. Her role entails speaking, and thus she acts a replacement for the written Word. From stanza 16 of canto 7 through the twentieth stanza of canto 8, however, Duessa is the representation of a Protestant woodcut set next to the text of Revelation. She supports

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[236] King argues that "No single site in *The Faerie Queene* exemplifies Babylon, because Duessa and the "demonic" characters for whom she is the prototype dwell in scattered habitations, but her overlapping origins in both Babylon and Rome are recreated in many of the allegorical houses of the fallen world, notably the Palace of Pride and Orgoglio's Castle." This estimation is, however, based on place and as the Whore of Babylon, Duessa inhabits not only place, but the space of the Catholic Church as understood by Protestant reformers. *Spenser's Poetry*, 91.

[237] John N. King, *English Reformation Literature: The Tudor Origins of the Protestant Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1982), 448.

the Word as the Word speaks for itself – her own voice is silent. It is not until she tumbles off her multi-headed steed that she reacquires her voice and then only for a single line. By placing a voiceless Duessa next to the Word (the Book of Revelation), Spenser has transformed her status as an image into that of a Protestant woodcut resembling those used in other reformist works, such as John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*. The reconstitution of Duessa is an essential maneuver by Spenser because it effectively reinvests the Protestant argument for the use of woodcuts with authority displaced from the Catholic Church. Because it is juxtaposed with the text, the Protestant woodcut can lead the layperson to a greater understanding of the Word. As John King explains:

> Protestant religious images represent the inner experience of faith rather than autonomous devotional objects. The broad visual analogies of Reformation woodcuts should assist the reader in perceiving the providential pattern in the mutable world. Like Cranmer's homilies and communion ritual, the efficacy of woodcuts inheres in their proper use.[238]

For many Protestant reformers, the key to proper reading and interpreting resides in the layman's ability to discern the Word by hearing it read to him or reading it himself, rather than by simply seeing the visual image and attempting to interpret it without the aid of the written Word. How to read properly, how to interpret the "truth," is a task Redcrosse must learn how to accomplish, and Duessa provides a perfect opportunity for him to do so.

Reading the Double

[238] Ibid., 154-55.

In *The Art of Naming*, Anne Ferry argues that reading, for the sixteenth century, refers to acts other than simply engaging with a written or spoken text; "reading" also comes to refer to the physical act of "seeing." For Spenser, especially, reading or "seeing" equates to the act of judging value or making a moral observation, and it is most often associated with nonverbal experiences of interpreting, in a character's countenance and manner, the marks of moral qualities or inward states.[239] "Seeing," in this context, means properly discerning "truth," and for many reformers, discernment comes by right reading or basing one's interpretation of what is "true" or "false" on what one hears or reads rather than what one physically sees. Virtuous action is impossible for the man who refuses to read the image as a sign with an empty moral signifier. He who "refuses to learn to read the signs offered him by the sagacious elders, to see analogies and to make connections – to acquire, that is, the wisdom of the expert reader" – is likely to fall into idolatry and deception and to face the consequences of doing so.[240] In her analysis of the act of reading, Leigh DeNeef states, "we do not simply 'see' another person or event; we 'read' them. And unless we do read them, we are likely, literally, to mis-read them."[241] The inability to appropriately "read" those around him is one of Redcrosse Knight's essential problems, and it is a problem that he most clearly displays in his encounters with Duessa.

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[239] Anne Ferry, *The Art of Naming* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1988), see Chapter 1.
[240] Isabel Gamble MacCaffrey, *Spenser's Allegory: the Anatomy of Imagination* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1976), 157.
[241] Leigh DeNeef, *Spenser and the Motives of Metaphor* (Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 1982):147. See this work for a more detailed examination of the concepts illustrated in this chapter where they concern the connections between deception and seeing as well as those of hearing and reading.

For Redcrosse, the blank sign clothed in deceptive light comes in the form of Duessa, and it is by first mis-reading her that he will ultimately learn to read properly.[242] Two faulty reading habits contribute to Redcrosse's misinterpretation of Duessa. First, he relies on sight rather than speech to discern the difference between what is "true" and what is "false;" and second, he attempts to read Duessa "like a man." However, as duplicity, she is both an image and an allegory, and to attempt such a reading of her will ultimately fail to reveal the hidden truth beneath the literal level or external surface of her. From the beginning of Book 1, we are given specific insights into Redcrosse's inability to read properly because he concentrates on what he sees rather than on what he hears. Even though he does eventually hear and obey the voice of Una in his battle with Errour, he does not heed her initial warning

> Least suddaine mischiefe ye too rash prouoke;
> The danger hid, the place vnknowne and wilde,
> Breedes dreadfull doubts: Oft fire is without smoke,
> And perill without show: therefore your stroke
> Sir knight with-hold, till further triall made. (1.1.12)

Una tells the knight that he would do well to stay away from Errour's den, but Redcrosse, "full of fire and greedy hardiment," does not hear her words (1.1.14). He only sees the challenge before him and the adventure that challenge offers him. James Kearney argues that in his encounter with Errour, Redcrosse's "[m]isreading […] is not sterile or static but dynamic and fundamentally generative; once off the path of truth, the fallen reader does not encounter an error that lies in wait but generates a capacity for

[242] Redcrosse's inability to read is a concept identified by Kearney in "Enshrining Idolatry in *The Faerie Queene*" and John Pendergast in *Religion, Allegory, and Literacy*. Kearney also shows that Redcrosse's "hermeneutic journey reflects and refracts the reader's experience of the poem." *The Incarnate Text*, 93.

error that is grotesquely limitless."[243] Redcrosse is prone to the distinct E/errour of mis-reading, and his mis-reading habit is multiplied (rather than rectified) when he enters Errour's den. This multiplication is illustrated by the numerous mini-Errours that are both birthed by and consume the she-monster. In effect, the multiple "errors" found in the den of Errour act as a foreshadowing: the instances portraying the Knight of Holiness's erroneous reading habits will be multiplied as Book 1 continues. Later, when Redcrosse sees the false knight with the false Una, he burns "with gealous fire, / The eye of reason was with rage yblent" and then leaves in "bitter anguish of his guiltie sight" (1.2.5-6). The "guiltie" sight is what he has seen, but it is also his own sight that is guilty because it is unreliable. These early moments in Book 1 illustrate Redcrosse's initial mis-reading habits, and it is important to recognize that they are directly related to women characters. Redcrosse's departure from Una, as Truth, will ultimately lead him to mis-read Duessa, the Catholic image personified.

Upon Redcrosse's defeat of Sansfoy, Duessa tells the story of how she came to be in the Saracen's company. As she speaks, Redcrosse "in great passion all this while did dwell, / More busying his quicke eyes, her face to view, / Then his dull eares, to heare what she did tell" (1.2.26). He cannot discern the truth of Duessa because he cannot read her duplicitous nature visually. By effectively creating desire in the knight through her appearance and gestures, Duessa has further separated auditory and visual learning methods in Redcrosse. Sarah Eaton explains that for many early modern authors, "a woman who is as she appears results in a correspondence between word and

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[243] Kearney, *Incarnate Text*, 94.

thing."[244] Duessa, as a decorated image and a duplicitous woman character, cannot hold this correspondence, which makes her doubly impossible for Redcrosse to read or interpret without the accompaniment of Truth represented by Una. By not listening to Duessa's words but rather relying on his vision as his primary interpretive tool, Redcrosse is doomed to misinterpret Duessa. This type of reading practice is akin to that which many Protestant thinkers believed led to worshipping the image. According to Catholic theologians, the direct perception offered by the image's pictorial program is meant to invite the layperson to ponder the significance of the object and to be stirred to devotion by visually engaging with it, but there is also a certain danger inherent in such direct perception. By viewing the image, man's affection and heart are stirred, and his desire for what the image offers ensues. This affection and desire for the image are the very dangers into which Redcrosse falls by dallying with Duessa. Through sight, the knight's affections are stirred to the point that he cannot read the image, but he, instead, simply begins to desire it, to worship it as an idol and to become idle/idol himself.

The resulting idleness into which Redcrosse descends at the fountain in canto 7 is the onset of that which is more fully shown in the character of Fradubio, illustrating that idle/idol reading can lead to idolatry. In canto 2, Redcrosse and Duessa rest upon "th'vnlucky ground" under the shade of a certain tree (1.2.28). After breaking a branch of the tree, Redcrosse is confronted by Fradubio, who has been transformed into that same tree. Fradubio relates his story to Redcrosse as a warning, "Least to you

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[244] Sarah Eaton, "Presentations of Women" in *Ambiguous Realities: Women in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, eds. Carole Levin and Jeanie Watson (Detroit: Wayne State Univ. Press, 1987), 178.

[Redcrosse] hap, that happened to me [Fradubio] heare" (1.2.31). Fradubio tells the knight that she who is responsible for his own idleness "Is one Duessa a false sorceresse, / That many errant knights hath brought to wretchednesse" (1.2.34). Even though Redcrosse physically hears the warning furnished by the human tree, that the latter's fate was sealed by the "gentle Lady, whom ye see," he does not heed the admonition to flee from the image that threatens to transform him into an idol (1.2.35). Fradubio's is a clear warning: his physical transformation and his speech should alert Redcrosse to the image's erotic dimension as well as its idolatrous component.

Because the image is gendered, Recrosse's unsatisfactory reading practices can be explored further when taking into account the ways in which certain reading habits connect to gender and allegory. Duessa, as the female personification of duplicity, is an allegory herself. Carolyn Dinshaw reminds us that texts are bodies that are created by men: men are the makers of both written texts and painted or sculpted images.[245] These texts and images are often feminized as they receive their markings from men. Furthermore, allegorical works are especially feminine as they are bodies of truth hidden or obscured by the veil of fiction. According to Dinshaw, allegorical interpretation is, in a sense, "undressing the text – unveiling the truth, revealing the body figuratively represented as female."[246] To read an allegory properly, one must pass beyond the pleasurable surface (the signifier) to find the hidden truth beneath (the signified). Redcrosse, rather than seeing past the surface of Duessa, reads her "like a man," attempting to totalize or make the text of Duessa whole without first cutting away

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[245] Dinshaw, *Chaucer's Sexual Poetics*.
[246] Ibid., 21.

the “pleasures” that lay on the surface of the text. Jennifer Summit continues Dinshaw’s contention by arguing that in approaching medieval texts, early modern Protestant readers, such as Bale and Leland, defend the importance of “casting awaye trifles, cutting off olde wives tales, and superfluous fables” in search of truth and thus advocate a reading that produces rupture as much as it repairs it.”[247] The cutting away of falsity (what Summit refers to as “polishing” or “purifying”) in order to establish a particular “truth” in the text is a distinctly Protestant one that first recognizes that the text carries multiple meanings. This Protestant reading method is one with which Redcrosse should but does not engage. He consistently ignores the possibility that an underlying meaning is hidden by Duessa’s outward adornment. Each time the Knight of Holiness is confronted with information that would help him read her properly, he excludes it from his reading practice. When Fradubio tells him that Duessa is a sorceress and reveals her history to the knight, Redcrosse becomes only momentarily fearful. When he sees Duessa in a swoon, he forgets his fear and “Her vp he tooke, too simple and too trew, / And oft her kist” (1.2.45). Later, he resists the temptations offered at the Palace of Pride, but he also resists making a direct connection between the events of the Palace and Duessa. After he leaves the Palace, “Yet sad he was that his too hastie speed / The fayre Duess’ had forst him leaue behind” (1.6.2). Each time the Knight of Holiness is given an overt opportunity to read beyond the literal, outer layer of Duessa, to read the image and the allegory properly, he turns away from it. In reading Duessa “like a man,” Redcrosse reduces her double nature to a single self-

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[247] Summit is here speaking specifically about Book 2 of *The Faerie Queene* but her insights are helpful in the analysis of Redcrosse’s reading methods as well as those of Guyon. *Memory’s Library*, 101-35.

imposed truth that does not accord with right reading because the duplicity of the text has been ignored. One cannot find wholeness in the metaphor or doubleness inherent to allegory and the image without first acknowledging that such a double nature exists. Redcrosse's inability to admit that Duessa, the image and the allegorical text, embodies doubleness is one of the direct causes of his eventual imprisonment.

It is not until he is released from Orgoglio's dungeon that he begins to read properly. After the Knight of Holiness is released from Orgoglio's dungeon, Prince Arthur and Una strip Duessa of her adorned outward appearance. In a dramatization of right reading practices, Redcrosse can now see past Duessa's beautiful exterior and read the true nature of the witch underneath

> Her craftie head was altogether bald,
> And as in hate of honorable eld,
> Was ouergrowne with scurfe and filthy scald;
> Her teeth out of her rotten gummes were feld,
> And her sowre breath abhominably smeld;
> Her dried dugs, like bladders lacking wind,
> Hong downe, and filthy matter from them weld;
> Her wrizled skin as rough, as maple rind,
> So scabby was, that would haue loathd all womankind. (1.8.47)

Here, the literal level of the allegorical text is stripped away in order to show the hidden meaning beneath it. The adornment of the image is destroyed and its "dead" or disfigured interior is revealed. Duessa's is a diseased body, something distinctly barren and vile. Like the image that can only offer the layman a distorted semblance rather than the eternal substance of "truth," so too is Duessa's erotic and enticing exterior. Duessa's disrobing is a first step toward teaching the Knight of Holiness how to read

the allegorical text and the image properly. Because she is both an allegory and an image, Duessa must be stripped in order to provide the Christian reader with "truth."

To misinterpret, to take as "truth" the outer layer of a duplicitous text or image, is to prostitute that very text or image; misinterpretation equates to whoredom. By engaging in improper reading habits, Redcrosse actually contributes to Duessa's role as the Whore of Babylon. In fact, it is not until the final act of Redcrosse's ongoing misreading that she becomes most fully the Whore of Babylon, "mounted on her manyheaded beast," holding her golden cup (1.8.6). Duessa could not be the Whore of Babylon were she not a woman character and a feminized text that has been adulterated through Redcrosse's improper reading of her. However, questions do arise concerning her reappearance in subsequent books: Is her role as a Catholic image and her transformation into a Protestant woodcut sustained throughout *The Faerie Queene*? Does she, as a duplicitous woman character, eventually become easier to interpret?

Redoubling

Spenser does not immediately destroy Duessa after her stripping in Book 1, which produces two relative arguments: first, the lack of destruction shows that Spenser's is a moderate Protestant program, and second, that Duessa continues to represent the image from a Protestant perspective until she is ultimately destroyed. Not all reformers were bent on destroying images, and Spenser seems to share the concerns of these more moderate Protestants. Spenser could simply have had Prince Arthur destroy Duessa altogether. That he does not do so articulates the argument against radical iconoclastic activities that Kirkrapine comes to exemplify. In fact, Spenser is

making a Protestant statement concerning the danger of Catholic images, then Kirkrapine's appearance in Book 1 might seem to be a religious contradiction.[248] In canto 2, we learn that he is

> […] a stout and sturdie thiefe,
> Wont to robbe Churches of their ornaments,
> And poore mens boxes of their due reliefe,
> Which giuen was to them for good intents;
> The holy Saints of their rich vestiments
> He did disrobe, when all men carelesse slept,
> And spoild the Priests of their habiliments, (1.3.17)

In the Kirkrapine episode, Spenser illustrates a moderate Protestant program that calls for restraint rather than destruction. The thief's conduct gives him the appearance of a Protestant iconoclast who robs churches and strips the altars of their vestments. The items he pilfers are those found in the Catholic Church, and because Kirkrapine will be "proudly supprest" and "rent in a thousand peeces small" by Una's lion, the reader is aware that Kirkrapine's actions are to be regarded with disapproval (1.3.19-20). Many reformists judged the wholesale theft or demolition of Catholic churches and the tools of worship housed in them as a fanatical reactionary practice. Radical iconoclasm as a type of protest was too violent for men who saw a difference between conversion and destruction. Using Kirkrapine as a model for the Protestant extremist allows Spenser to both illustrate a specific contradiction in the Protestant belief system and exemplify his own agreement with Luther's argument for moderation. Such moderation, however,

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[248] Carol V.Kaske sees this as one among many ambiguities within *The Faerie Queen* that indicate Spenser's possible Catholic sympathies. "The Audiences of *The Faerie Queene*: Iconoclasm and Related Issues in Books I, V, and VI," *Literature & History*, 3d ser., 2 (1994): 15-35. King believes that the Kirkrapine scene is "richly suggestive of the Cromwellian campaign to suppress the monasteries during the 1530's." *Spenser's Poetry*, 55.

does not mean that there is no danger inherent to the image. The image still has the propensity to move the layman toward idolatry because the layman's heart and mind become engrossed in the image's visual nature. In other words, the image is still able to regenerate itself in the mind of the layman through remembrance, and this is precisely what happens with Duessa.

Duessa's role as a Catholic image is both stable and unstable in subsequent books, but even though her role may become destabilized, she continues to be represent the image in alternate ways. As an image, she regenerates herself and can do so because she continues to signify in the memory of the layman. She can be compared to the image as defined by Reginald Pecock: she is a "rememoratijf visible signe," and "withoute rememoratijf signes of a thing or of thingis the rememoracioun of the rememberaunce of thilk thing or thingis muste needis be the febler […]."[249] Because images are visual, their hold on the layman's imagination is much stronger than that of verbal utterances alone. The layman will continue to recall what he has seen before he will recall what he has heard. Such remembrance is, according to Catholic theologians, an important task of the image; it is the regenerative aspect of the image, and it is why Duessa can continue to embody the image. At the end of canto 8 in Book 1, Prince Arthur and Una disrobe her, but the stripping of her only rids the witch of her outward physical appearance. Her voice has not been taken away in Spenser's initial book, and thus she is still able to "disrupt the betrothal of Redcrosse and Una by means of "letters vaine" (1.12.34), a missive "spoken" by paper (1.12.25) and delivered by

[249] Pecock, *Repressor*, 182.

Archimago."[250] By not completing the physical destruction of the image, Prince Arthur allows it to regenerate, so that Duessa continues to be dangerous to those unsuspecting Christians who encounter her; she continues to signify in the hearts of men, to perform desire and shape the desiring subject, but it is the visual nature of Duessa as the image that first entices the layman. According to Catholic theologians, the layman's attraction to the outward appearance of the image is the first step in the process of devotion. Gregory Martin elaborates on this theory in *Roma Sancta*:

> And if any where a man stand nigh to these tombes, he perceaveth his sence by and by ravished with this sayd force. For the sight of the coffin entering into the hart, pearceth it, stirreth it up, and moveth it in such maner, as if he that lyeth there dead, did pray with us, | and were visibly present to be seen. Besides it cometh to passé, that he which feeleth him selfe so sweetly moved, is marvelous jocand, and gladsome, and being cleane altered after a sort into an other man, in such heavenlie plight departeth he out of the place.[251]

Man's potential to worship images was one very good reason to remove such images from the layman's view.

The most obvious sign of Duessa's regeneration occurs in her outward appearance as she slowly re-clothes herself, re-dressing her visual exterior. In Book 2, Duessa resurfaces in a different form than the one readers last saw her in Book 1. Sir Guyon, the Knight of Temperance, comes upon her as

> […] a gentle Lady all alone,
> With garments rent, and heare discheueled,
> Wringing her handes, and making piteous mone;
> Her swollen eyes were much disfigured,
> And her faire face with tears was fowly blubbered. (2.1.13)
>
> Her golden lockes most cruelly she rent,

[250] Gregerson, "Protestant Erotics," 9.
[251] Martin, *Roma Sancta*, 27.

And scratcht her face with ghastly dreriment,
Ne would she speake, ne see, ne yet be seene,
But hid her visage, and her head downe bent. (2.1.15)

While she is not embellished as before, she does now have a physical body once again. It is a body, however, in the process of regeneration. Here, she is neither bejeweled nor is she wearing fine clothing. Instead, her garments are torn, her hair is knotted, and her eyes are swollen from crying. Due to the obvious distress of her situation, she has scratched her face and torn at her own hair. Here, she is only a partially regenerated image, or she is only mid-way toward becoming the embellished image again. Although Duessa's exterior has changed as it is in the reproductive process, her internal nature has not changed. She is still duplicitous and deceptive:

Her purpose was not such, as she did faine,
Ne yet her person such, as it was seene,
But vnder simple shew and semblant plaine
Lurkt false Duessa secretly vnseene,
As a chast Virgin, that had wronged beene:
So had false Archimago her disguisd,
To cloke her guile with sorrow and sad teene;
And eke himselfe had craftily deuisd
To be her Squire, and do her seruice well aguisd. (2.1.21)

Duessa is now re-paired with Archimago and both are disguised: Duessa is again performing a virgin while Archimago is performing her squire. Duessa is now disguised under simple garments, much like those that conduct manual writers instruct modest maidens to wear. However, even without its elaborate outward adornment, the image continues to create desire in a viewing subject. In the case of Sir Guyon, Duessa evokes the desire to aid her in her quest for justice, but rather than it being due to her outward beauty, it is more likely due to her acts, gestures, and utterances of feigned sorrow,

which secretly hide her falsity. Her limited recreation and erotic appeal mirror the knight's emblematic virtue: both are temperate. The unembellished image, however, remains dangerous because of its continued ability to create a desiring subject, and this "temperate" desire (specifically, to come to the woman's aid) is only one step removed from the sensual and erotic desire created by the adorned image.

Duessa's brief appearances in Book 4 illustrate a more fully regenerated image. In this book, she is one of the two ladies riding with two armed knights:

> But Ladies none they were, albee in face
> And outward shew faire semblance they did beare;
> For vnder maske of beautie and good grace,
> Vile treason and fowle falsehood hidden were,
> That mote to none but to the warie wise appeare. (4.1.17)

Duessa has now shed her lowly attire and taken up ornamentation once again, seeming beautiful and enticing on the outside while retaining her dark interior. Book 4 illustrates the most fully regenerated portrait of Duessa as the image, and this regeneration shows Spenser's continued participation in the image debate. First, Spenser preserves and adapts Duessa as image by transforming her into a Protestant woodcut. Second, he strips her and regenerates her in order to show how the image can be physically disassembled but regenerated in the hearts of innocent layman who have previously worshipped it. Finally, the poet uses Duessa to teach the reader about the necessity for continuous proper interpretation of the image and the allegorical text. There will, however, be a final moment in which Duessa is destroyed, although not necessarily in an iconoclastic act.

The argument for iconoclastic moderation might seem undermined when Spenser ultimately destroys Duessa in Book 5, where she is once again "royally arayd," but it is in this final book that Duessa's role as image becomes unstable (5.9.40). If Spenser previously had her stripped of her outward appearance so that the layman could see the truth beneath it, then it seems unreasonable to destroy her because she represents an image; she has already been revealed and can now be interpreted properly. In Book 5, Duessa represents a *source* of idolatry rather than an idolatrous image. In her final appearance, she seems not to be an image so much as an endorser of Catholic images, the idolatrous Mary, Queen of Scots. More dangerous than the image itself is the one who sanctions its use. Those who teach the layman to visually read the image, those who lead the unsuspecting Christian into idolatry through example, must be destroyed so that the image can be rent from the hearts of men. Among Mary's spiritual offences was the charge of idolatry.[252] Protestants saw Mary Stewart as a deceptive and duplicitous woman who was both an enemy of the state and an adversary of the One True Church.

Unlike Una's role as the embodiment of the One True Church, Duessa's is a role based on negative assumptions embedded in the discourses concerning women and Catholic images. As a duplicitous woman, Duessa is embellished; as a Catholic image, she is gilded and adorned in costly array. Her ability to entice the desiring subject, the unsuspecting and unlearned Christian, Redcrosse Knight, comes by means of her performance as both wayward woman and image. However, her performance also acts

[252] She was also charged with treason, murder, adultery, and blasphemy. Aston, *England's Iconoclasts*, see especially Chapter 7: "The Sin of Idolatry: The Teaching of the Decalogue."

as a guide for proper reading. The accomplishment of this latter goal is a tribute to Spenser's ability to appropriate Catholic imagery and reclaim it for a Protestant purpose. Indeed, Book 1 is a peculiar hybrid of the popish and the Protestant, but in it Spenser uses Duessa to show the dangers of the image and misreading it. The poet then reclaims her as a Protestant woodcut only to revive her as an image in Books 2 and 4. Finally, Spenser uses Duessa to represent the one who authorizes the image's use in Book 5 and ultimately destroys her for doing so. She is also an example of St. Augustine's definition of allegory: Duessa is one of the "many and varied obscurities and ambiguities [that] deceive those who read casually, understanding one thing instead of another; indeed, in certain places they do not find anything to interpret erroneously, so obscurely are certain sayings covered with a most dense mist."[253] In the end, Duessa has completed her task for, in allegory, it is the reader who assigns meaning, and Duessa has taught the reader how to do so properly.

[253] Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, 37.

CHAPTER 5

COPLEY REBUTS SPENSER: *A FIG FOR FORTUNE*

The waies to see and heare the Church of Christ is to see and heare the gouernors of his Church, with the people that obey them and agree with them.
Nicolas Sander, "The Preface Conteining A Brief Declaration, Which is the true Church of Christ"

When, in 1567, Nicolas Sander explained that the lay Christian should rely on the "gouernors of his Church" to understand scripture, the author was repeating an argument produced by the Catholic Church against Protestant translations of the Bible. The necessity of relying on one's superiors in order to understand the complexities of scripture was an argument propounded by M. Harding's 1564 reply to John Jewel, and it reappears in the preface to the 1582 Rheims New Testament. The disagreement between Catholic and Protestant theologians about Biblical translation and the layman's ability to read and interpret scripture is one facet of the image debate, as I have explained in chapter 2. Moreover, it is not a disagreement that remains exclusive to sixteenth-century religio-political writings, such as those written by Jewel and Sanders, but also appears in allegorical writings, such as *The Faerie Queene* and *A Fig for Fortune*.

In the same year that the 1596 edition of the first three books of *The Faerie Queene* were published, a recusant poet named Anthony Copley published *A Fig for Fortune,* a thinly veiled allegorical rewriting of the last four cantos of Spenser's initial

book. Literary criticism of Copley's work is sparse, and much of the analysis that does exist simply explain the allegorical content of the poem. The scarcity of analysis could be attributed to the simplicity of the allegory itself; little in the text is left to the reader's imagination. In 1942, Frederick M. Padelford published an article on *A Fig for Fortune* in *Modern Language Quarterly*, while C.S. Lewis only mentions the poem in his 1954 edition of *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama*.[254] Susannah Brietz Monta reads Copley's text through the lens of martyrdom, explaining that the poem is "an argument about the value of Catholic suffering," while Alison Shell insists that Copley's text allegorizes "optimistic Catholic projections of a future under Elizabeth."[255] I agree with Monta that Copley believes that a non-violent resistance is at the heart of the recusant program to gain toleration in England, but I also argue that such a non-violent resistance does not necessarily mean that Copley shows toleration for the Elizabethan Protestant program. Nor do I agree with Shell that Copley's loyalty to Elizabeth should go unquestioned, even if he seems optimistic about a program of toleration under her. There are moments in the allegory, as will be explained later, when Copley's loyalty to the head of state should be suspect. I also contend that Copley's text continues to argue points most common to the Protestant/Catholic image debate found in Spenser's text and outlined in chapter 4, but he reworks them to

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[254] Frederick M. Padelford, "Anthony Copley's *A Fig for Fortune*: A Roman Catholic Legend of Holiness," *Modern Language Quarterly* 3 (1942): 525-33. C.S. Lewis argues that Copley "simply ignores the literary history of the last ninety years" and that the poet's invention of the verb 'to craven-cockadoodle it' is the most impressive aspect of the work. *English Literature*, 464.

[255] Shell includes a brief analysis of the poem in her chapter on Catholic loyalism to Queen Elizabeth and Monta includes an entire section, "Treason and Transcendence: A Catholic Reads *The Faerie Queene,*" in her chapter on martyrdom and religious allegory. Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy*, 137. Monta, *Martyrdom and Literature*, 110.

articulate the Catholic side of the debate. Copley incorporates aspects of Spenser's text into his own allegory for two reasons: first, he is engaging in a common rhetorical strategy whereby the initial argument becomes a physical part of the counterargument (this is exemplified in the published controversy between John Jewel and M. Harding). Second, in order to subvert Spenser's message, Copley must, to some degree, repeat that message in order to work within the discourse established by Spenser's text. Because Copley's is a reactionary allegory, the following argument will necessarily entail extensive comparison to particular characters and episodes in Book 1 of *The Faerie Queene*, although neither characters nor episodes are as fully developed in Copley's text as they are in Spenser's.

Copley's first-person dream-vision allegory falls into four parts: the temptation to despair, the temptation to revenge, the spiritual instruction in the house of Devotion, and the war and service in the Temple. Copley wrote his allegory to proclaim his own religious sympathies, despite his reluctance to commit violent treason. In her summary of Copley's colorful personal history, Susannah Brietz Monta recounts that, although "Copley did resist in nonviolent ways[,] he appears on recusant rolls for one month's recusancy in January 1596, the very month that *A Fig for Fortune* was entered in the Stationer's Register."[256] Copley's text, in some ways, mirrors the conflicted loyalty of many recusants who chose to live in England during Elizabeth's reign.

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[256] Copley's parents fled England in 1569 and Copley returned illegally in 1590. He was immediately arrested, but he provided information on English Catholics living abroad and was released. Monta, *Martyrdom and Literature*, 102.

One of my aims in this chapter is to investigate how Copley answers the question of whether or not a recusant can simultaneously claim monarchical and religious loyalty. Documentation provided in P.J. Holmes's *Elizabethan Casuistry* argues that the question of dual loyalty was a real concern for Catholics in England. Published in the late sixteenth century, Case 27 of "The Allen-Persons Cases" addresses it explicitly:

> Is it lawful for Catholics in England to obey the Queen in all political matters after the Bull of Pius V in the same way as they did before?
>
> *Resolution*. The resolution of this case depends rather on the judgment of Catholics in England who know all the facts of the matter well. But it seems to me that although they are perhaps not bound to do so, Catholics may lawfully obey her in everything of a purely political nature which does not involve the persecution of Catholics, least to avoid worse evils befalling them.
> *Solution of Allen and Persons*. It is lawful to do so, but there is a further comment on this case which must be given in secret.[257]

The answer to the question of loyalty seems rather clear in the Resolution: yes, Catholics may lawfully obey the queen in political matters, even though the Bull in question is the one that excommunicated Elizabeth 1. However, there also appears a loophole in that it is only in "purely" political matters that they should obey. The question now becomes: how does one separate the political from the religious when the queen is head of both state and church? Furthermore, how is the layman to determine if persecution of Catholics might result from such obedience? The *Solution* given by Allen and Parsons simply continues to problemetize the question of loyalty by forcing any further resolution into "secret." Given his own personal history, the question of whether one could be simultaneously loyal to the Catholic Church and loyal to the

[257] Holmes, *Elizabethan Casuistry*, 121.

Protestant monarch is an important one for Copley, and it is one that he addresses in his *A Fig for Fortune* through representations of the queen. Monta maintains that, "despite the poem's rejection of violent action in response to persecution, the temptations remain powerful and vaguely threatening, and the state's persecution of Catholics does not go uncriticized."[258] Because the queen "united in her person the religious and political supremacy," Copley's loyalty could come into question even if he claimed to be a good and loyal servant to the queen.[259] Indeed, publishing the text landed him in jail even though he was later released. Within Copley's clearly Catholic message, the poet does incorporate moments of praise for Queen Elizabeth and a sense of longing for religious toleration in England. The sincerity of these moments of praise for the queen become questionable because he also includes moments of royal disparagement in his allegory, demonstating that the true allegiance of the Catholic Englishman should go to the Catholic Church rather than the Protestant monarch.

Copley can "praise" Elizabeth at the same time he attempts covertly to destabilize her authority over recusant subjects. The moments in which Copley's loyalty to the Protestant queen is questionable occur most vividly in the final scenes of the allegory in which the Elizian Knight engages with the priest figure, Catechrysius. For instance, when the Elizian Knight and Catechrysius arrive at the temple, they find that the porter has been instructed "t'admit in no Elizian" or Protestant subject of Elizabeth (70). Furthermore, during the battle between the Catholic believers and Doblessa, Catechrysius concludes one of his sermons with the comment: "Oh, that Eliza

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[258] Ibid., 103.
[259] A.C. Southern, *Elizabeth Recusant Prose, 1559-1582* (London: Sands, 1950), 15-16.

were / A Sionite to day to see this geere" (78). The tone of this and other lines does not show strong contempt for the Protestant ruler, but it does make clear that Copley believes the monarch embraces the "wrong" religion. Copley's loyalty to the queen is most uncertain in the final section of the poem, where Doblessa represents both Protestantism, generally, and Elizabeth, specifically. At the end of the final section, Copley's loyalty becomes even more unstable when the Elizian Knight sees what he believes is the Virgin Queen Elizabeth, only to find that it is the image of the Virgin Mary, the "true" queen.

Another of my aims in this chapter is to show how Copley generates his Catholic message by using gender-specific (in most cases, women) allegorical characters that resemble some of those found in Spenser's work and have been analyzed in the previous chapter.[260] Copley takes attributes of some of Spenser's characters and, by either combining them with his own ideas or transforming them altogether, reworks Spenser's Protestant message for Catholic purposes. Like Spenser, Copley relies on the discourses of gender, eroticism, and images in order to argue his perspective. The primary sections of this chapter will focus on the characters Despair, Revenge, and Doblessa and their interactions with the Elizian Knight, as two of these personifications directly coincide with those in Spenser's text. The concluding section provides a short analysis of the role of the priest character, Catechrysius, and how this character teaches the Elizian Knight and the reader how to use images.

[260] Padelford rightly asserts that the message in *A Fig for Fortune* is unmistakable: "It exalts the Roman Catholic Church as the one true church and condemns the Anglican Church as the Whore of Babylon and the product of Antichrist." "Anthony Copley's *A Fig for Fortune*," 526.

The final aim of this chapter is to analyze Copley's religious argument in light of the image debate and interpretation. Although Copley's religious sympathies are clear in his text, his characters cannot easily be interpreted as "images" or "icons" in the same ways that Spenser's can be. Copley's Catholic program praises the rightful use of images, and instead of personifying an image, as Spenser does, Copley repetitively personifies iconoclasm, the violent destruction of images. Copley repeatedly refers to "seeing" as an argument against the Protestant program of translating the scriptures into a language that the layman can "read." For instance, rather than analyzing a character like Duessa, whose acts, gestures, and utterances speak to theological discussions about images, I analyze the protagonist in light of how he responds to what he "sees" and whom he "hears." In such a context, "seeing" will denote a Catholic theology and should be understood to be a positive means of interpretation. "Hearing" represents a Protestant mode of learning and directly coincides with adulterated texts and improper interpretation. However, Copley's text does include moments of teaching through lecture or sermon; Catechrysius will teach the Elizian Knight in such a way. Nevertheless, the Elizian Knight is given ample opportunity to "see" what Catechrysius says to him in images that are not personifications but instead are like living, moving dramas played out before his eyes. The Elizian Knight does not interpret these "movies" for himself; he learns the lessons they provide through Catechrysius's expert interpretation of them. By contrast, "hearing" poses the most significant danger to the knight. When he *listens* to Despair and Revenge, he risks falling into the traps they set for him. Copley's dramatization of the Catholic edict to use sight in order to discern

"truth" acts as a counterargument to Spenser's endorsement of the Protestant command to use hearing in order to discern "truth."

I also maintain that Copley's use of allegory is not as lethal for the Catholic author as it was for Spenser. Allegory, for Protestant writers such as Spenser, could be dangerous because of allegory's heavy reliance on metaphor, which creates a dependence on the imagination. However, allegory has a long and distinguished history as not only an accepted mode of writing but one applauded by Catholic theologians. Copley includes in his allegory an Argument that is rather scant, and while in it he does outline the allegory proper, he does not include an apology to the reader for using such a mode of writing. In fact, the beginning Address written to "Anthonie Browne, L. Vicompt Montague" simply praises the recipient.[261] The author's Argument that follows the Address gives a brief overview of the allegory and its meaning, but the Argument also includes some inconsistencies in its outline of the text that prove to be problematic. For instance, Copley remarks that Fortune (by which he seems to mean both Doblessa and "Protestantism") is at the center of the conflict between the knight and his faithfulness to the "true" religion. However, the actual allegory does not seem to support this argument because Doblessa/Protestantism and Fortune are very different characters in the allegory proper. What can be said about Copley's "Fortune" is what the word may signify in the title of his allegory. If by "Fortune" Copley means Protestantism, then *A Fig for Fortune* can be translated: "Protestantism is valueless." If by "Fortune" Copley means Doblessa and Doblessa represents Elizabeth (as I argue she

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[261] Anthonie Copley, *A Fig for Fortune*, ed. Spenser Society (New York: Burt Franklin, 1967), 3. All quotes from *A Fig for Fortune* come from this edition of the text.

does at some moments in the final section of the poem), then the title can be translated: “the Queen is contemptible.”[262] Besides his unstable characterization of “Fortune,” Copley also writes about Despair in his Argument, maintaining that “*she* ended *her* oratory with a Sulphur vanish from out of [the knight’s] sight, he misdoubted both *her* and *her* tale” (emphasis mine) (5). Here, Copley specifically assigns the female gender to Despair, but in the text that follows, he makes Despair a man. While these inconsistencies may seem trivial at first, they can also point to a possible lack of attention, since it is unclear how much time elapsed between the writing of the Argument and the writing of the allegory. In my discussion of Despair, I analyze the personification as a gendered hybrid of sorts because of its link with Spenser’s feminized monster, Errour, and his masculinized character, Despair. Copley’s Despair takes on the role of a text that is at once monstrous and enticing.

The Error of Despair

Copley’s allegory is narrated by its primary character, the Elizian Knight, whose initial condition, a anxious one that he shares with all Catholic Englishmen, leads him directly to d/Despair. On his journey, the Elizian Knight is not accompanied by an Una; “the One True Church” is not by his side. Instead, he travels alone on a horse named Melancholie:

> Vested in fable vale, exild from Ioy,
> I rang’d to seeke out a propitious place
> Where I might sit and descant of annoy
> And of faire Fortune, altered to disgrace,
> At last, euen in the confines of the night
> I did discerne aloofe a sparkling light. (7)

[262] *Oxford English Dictionary Online,* s.v. “fig.”

The Catholic Elizian Knight has been exiled from joy by Fortune or the unfortunate events that have exiled all Catholics from England. The Elizian Knight is the personification of a Catholic Elizabethan knight "lost" in his own country. If Spenser's Una stands for "the One True Church" and the Elizian Knight is without her or a comparable personification, then Copley is illustrating that the knight's country, England, is also without "the One True Church." The Elizian Knight's clearly dejected attitude and banishment are similar to the mental and physical situations faced by recusants in England. In his despondent state, the knight discerns "aloofe a sparkling light." The light represents a glimmer of hope in the midst of emotional, spiritual, and physical misery, but the light will prove to be a false and fading hope for the Catholic knight in search of religious toleration and physical relief.

By the second stanza of the poem, the knight meets his first adversary: Despair, who acts as a repetition of Spenser's text and a subversion of it because Copley combinies two of Spenser's characters in order to construct his own Despair. *A Fig for Fortune's* Despair is a hybrid character in some ways akin to Spenser's she-monster Errour and, in other ways, like Spenser's masculine allegorical character Despair. I compare the meeting between Copley's knight and Despair with the meetings between Spenser's knight and Errour and Spenser's knight and Despair to provide some insight into how Copley's Catholic message begins to take shape. Because Copley's is a Catholic message, the differences between the episodes also act as his attempt to subvert Spenser's message, offering a new "truth" statement to the readers that particularly concerns the Protestant program of translating texts and the Catholic use of

images. In the episode between the Elizian Knight and Despair, it is the visual (or lack thereof) that helps to save the knight from suicide. However, as long as he is "hearing" what Despair has to say, the Catholic knight is acting out a Protestant means of coming to "truth" and is thus in danger.

In the second stanza of *A Fig for Fortune*, Copley introduces Despair, who is initially an amalgam of Spenser's Errour and Lucifer. Here, the Elizian Knight states that his horse, his own melancholy, has brought him to a particular place and then goes on to describe the "agonizing beast" he sees:

> His vpper shape was faire-Angelicall,
> The rest belowe, all wholly Serpentine,
> Cole-blacke incroching vpon his pectoral,
> And rudely inrowleed in a Gorgon-twine,
> His eyes like Goblins stared heer and there,
> In fell disdayne of such disfigured geare. (7)

As a re-presentation of Errour, Despair is "Halfe like a serpent horribly displaide" and half human (1.1.14). However, Despair is half man, rather than half woman, and Despair neither has a host of little Despairs running around him in a dark cave nor regurgitates books and pamphlets representing propaganda. Copley's Despair is not the hideous female that Errour is: his upper body is "faire-Angelicall" although he has Medusa-like hair and demon-like eyes. The Elizian Knight is not compelled to destroy Despair as Redcrosse Knight is compelled to destroy Errour. Copley's knight, because of the circumstances in which Fortune has placed him, is seeking comfort instead of battle; the Catholic knight is seeking a "home," while the Protestant knight is seeking adventure at "home." The Redcrosse Knight's battle against Errour is only won when he hears the voice of Una cry out to "[a]dd faith vnto your force, and be not faint: /

Strangle her, else she sure will strangle thee" (1.1.19). Redcrosse is in danger of succumbing to what he sees: the image of the Catholic Church as represented by a feminized monster. The Elizian Knight sees a similar, though masculinized, monster that represents not the Mother Church but the adulterated texts and sermons produced by Protestants. Copley's Despair does not vomit books but is instead himself a book: his monstrous shape adds to his personification as a Protestant translated text. It was not uncommon, as Ceri Sullivan notes, for Catholic writers to describe "books as fearsome linguistic monsters, waiting to pounce on effeminate and unprepared readers."[263] Copley's Despair's "vpper shape was faire-Angelicall" also conjures an image of Satan, a masculine voice that entered the Garden of Eden. It was Satan who first adulterated scripture in the Garden. He enticed Eve not through any physical adornment but through his voice, and Eve acted on what she heard rather than what she saw. The error/Errour in Copley's episode represents, then, the error of "hearing" rather than "seeing."

While Errour can be eradicated through action, through actively battling with sword and shield, Despair can only be obliterated through non-action, through the passive resistance to which Copley believes the recusants in England should adhere if they are to survive in a country hostile to them. If, as I argue, Despair's initial role is that of a Protestant translated text, then it will continue to be produced in the English nation even if one text is destroyed. Furthermore, Copley's non-violent message coincides with the pattern other authors offer in Catholic devotional texts. Sullivan

[263] Sullivan, *Dismembered Rhetoric*, 133. Sullivan states that over one quarter of Frances Mere's similies for reading in his *Palladis tamia* of 1598 do just this.

maintains, in her study of Robert Southwell's devotional poetry, that Catholic "[a]uthors sketch a virtuous mirror image of the reader's present spiritual state; he is urged to practice those virtues directly contrary to temptations he suffers."[264] Rather than wage spiritual war on temptation, on Despair, the recusant, the Elizian Knight, practices the virtue of temperance in order to resist temptation. The only way for Catholic theologians to combat a translation that they deem insufficient is to warn their followers to abstain from using it, to resist it passively.

Even though Copley's Despair recalls Spenser's Errour, Copley's Despair episode and Spenser's Despair episode are not completely divorced from one another in terms of their literal messages, however markedly different they are in their underlying messages. Both Copley's and Spenser's personifications of Despair are self-mutilating and vocally enticing; both attempt to persuade their perspective knights to commit suicide by showing the knights how to accomplish the task and by offering the means by which to do so. Both also attempt to persuade by vocally producing arguments that suicide is a meaningful way to leave a loathsome life and enter the glory of eternity early. After all, why live without joy and purpose? How each knight reacts to Despair is also, ultimately, identical in that neither knight commits suicide as advised by Despair. However, at the end of the episode, Spenser's knight comes dangerously close to misinterpreting truth because he relies on sight, while Copley's knight stands at the edge of misinterpretation when he relies on hearing. The differences in the knights'

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[264] Ibid., 126.

possible interpretive downfalls directly coincide with the interpretive techniques taught by Protestant and Catholic theologians as outlined in chapter 2.

The following comparison between the two Despair episodes illustrates how Copley transforms Spenser's Protestant message concerning the method of proper interpretation into a Catholic one. Because Spenser's text is a much more elaborate allegory than Copley's, *The Faerie Queene*'s Despair section is predictably more involved, though not necessarily more poignant, than is *A Fig for Fortune*'s. Spenser's Redcrosse Knight is warned about Despair by the sudden appearance of an errant knight who "[w]ith stony eyes, and hartlesse hollow hew, / Astonisht stood, as one that had aspide / Infernall furies, with their chaines vntide" (1.9.24). At first, Redcrosse is provided with a visual warning, but it takes some time before the errant knight actually speaks to Redcrosse, explaining the circumstances by which he has come into Redcrosse's path. Redcrosse has, to this point, relied more on "seeing," and is given over to the desire that comes from it, rather than on "hearing" as a means of reading and interpreting the (false) "truths" he has encountered. The Knight of Holiness should have learned how to read appropriately when Prince Arthur had Duessa stripped at the end of canto 8, and he indeed does wait to hear the tale told by the errant knight before journeying forward. Unfortunately, the errant knight's parting words to Redcrosse, "But God you neuer let his [Despair's] charmed speeches heare," go unheeded (1.9.30). Redcrosse seems to be repeating his mistakes from the Fradubio episode where he hears a message but then fails to observe the warning. Instead, he sees that the knight, although certainly shaken, is still alive after an encounter with Despair and is distracted

once again from the "truth" he hears by what he sees. The Knight of Holiness ventures forward, assured that he, "whom triall late did teach," will be able to overcome this new enemy, whose "subtill tongue, like dropping honny, mealt'h / Into hart, and searcheth euery vaine" (1.9.31). Once the Redcrosse Knight meets Despair, the episode progresses rather predictably, with Despair attempting to convince the Knight of Holiness to commit suicide. Unfortunately, the Redcrosse Knight will not hear what Despair's "subtill tongue" says but will instead react to what Despair shows him, falling back on his initial improper reading habits and submitting to the image's power to transform the innocent layman as outlined by Protestant theologians, such as John Jewel and Jean Calvin.[265]

Like Spenser's Despair, Copley's Despair attempts to induce the Elizian Knight to commit suicide, but one of the most significant differences between these two episodes is in the reaction each knight initially has to Despair. It is in such reactions, in fact, that the difference between Catholic and Protestant modes of interpretation is most pronounced. Each Despair uses, as did Satan in the Garden, scriptural references (albeit, out of context) in order to convince their respective knights to commit suicide. In Spenser's version, Redcrosse Knight "was much enmoued with his [Despair's] speech" (1.9.48). However, Despair seems to know that it is to the visual image that Redcrosse will ultimately respond, illustrating the concerns addressed in a letter to Queen Elizabeth in 1559 that states that images are "apt to draw the minds of the

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[265] See Chapter 2, "Redefining" for a comprehensive discussion of the danger attributed to the image by Protestant thinkers.

worshippers, if not to direct idolatry, yet to staring, and distraction of thoughts."[266] Redcrosse has argued against Despair's verbal reasoning, but Despair's most forceful argument is in the form of an image that distracts Redcrosse from his previous counterarguments:

> To driue him to despaire, and quite to quaile,
> He shew'd him painted in a table plaine,
> The damned ghosts, that doe in torments waile,
> And thousand feends that doe them endlesse paine
> With fire and brimstone, which for euer shall remaine. (1.9.49)

The painted image that Despair shows Redcrosse is not embellished with precious stones or constructed of expensive materials, but even unembellished, the painted image represents the destructive and diabolic internal nature of the embellished Catholic image. Furthermore, it is when Redcrosse *sees* this image that the knight comes closest to taking his own life. It is "[t]he *sight* (emphasis mine) whereof so thoroughly him dismaid, / That nought but death before his eyes he saw, / And euer burning wrath before him laid" that entices Redcrosse to accept from Despair the "swords, ropes, poison, fire, / And all that might him to perdition draw" (1.9.50). The Knight of Holiness has once again fallen into the trap that the image has set for him. As in other moments in Book I (see chapter 4, section "Double Talk"), here again it is a feminized voice (in this case Una's) that provides the catalyst for recovery from such a trance:

> Out of his hand she snatcht the cursed knife,
> And threw it to the ground, enraged rife,
> And to him said, Fie, fie, faint harted knight,
> What meanest thou by this reprochfull strife? (1.9.52)

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[266] "An address made by some bishops and divines to queen Elizabeth against the use of images" (1559) in vol. 1 of *Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church*, 271.

As the personification of "truth" and the Protestant church, Una's voice saves Redcrosse Knight, literally calling him back into the church. She has taken the tools of self-destruction from him, but it is not until she speaks, until he *hears* her, that "death he could not worke himselfe thereby" (1.9.54). Just as using his sight has again led him astray, using his hearing has again saved him from destruction, from Despair.

If Redcrosse Knight can be said to portray the lessons that early modern Protestant theologians are teaching about the seductive danger of images and the importance of hearing as an interpretive tool, then the Elizian Knight portrays Copley's Catholic subversion of such lessons. The Elizian Knight simply rides his stead, Melancholie, toward a "sparkling light" and comes upon Despair (7). There is no messenger who communicates a warning about Despair to the Elizian Knight, and the absence of a messenger could argue that Catholics rarely, if ever, encounter despair because of the hope-filled teachings of the Church. Furthermore, the knight does not seem overly distracted by the sight of the monstrous Despair with whom he comes into contact. In fact, the knight simply describes what he sees, making no effort to escape or fight it. It is not the "image" of Despair that is the problem; it is not even an image that Despair can visually produce that poses the biggest threat to the Elizian Knight. The danger lies in Despair's speech:

> At last he spi'd me, and staring on my face,
> He rear'd his mongrel-lumpe vp towards me,
> Fainting and falling in his Deaths-disgrace,
> And yet enforcing still more stabbes to die,
>   Then thus he vauntingly began to tell me
>   Of such his fortitude in aduersitie. (8)

Despair is visually demonstrating the act of suicide, and after such a display, Despair begins to speak to the knight. When Despair begins to argue that the Elizian Knight would be better off dead than alive, the knight does not, like Redcrosse, produce counterarguments, but instead hears what Despair says and interprets it as "truth." To Catholic theologians, the adulterated Word, whether written or spoken, entices the layman to error. M. Harding, in his answer to John Jewel concerning Protestant translations of scripture, contends that asking the layman to read such translations will eventually lead the layman to despair:

> [T]he scriptures not to be set forth in the vulgar tongue to be read of all sorts of people, every part of them, without any limitation of time, place, and persons, they seem to be moved with these considerations. First, that it is not necessary; next, that it is not convenient; thirdly, that it is not profitable; fourthly that it is dangerous and hurtful[.][267]

As long as the Catholic Elizian Knight is listening to or reading the adulterated text (without an authoritative interpreter) as represented by Despair, he is succumbing to what Harding considers unprofitable and "dangerous and hurtful." If he were using vision as an interpretive tool, he would see that the monster in front of him is a contradiction – part serpent/part angel (part hell/part heaven) – at once disgraced by death and "enforcing still more stabbes to die" (8). Instead, he listens without questioning and as soon as Despair concludes his verbal enticement, the knight states, "I drew out my emboldened blade, / Resolu'd to massacre my loathed life" (14). Whereas Despair's visual nature seems to have little impact on the subsequent actions of the knight, Despair's verbal utterances bring the knight close to suicide.

[267] Harding in Jewel, "Of Reading the Scriptures," 672.

Like Redcrosse, the Elizian Knight does not commit suicide, but the latter does not do so because he begins to rely on his sight as a way to discern truth. He is not saved by the voice of an Una figure but by what is left behind "[w]hen (loe) the Ghost from out my [his] sight did vade" (14). After Despair is sure that the Elizian Knight will commit suicide, the monster simply vanishes, and the silence and strong, acrid smell he leaves behind are replaced by an image of truth: an image of God himself. When the Elizian Knight no longer hears the voice of Despair and instead continues to see the image of God, he is safe from self-destruction. To Catholic theologians, one of the purposes of the image is to act as a sign of remembrance; one's veneration *of* the image is transferred to the entity represented *by* the image.[268] The sign, God, has saved the Elizian Knight from destruction as the knight continues to see the image of God, the signifier. As with Redcrosse Knight, it might be supposed that the Elizian Knight has learned that there is only one correct way to interpret "truth." Yet, like Redcrosse, the Elizian Knight has more enemies ahead who will reinforce the lesson he is learning concerning sight, hearing, and the need for proper interpretation.

The Revenge of the Iconoclast

When Luther discusses "honor-seeking prophets," he is speaking specifically of radical Protestant iconoclasts. Much like Spenser's Kirkrapine, such radicals were thought to be extremists: church robbers and image destroyers whose actions went beyond what the Elizabethan proclamation of 1560 sanctioned:

> The queen's majesty understanding, that by the means of sundry people, partly ignorant, partly malicious or covetous, there hath been of late years spoiled and

[268] See the arguments of Pecock and the Second Council of Nicaea in Chapter 2, "Redefining."

> broken certain ancient monuments, […] which were erected up as well in churches, as in other public places within this realm, only to shew a memory to the posterity of the persons there buried, […] and not to nourish any kind of superstition; by which means […] the churches and places remain at this present day spoiled, broken, and ruinated, to the offence of all noble and gentle hearts, and the extinguishing of the honourable and good memory of sundry virtuous and noble persons deceased.[269]

The proclamation defines certain types of images as signs of remembrance, and the queen shows her repugnance of those who destroy such "ancient monuments." Such monuments were erected in churches and public places to commemorate the dead and were not considered idolatrous images like those produced by the Catholic Church. Radical Protestants began destroying such noble images as a part of the practice of demolishing all images in England. Copley's allegorical narrative includes an episode that speaks to the violent act of image breaking and the perceived mindset of those Protestants who engage in it. The episode that follows the Elizian Knight's departure from Despair is one that Monta maintains is part of a "twinned temptation to suicide or homicidal revenge" brought on by persecution, rather than "an imperfect belief in God's grace and mercy."[270] Regardless of how critics have explained this episode, Copley's Revenge has no obvious counterpart in *The Faerie Queene*. Thus, this episode must be analyzed on its own merits. Yet, because Revenge, like Despair, exemplifies the danger of "hearing" versus "seeing," I argue that Revenge also acts as the destructive nature attributed to radical Protestant iconoclasts; she is the angry and devastating force behind image breaking.

[269] This proclamation goes on to discuss, in more detail, the offences outlined above and the punishments for those offences. "The queen's proclamation against defacers of monuments in churches" (1560) in vol. 1 of *Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church*, 289-90.
[270] Monta, *Martyrdom and Literature*, 103.

Revenge is Copley's first woman allegorical figure, but unlike Spenser's enchanting Duessa, Revenge does not ensnare the knight through desire produced by her outwardly embellished likeness to the image. She instead uses her voice. After leaving the scene of Despair, the Elizian Knight rides Melancholie to a place "[w]here [he] might heare a voyce that roared out / Reuenge, reuenge, thy dolorous disgrace" (16). Revenge appears to the Elizian Knight as a "shape of shame":

> Her face was skowle regarding on the ground,
> Her eyes like *Heclas* euer-sparkling fires,
> Her finger on her mouth was a dumbe bound
> Of her *Cyclopian* frets and fell desires:
> In th'other hand she bare a fierie sheafe,
> And all her body was as pale as death.
>
> Her haire was Snake-incurl'd *Medusa* like,
> Hauing the power t'instone me where I stood. (16)

The Elizian Knight clearly interprets what he sees; he knows that this she-monster can turn him into stone at will. She is not adorned, but she is at once aflame and pale, and her eyes, glowing with fire, are downcast. The Elizian Knight is not, therefore, in danger because he "worships" the image or what he sees because she is not a desired object. Instead, it is her transformed voice that keeps him in her presence: "At last she fretted out an angry noise / And thus inspeeched it into a voice" (16). Revenge produces the argument that, in order to follow her urgings, the layman should disguise or transform his own appearance. Revenge, as the iconoclast, asks the Elizian Knight to become Protestant in appearance and behavior.

Revenge represents the act of revenge specifically exemplified by Protestant radical iconoclasm in two ways: first, her persuasive strategy relies on the vocal (rather

than visual) measures associated with Protestant reading habits as outlined previously, and second, Revenge attempts to persuade the Elizian Knight to destroy the objects of Catholic "joy" by "turning" Protestant. Alison Shell has identified in Revenge Copley's anti-Jesuit sentiments, because "Jesuits were frequently accused of being masters of equivocation and disguise, and the protagonist is advised to imitate the chameleon" by Revenge.[271] While it is true that the Catholic Church instructed Jesuits to disguise themselves and engage in equivocation in order to survive in England, Revenge's representation of the disguised recusant is not the only way to read her. Revenge's violent nature is more akin to the iconoclast's fervent image breaking than it is to the non-violent actions of the Jesuits.   In the beginning of her speech to the Elizian Knight, Revenge tells him that "[y]et am I a joy in another kind / To such as in vn-ioy most ioy doe find" (16). She is "[t]he summe of pollicie in all distresse: / Wrathes thundere-bolt, and triumph ouer those / That in their jollitie work others woes" (17). The policy that Revenge joyfully enforces is the twenty-third Elizabethan Injunction:

> Also that they shall take away, utterly extinct and destroy all shrines, coverings of shrines, all tables and candlesticks, trundles or rolls of ware, pictures, paintings and all other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry and superstition, so that there remain no memory of the same in walls, glasses, windows or elsewhere within their churches or houses.[272]

Elizabeth's policy of 1559, though more tolerant in later years, became a license for Protestant enthusiasts to utterly destroy Catholic images and transform, through appropriation, Catholic churches into Protestant ones. It is certainly feasible that during such a time of religious upheaval, many Protestant extremists joyously did so.

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[271] Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy, and the English*, 135.
[272] "The Elizabethan Injunctions, 1559" in *Documents of the English Reformation*, 340.

Revenge, like such iconoclasts, seeks to discover all that is Catholic and demolish it, and she attempts to convince the Elizian Knight to do the same through deceptively duplicitous means because "almightie *Ioues* great wonderments / More in his Thunder-boltes then in his sweetes, / To shew Reuenge more worth then Pleasures greets" (22). In order to do Jove's/God's "true" work, the Elizian Knight must not only follow her example, but he must also feign Protestantism and become Revenge. Because he in a Catholic knight, the Elizian Knight must become deceptive in order to become a Protestant iconoclast; he must appear to be one thing, while actually acting contrary to that appearance. Revenge exhorts the knight to become "[a]s the Camelion changeth still his hue / With euery obiect cullor: so change thou" (22). It is a tactic that calls for purposeful duplicity:

> So maist thou close Camelion-like conceale
> Thy tragicke shape of Horror and Reuenge,
> Whiles' they misdouting not thy false reueale
> Are caught vnwares like Wookcocks in a sprenge,
> Such is the honour of Aduersitie,
> With sleights to vndermine Prosperitie. (22-23)

Revenge's tone is much like that of the iconoclast who takes pleasure in seeking out and destroying Catholic images. Those who break images are, in Revenge's description, much like those who seize and imprison recusants, recalling Copley's personal experiences. One must conceal one's true identity and intentions and then one must catch the victim unaware. Revenge boasts that, in order for the iconoclast to thoroughly destroy Catholic images he must infiltrate the Catholic Church by becoming duplicitous. Revenge could be an act of aggression against anything, however, as the iconoclast Revenge believes it an honor to undermine prosperity or the spiritual

prosperity of the believer that is brought about by praying to images housed in churches. Revenge's role as an iconoclast is further substantiated by what Copley's priest character, Catechrysius, says about her when he meets the Elizian Knight.

Catechrysius's description of Revenge as a "spawn of Impietie" and the "[b]reath of Despaire" reinforces the argument that Revenge is a personification of the iconoclast who places no value on the sanctity of Catholic images, and in destroying them, brings despair to recusants. After leaving the site of Revenge, the Elizian Knight mounts a new steed, Good Desire, and his travels lead him to the hermit who will be the knight's teacher for the remainder of the allegory. Catechrysius tells the knight that:

> Such is Reuenge: It is a haggard yll,
> A Luciferiall ranke uncharitie:
> The venym, and blacke-*Santus* of our will
> Vnreasons rage; spawne of Impietie,
> Breath of Despaire, Prime-bat of Enuies brood. (30)

According to the hermit, Revenge is directly connected to Lucifer, the deceptive angel feminized in Spenser's Lucifera, and her aim is to destroy the interests of God himself. Revenge is the spawn of hatred. She disregards the value of Catholic images and instead of acting charitably toward them and those who believe in them, destroys God's sanctioned relics. She is, like all iconoclasts, damned: "*A*s to a Temples ruin-Monuments / Rased in Sacrilege, and Gods offence: / He will be-villaine those that did the deed / *A*s Scowndrell-Agents of *H*ells blacke areed" (41). Revenge is ultimately put asunder by "truth" or spiritual enlightenment represented by the Son/sun that rises in the East, for "suddenly she vanisht out of sight / Because now in the East it dawn'd day-light" (25). As in the case of Despair, Revenge simply disappears from the Elizian

Knight's sight. It is clear that he has listened to her and heard her teaching, but it is also clear that he has learned that acting on what he has heard can lead to his own demise: "Yet for her speech was consonant to Nature, / I wisht sh'had been an Oracle of truth" (25). The Elizian Knight is saved by the vision (and ultimate vanishing) of her, by "seeing" and questioning how she can be "in force by Night, be gone by Day" and by then realizing that "[s]uch is not the instinct of Paradize" (25). As in his encounter with Despair, the Elizian Knight is served well by the Catholic means of interpretation. In Copley's reworking of Spenser's allegory, the addition of Revenge and the Elizian Knight's exemplary reading of Revenge shows that Catholic modes of reading and interpreting are superior to those of Protestants. Unlike the Redcrosse Knight, the Elizian Knight learns quickly how to read appropriately (even if the latter's opportunities to do so are fewer than the former's). The Elizian Knight has followed the practices established through devotional literature as previously outlined. He has used virtue to resist temptation, and his non-violent resistance has allowed him to stand still long enough to "see" the truth.

The Protestantism of Doblessa

Like Duessa, Doblessa is a multi-representational personification. In her short analysis of *A Fig for Fortune*, Alison Shell rightly maintains that "Doblessa points the reader towards Duessa, the personification of popish falsity in *The Faerie Queene*, and lifted from earlier cantos in Book I."[273] Duessa does represent the Catholic Church at some points, and other ideas and people, such as Mary, Queen of Scots, at other times,

[273] Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy, and the English*, 136.

but Duessa also represents the Catholic image. Because of her acts, gestures, and utterances, I argue that Doblessa represents both a Protestant iconoclast and a Protestant translated Bible. I also maintain that at specific moments, she also personifies Elizabeth, just as Duessa personfies Mary Stewart. In this latter context, Doblessa speaks to the issue of Copley's (and, by extension, the recusant's) questionable loyalty to the Protestant queen. The similarities between Duessa and Doblessa become repetitive moments that allow Copley the continueing opportunity to subvert Spenser's Protestant message and re-enforce a Catholic one.

Because of their inherent duplicity, both Doblessa and Duessa are initially impossible for the layman to interpret correctly, and if the layman cannot read them appropriately, he risks spiritual destruction through mis-reading them. In chapter 4, I provide an extensive argument about Duessa's duplicitous nature and how such duplicity represents the wayward woman. I also address duplicity's role as central to understanding the image debate and woman in chapter 2; the ideas expounded in these two chapters are as relevant to Doblessa as they are to Duessa. In the case of both women characters, only those who have come into contact with them and have experience properly interpreting "truth" can discern the internal horror beneath the beautifully deceptive outer appearance. Duessa's duplicity is clear in her acts, gestures, and utterances, especially where they concern Redcrosse Knight. She is highly embellished and both physically and vocally alluring. Doblessa, too, is verbally and physically alluring:

For she could quaintly maske in *Sions* guize
And sucke out venym from the Flower of life,

And so retayle it with her subilities
For purest honey: Such was her deed of strife:
  Her woluish nature in a lambie hue
  Shee could disguise, and seeme of *Sions* crue. (75)

Doblessa, like Duessa, clearly and intentionally hides her internal malevolence in order to deceive those she intends to entrap. In Doblessa's case, however, her purpose is not to seduce one wayward knight; she instead disguises herself in order to infiltrate the Catholic Church. Furthermore, both Duessa and Doblessa are described as the Whore of Babylon. Copley, throughout the account of the war between Doblessa and Zion, consistently states that Doblessa "was the haggard whoore of *Babylon* / Whose cup inuenyn'd all that drunke thereon" (76); "She was a Witch, and Queen of all the Desert / From Babell-mount vnto the pit of Hell" (74). In naming her the Whore of Babylon, Copley reminds his readers that Doblessa is not unlike Spenser's Duessa, but the meanings associated with the site, the inhabitants, and the leader of Babylon have been reassigned. For Spenser, Babylon represents the Catholic Church. For Copley, Babylon and its "Babell-Biblers" represent the Protestant Church and the leader of them is the ultimate "Babell-Bibler," the Whore of Babylon embodied by Doblessa (72). As the leader of the Protestant Church, Doblessa is also Queen Elizabeth, and if the witch is a personification of the monarch, then Copley's loyalty to her is questionable.

Hints of Doblessa as a representation of Elizabeth are articulated in two ways. First, Doblessa is akin to Duessa, who comes to personify Mary Stewart, the Catholic monarch often feared for her potential to persecute Protestant English subjects. By comparison, Doblessa becomes Queen Elizabeth, who was accused of persecuting

Catholic English subjects. Second, the description of Doblessa is also one of Elizabeth as seen from a recusant's perspective:

> For she could quaintly maske in *Sions* guize
> And sucke out venym from the Flower of life,
> And so retayle it with her subilities
> For purest honey: Such was her deed of strife:
> Her woluish nature in a lambie hue
> Shee could disguise, and seeme of *Sions* crue. (75)

Elizabeth's policies concerning recusants were not as stringent as those of her father, but her tolerance toward Catholics was also problematic. She kept an alter and crucifix in her private chapel, but her Injunctions against her subjects doing the same were clear: "Item, that no persons keep in their houses any abused images, table, pictures, paintings, and other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry or superstition."[274] She, in her "toleration," simply wears a "maske in *Sions* guize" and "seeme of *Sions* crue." Furthermore, the metaphor of the "wolf in sheep's clothing" is more than the picture of deceit and hypocrisy.[275] Specifically, the words "a lambie hue" refer to hiding under a guise of purity or honesty, but these words also refer to the physical appearance and nature of the queen. The lamb, as a metaphor for Christ, connotes virginity, while the "hue" of the lamb is white. Numerous portraits show the Virgin Queen Elizabeth with a white-washed countenance. Doblessa, however, is a complex character in that while she does embody the Protestant leader, she also represents the Protestant translation of scriptures and the Protestant iconoclast.

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[274] "The Elizabethan Injunctions, 1559" in *Documents of the English Reformation*, 343.
[275] See my analysis of this metaphor as it is used in Chapter 3, section "The Rock of Heresy."

As an amalgamation that is given far less room in the text than Duessa is given by Spenser, Doblessa's character is a bit messier than Duessa's. Doblessa is most certainly an overall representative of the Protestant religion:

> She had no Altar, nor no Sacrament
> No Ceremonie, nor Oblation,
> Her school was Cauill, & truthlesse babblement
> Riot her Raigne, her end damnation. (76)

Doblessa is a religion without the accoutrements and sacraments necessary for proper worship, and thus she is a religion without a provable, sanctified history. However, she is also a conglomerate that combines very specific attributes associated with other Coplean characters (such as Revenge and Despair), with Catholic attitudes toward Protestant figures (such as Queen Elizabeth), and with particularly Protestant practices (such as iconoclasm and Biblical translation). Because Doblessa embodies several Protestant ideas at the same time, she becomes the Protestant nation as a whole. The task at hand is to attempt to separate her roles and identify how those roles participate in the image debate and Biblical interpretation as these are perceived from a Catholic perspective.

It is primarily Doblessa's acts, gestures, and utterances that contribute to her role as a figure of the radical iconoclast and thereby associate her with Copley's Revenge. If Revenge tempts the Elizian Knight to engage in iconoclastic activities, Doblessa is the epitome of those activities; many of her acts and gestures embody the very ways in which radical Protestants destroyed Catholic images and churches. The first suggestion of Doblessa's role as an iconoclast appears when Catechrysius describes the Catholic

image represented by the beautifully adorned Temple and Doblessa's attempt to conceal it:

> Which such bright rough-cast ouer all incrusted
> T'was heauen to see what Rain-bowe rayes it yielded
> Whiles euerie gem ambitiously contended
> Tout-stare each other starry neighbourged:
> It was ynough t'illumine all the world
> But for the mysts that false Doblessa hurld. (61)

As stated in chapter 2, the image acts as a sign that points toward the signified saint or Christ. The glory of Copley's image represents the glory of Christ in that it is so bright that it illuminates the world just as Christ illuminates or provides revelation to the spirit of man. Doblessa's action toward the image obscures not only it but also the illuminating effect Christ has on the layman when the latter views the image. Doblessa's mist acts as an initial step toward blinding the layman; if he cannot see the bejeweled image, he cannot seek the miracles and healing offered by it. Doblessa's second iconoclastic maneuver is to perform duplicity. By feigning loyalty to the faith of those who dwell in the temple, she becomes the very chameleon of which Revenge speaks: "For why, the spirit which she did pretend / Was not autentique from the holy Ghost, / On no authority she did depend / Nor had she certaine being n any coast" (76). Additionally, Doblessa professes to be a friend to the temple dwellers when she "came with peace-full Oliffe in her hand / Pretending mutuall honour of that feast" (76). Doblessa, the iconoclast, dons the deceptive disguise of "truth" in order to break the Catholic image and destroy the church; she feigns moderate Protestant practices. If Doblessa is the Protestant iconoclast, then her duplicity is sanctioned by her own religion, and to some degree, by the state. As she deceives and stands outside the

Temple gate, she is also “Protesting zeale and dutie to her state” (77). Her iconoclastic task is to destroy the idols of the Catholic Church at any cost. From a Catholic position, however, the Protestant iconoclasts are the idolaters, as Gregory Martin asserts:

> and the whole effect is of all these sayings and doings, that the honour of Christ and his Saints hath confounded the devil and his Idols, and therefore wonderfull malice or exceding blindenesse it is in our haeretickes that make this Citie the chiefe See of Idolatrie, and this people the greatest Idolatours, for doing these things which have been the confusion of Idolatrie.[276]

Martin contends that those of the Protestant faith have become the idolaters because they have destroyed holy images that had previously “confounded the devil and his Idols.” By such destruction, iconoclasts have left open the spiritual door once guarded by the image. Doblessa attacks the image in an effort to destroy it and thus, opens the holy temple doors to evil.

Throughout the attack by Doblessa and her crew, Copley makes his readers aware that the Catholic Church is deemed the protector of both the image and the “truth,” the image represents. The Elizian Knight must depend on the authority of the priest, Catechrysius, in order to know “truth” and the priest figure “sees” through the deceptive nature of the Catholic enemy. The Catholic Church becomes the “Legions of Angels” who descend upon Doblessa “and her deuels” (79). In fact, the war against iconoclasm is likened to the first holy war “when proud Lucifar / Tumulting all the Court of heuen was throwne / He, and his complices to hell adowne” (79). This Legion of Angels is led by a personification of the Pope, “the high Sacrificator who “chanted Hymnes, and Laudes, and Letanies,” and it is through his power that Doblessa is

[276] Martin, *Roma Sancta*, 56.

ultimately ousted from the Temple, showing that the power of the “true” leader of the Christian Church will ultimately prevail against the “false” leader of the Protestant Church (82). Because “[h]e and his Clergie made their intercession,” the physical attack of the iconoclast fails (82). Even though Doblessa and her crew do not succeed in destroying the image, as a Protestant representative Doblessa is not finished with her attack on the Catholic Church. She, unlike Duessa, does not attempt to trap those in the temple through seductive acts, but instead, like Revenge, she performs duplicity in order to outwit and then destroy the temple’s images.

Doblessa is not alone in attacking the image, because she only represents one of many radical Protestants, but as the leader of the iconoclastic attack, Doblessa also performs a text. On one hand, she represents the directives published by radical Protestant theologians, such as Calvin, who believed that images should be utterly destroyed (see chapter 2 for this discussion). That she represents such an authoritative text gives her a second layer of leadership status. As the head of a group of iconoclasts, Doblessa comes to the temple “with her barbarous Babellonians / To bid it battell, and assault the place” (76). These are the radicals who follow the instructions given in polemical texts such as Calvin’s. On the other hand, Doblessa represents the Protestant translated scripture, and, in this role, she does use seduction to gather and keep her followers; as an “adulterated” text, she always already engages in erotic discourse. In the role of translated scripture, she is “Errors dreary Queene,” a title that relates her to Spenser’s Errour and by extension, Copley’s Despair (74). Although many have

attempted to “teach” Doblessa the “truth,” to correct the errors Doblessa embodies, she, like the Protestant text, will not change:

> Braue men of wonders haue been sent from thence
> To teach Doblessa (Errors dreary Queene)
> Their Temples sanctimonie and innocence?
> How many worthies haue dispenst their blood
> To doe th’ vnkind Doblessa so much good. (74)

Here Copley’s allegory is engaging Spenser’s text by recalling the specific words “Errors” and “Queene.” Each of these words acts as a personification in the above quote, but Copley does not include these specific personifications in *his* allegory; they appear only in Spenser’s. Copley’s subversion of Spenser works on two levels: First, the “Queene” in Spenser’s allegory is Gloriana, a representation of Elizabeth I. This “Queene,” or Elizabeth, is the “Queene” or instigator of E/error. Second, the “Error” of which Copley speaks *is* Spenser’s *The Faerie “Queene”* and the Protestant message it relates. Both options are arguably feasible: the first reinforces Doblessa’s role as Elizabeth, while the latter constructs Doblessa as a text that was dedicated to and accepted by Elizabeth. Furthermore, *The Faerie Queene* is, again, not the only Protestant text Doblessa represents, as she also represents the Protestant translated scriptures that were not only sanctioned by Elizabeth but also protected by her 1559 Injunctions, making it illegal to change the text:

> […] if they do or shall know any man within their parish, or elsewhere, that is a letter (i.e. hinderer, ed.) of the Word of God to be read in English, or sincerely preached, or of the execution of these Queen’s Majesty’s Injunctions, or a fautor (i.e. abettor, ed.) of *any usurped and foreign* power, now by the laws of this realm justly rejected, extirped and taken away utterly, they shall detect and present the

> same to the Queen or her council, *or to the ordinary* or to the justice of peace next adjoining.[277]

The Elizabethan Injunction above was written as a possible reaction to the print war waged by Catholic and Puritan polemicists against the church and its Supreme Head. Kevin Sharpe contends that "[w]hether imported from abroad or clandestinely printed in Britain, Catholic polemics continued to circulate and Catholic writers were ever ready to seize opportunities to publicize their cause."[278] To Catholic theologians, the Protestant translation of the Bible is corrupt, adulterated; the text has become a seductive whore, first enticing and then leading the layman to his own spiritual death. In the Preface to the 1582 Rheims New Testament, the writer explains:

> But the case now is more lamentable, for the Protestants […] have so abused the people, and many other in the world, not unwise, that by their false translations they have, instead of God's Law and Testament, and for Christ's written will and word, given them their own wicked writing and fantasies, most shamefully in all their versions, […] corrupting both the letter and sense by false translation, adding, detracting, altering, transposing, pointing, and all other guileful means specially where it serveth for the advantage of their private opinions[.] All which the poor deceived people say and sing as though they were God's own Word, being indeed through such sacrilegious treachery made the Devil's word.[279]

The Protestant translation, like its producers, is deceptive. Words like "fantasies," "wicked writing," "guileful," and "the Devil's word" describe the Protestant and the scriptures produced by the Protestant as willfully fraudulent. The "Devil's word" reveals not only *what* the Word has become, but *how* it has become blasphemous. The distortion of the scriptures is generative; the corrupted scriptures will corrupt the innocent layman. Doblessa's subtle attack on the innocent layman begins through

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[277] "Elizabethan Injunctions 1559," *Documents of the English Reformation*, 337-8.
[278] Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2009), 453.
[279] "Preface to the Rheims New Testement, 1582" in *Documents of the English Reformation*, 375-6.

seduction or enticement when she uses magic and sorcery in order to change her outward appearance, and she does, indeed, manage to persuade some of the innocents to follow her. Doblessa remains the personification of a Protestant text that the followers of Catholic doctrine attempt to expose:

> Some in their studies commented the Text
> Conferring place with place, and with traditions
> Ov'ring the fraud wherewith Doblessa vext
> Their Gospels peace; some others in her stations
> Boldlie aduentured their liues to tell
> The Babellonians of all her hell. (82)

By looking to the Catholic translation of the "Text" and accepting the traditions of the Catholic Church, many of the inhabitants find the "truth." The "truth" in the Catholic translation is "peace" rather than the war and ravishment that would be imposed upon them from Doblessa as a Protestant translation. Once the inhabitants have learned the "truth," they attempt to impart it on Doblessa's followers. Their actions mimic those of the writers of the Preface to the 1582 Rheims New Testament by informing the Protestant laymen of the falsity inherent in the doctrine they follow. However, those who continue to follow Doblessa "di'd the death, and suffred all the spights / That rage and rascall wit could jointly rap, / Subject they were to dreadfull persecution / By publick edict, and false brethrens treason" (82). The Catholics who follow Doblessa are doomed for two reasons: first, the "publick edict" is the Injunction that states that the Protestant translation must be adhered to; Doblessa must be followed and Catholic "truth" must be abandoned in order to follow her. Second, the "false brethrens treason" refers to the 1576 *Articles to be enquired* that state, in part, that it should be reported to the Archbishop of Canterbury: "Whether there be any in your parish that openly or

privately say mass, or hear mass, or any other kind of service or prayer than is set forth by the laws of this realm."[280] The Catholics who follow Doblessa cannot turn back, for in doing so, they would, by law, be reported to the head of the realm by their Protestant/treasonous "brothers." The Protestant text, like Doblessa, is "[w]ithout all discipline or good array" from a Catholic standpoint (80). Without these components, the text and Doblessa are nothing more than deceptively alluring falsity. When she finally loses the war, Doblessa "led away into eternall night / Blind-folding their eyes to make them fall / Into a thousand helles and offendickles, / Thrise fatall lapse from Grace into such pickles" (85). To follow Doblessa, to follow the heretical translation, is akin to following the great Whore, which leads to certain spiritual death or "eternall night."

Because Doblessa simply retreats "into eternall night," Copley understands that the Protestant practices of iconoclasm and scriptural translation may not ultimately be overcome by the voice of "the One True Church" – the Catholic Church (85). Unlike Duessa, Doblessa is never stripped of her outward exterior in order to produce the "truth" of the ugliness she is internally. Doblessa continually loses the assaults she carries out upon the Catholic image, but she is never revealed or destroyed in the narrative. Instead, she and her followers retreat "[w]ith mystes of falsed glory, and high deserts" and "[w]hatsoeuer venym weed, or graft of Error" she has sown is "[o]ut-weeded and retrenched from the stocke" by the Pope (84, 87). Doblessa will remain the

[280] Item 24 in *Articles to be enquired of within the province of Canterbury, in the metropolitical visitation of the most reverend father in God, Edmond archbishop of Canterbury* in *Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England*, 404.

leader of the Church of England, the iconoclast who follows the laws of the nation, and the translated scripture produced by the Protestant church.

The Teaching of Catachrysius

A Fig for Fortune's lesson to the reader and the Elizian Knight follows a rather strict Catholic program. Its main character, the knight, rarely has a voice of his own in the text. Like that of other characters, such as Despair and Revenge, the voice of the knight is secondary to that of the priest character, Catechrysius. In fact, Catechrysius both narrates and shows the knight the final vision of the Temple and the attack on it by Doblessa and her forces. This final episode is part of the dream sequence in which the knowledgeable guide translates for the protagonist what is being shown to him. The protagonist does not enter into the scene; and he does not, like the Redcrosse Knight and his intimate dallying with Duessa, have any physical contact with the scene's antagonist, Doblessa. Even though Copley uses Despair, Revenge, and Doblessa to produce active lessons concerning "seeing" versus "hearing," it is through Catechrysius that the lessons become clear to the knight and the reader. The acts, gestures, and utterances of the priest become the ultimate catalyst for learning Catholic "truth" and the performance of the priest includes the use of images and the act of interpretation.

In his role as a priest, Catechrysius is necessary to the Elizian Knight's successfully learning how to read appropriately. According to the *OED*, "catachresis" denotes the "misuse of a word" or "to misuse with a sense of perversion."[281] This particular definition appears in the *OED* as one that had been used by sixteenth-century

[281] *Oxford English Dictionary Online,* s.v. "Catechresis."

authors (Puttenham uses it in *English Poesie* in 1589), and if Copley were a Protestant writer, it would make perfect sense to name a Catholic Church authority "Catachresis." The word denotes one who misuses language or perverts the scriptures. However, the classical definition of "catachresis" is much broader in scope and it is this one that Copley seems to attach to his priest character. Cicero, for instance, in his *De Oratore*, states that Aristotle classifies this use of language under the heading of metaphors. He maintains that "we misuse related words on occasion either because this gives pleasure or because it is appropriate."[282] Geoffrey of Vinsauf defines the word in his twelfth-century *Poetria Nova*: "it is polite *abusio* [catachresis], when neither the proper nor the conventional word is chosen, but rather one that is a neighbor to the proper one." Vinsauf gives this example: One could say that "Ulysses was 'short' on strength, but 'long' on wit" rather than saying "The strength of the Ithacan is 'little' but his wit is 'great.'"[283] Catachresis ultimately fills in the gaps of language through the properties associated with metaphor. Because language, along with humankind, is fallen, such gaps in the lexicon exist, causing a linguistic impoverishment.

Catachresis/Catechrysius has the ability, the authority, to bridge the boundaries between words that are at the same time similar and different. It is through the use of catachresis that a broader interpretation can be developed. In essence, Catechrysius, as both an interpreter and as a Catholic priest figure, is necessarily instilled with the ability to

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[282] Cicero, "De Oratore" in *The Rhetorical Tradition: Readings from Classical Times to the Present*, 2nd ed., eds. Patricia Bizzell and Bruce Herzberg (New York: Bedford/St. Martins, 2001), 342.
[283] Geoffrey of Vinsauf, "Poetria Nova" in *The Rhetorical Tradition*, 523.

create meaning in a text that cannot otherwise be completely understood due to the fall of language.

Catechrysius not only tells the Elizian Knight the most effective way to interpret "truth," but also shows the knight how to interpret through example. When the Elizian Knight first comes upon Catechrysius, the priest expounds on the virtue of long-suffering and the dangers of submitting to Despair and Revenge. In this sermon, he also warns the knight against using "hearing" as an interpretive tool: "Oft-times the good man credits with his eares / Not with his eyes: Therhence if injurie / Redowned to thee; the fault being wholly theirs" (43). The priest character goes on to say:

> Much more the Villaines obloquie disdaine it
> As currish crauin against thy Innocence,
> His Viper-language cannot cracke thy credit
> A blush-lesse conscience pleading thy defence;
> His tongue against thy Soules secure estate
> Fares as a reed against a brazen gate. (43)

According to Catechrysius, the layman should rely on his sight to discern "truth;" it is in the image that "truth" can be seen. The clergy who preach from a Protestant translation deemed unfit use language to poison the layman's soul. The Elizian Knight's own clear conscience will defend him against the errors he hears if the knight will heed Catechrysius's own words. The lesson on interpretation given by the priest, however, is not simply spoken but also exemplified by the priest when he turns to a Catholic image. The priest shows, by his own acts and gestures, that the image is worthy of reverence. Catholic theologians like Gregory Martin consistently maintain that images have the ability "to sturre up mens mindes, whiles they referre their cogitation to the Saintes

them selves, to follow the selfe same steppes of virtue."[284] Because images are living entities that perform miracles and answer prayers, it is to them that devotion should be given and through them that devotion is learned. After his sermon on suffering, the priest character is overcome with emotion and takes up his crucifix. He treats the crucifix as a living thing, not only in his prayers to it but also in his actions toward it. With the knight looking on, Catechrysius kisses the crucifix more than once and physical results follow: "With that he kist the Crucifixe againe / And with a strict imbrace therof he founded; / His Ghost amounted vp to heauens domaine, / His corps lay trunke-like seeming dead confounded" (58). Upon *seeing* Catechrysius swoon after kissing the crucifix, the Elizian Knight is freed from the spiritual confusion represented by his physical wandering. After this confession of faith, an angel appears to the Elizian Knight and it also kisses the cross and instructs the knight to "Hold heer (Elizian-man) thy Sauiours image / The typick Trophee of they soules redeeme, / Be it thy lifes eternall Appennage" (58). The knight is to hold the cross and keep it, not as a simple sign of remembrance, but as though it were joined to the knight's own body; he is to consume the image so that he and the image become one vessel of devotion. To the Protestant theologian, the acts and gestures toward the image that the angel and Catechrysius perform are considered idolatry. In his argument with M. Harding, John Jewel rebuts a particular point made about the crucifix: "Last of all, wheras M. Harding saith, the professors of this new gospel cannot abide the sign of our Lord's cross: let him understand, it is not the cross of Christ, nor the sign thereof, that we find fault

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[284] Martin, *Roma Sancta*, 26.

withal, but the superstitious abuse of the cross."[285] What the Elizian Knight has experienced, however, is the very point that Harding and other Catholic theologians continually make about the use of images, such as the crucifix:

> […] wheras the effect and desire of man is heavy and dull in divine and spiritual things, because the body that is corruptible weigheth down the mind; when it is set forth before our *eyes* (emphasis mine) by images what Christ hath done for us, and what the saints have done for Christ; then it is quickened and moved to the like will of doing and suffering, and to all endeavour of holy and virtuous life.[286]

Harding is illustrating what Catechrysius and the angel are demonstrating for the Elizian Knight. The "truth" is verbally translated for the knight by a Catholic priest, but the knight learns that it is in "seeing" the "truth" that his ultimate salvation lies. The priest's voice accompanies the visual lessons offered by his acts and gestures, and the combination of the three (vision, voice, and gestures) becomes the catalyst for change in the Elizian Knight by the final scene of the allegory.

The final scene of Copley's allegory demonstrates, again, the questionable loyalty of the author to Queen Elizabeth by showing that the poet's religious loyalty runs deeper than his monarchical loyalty. After the victory of the Sionites over Doblessa and her army, a virgin appears in splendor, showering red and white roses on the Sionites. In the Argument that precedes the actual allegory, Copley explains that the Elizian Knight "thought it was his soveraigne Ladie Eliza, and those Roses hers, [and] was suddenly in joy, thereof rapt home againe to Elizium" (6). The Elizian Knight believes that the roses cascading from above are Tudor roses and that the virgin is Elizabeth. The text of the allegory, however, does not substantiate the Argument. In the

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[285] Jewel, "Of Adoration of Images," 650-1.
[286] Ibid,, 661.

text's scene, Catechrysius explains that the virgin is an "Easterne dame," not Queen Elizabeth. The joy and tranquility that now reign in Elizium are not credited to its temporal queen but to the Virgin Mary who appears as the Woman Clothed with the Sun; the earthly virgin is replaced with the eternal one. While the poet may show some reverence and momentary praises for Elizabeth in the allegory, his ultimate loyalty and greater praises are to the Catholic Church and the Virgin Mary.

Copley's allegory is a Catholic commentary on the spiritual state of England, but *A Fig for Fortune* is also a commentary on and a revision of the last four cantos of Book 1 of Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*. Copley is not, however, the only allegorist to construct and publish a commentary on Spenser's text. In 1601, Cyril Tourneur writes *The Transformed Metamorphosis* as both a prequel to Book 1 of *The Faerie Queene* and as a tribute to its deceased author.

CHAPTER 6

TOURNEUR'S PROTESTANT WORLD VIEW IN *THE TRANSFORMED METAMORPHOSIS*

And yet there is a kind of pleasure, or at least a fascination, in the thing; a surrealist mixture of horror and nonsense. This might for most of us as well be runcible sound, but we are certainly reading a poet, though perhaps a poet who takes opium.
C.S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama*

Cyril Tourneur is best known for his dramatic works, *The Revengers Tragedy* and *The Atheist's Tragedy*, both of which have received longstanding critical acclaim. The praise is not often extended to the writer's earliest poem, *The Transformed Metamorphosis*, published in 1600. Unlike the previous allegories I have analyzed, *The Transformed Metamorphosis* represents a historical trajectory for the sixteenth-century image debate, a trajectory that corresponds to its two parts. The first illuminates a global religious crisis created by the corrupt Catholic Church, while the second illustrates a national religious crisis brought about by the corrupt early Church of England established near the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. The allegory begins with the fall of the world because of the greed of the Catholic Church. This church is personified by the Sacred Female who was once a shining beacon of truth but who, after her fall, inhabits Hell's palace inside which a she-monster occupies a dark but beautiful cave. The allegory continues with the character of Pan, the initial savior of the English nation from the Catholic Church and leader of the early Church of

England. Like the Sacred Female, Pan is eventually given over to greed and the nation begins to suffer under his leadership. The savior Knight, Mavortio, then comes to rescue the nation by battling a monster that has begun to devour the people of England. After a lengthy lament over the knight's eventual death, a shining Unicorn appears and becomes a symbol of religious purity for the nation.

The criticism of this allegory is most often either negative or obsessed with identifying "who" the work's hero historically represents.[287] C.S. Lewis does lend the poem two paragraphs in his *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama*, introducing it as "a freak," which is about the most positive criticism Lewis has of this work.[288] Three years later, A.C. Hamilton wrote an engaging article that makes direct connections between *The Faerie Queene* and Tourneur's allegorical work.[289] More recently, Alison Shell discusses *The Transformed Metamorphosis* in relation to Thomas Marston's epyllion, *The Metamorphosis of Pygmalion's Imag*e, in order to illustrate that, "[t]hough idolatry did not inspire poetic genres, it made a regular intrusion into genres already existing, and often dictated subject matter that offered scope for reflection on the image."[290] Shell is one of few to recognize the work's potential literary and cultural value. The scarcity of criticism in general and positive criticism more specifically could be due to two factors. First, *The Transformed*

[287] See, for example, the following: Dorothy Pym, "A Theory of the Identification of Cyril Tourneur's 'Mavortio';" *Notes and Queries* 174 (1938), 201-4; K.N. Cameron, "Cyril Tourneur and *The Transformed Metamorphosis,*" *Review of English Studies* 16 (1940), 18-24; J.D. Peter, "The Identity of Mavortio in Tourneur's *The Transformed Metamorphosis*," *Notes and Queries* 193 (1948), 408-12.
[288] Lewis, *English Literature*, 476.
[289] A.C. Hamilton attempts to go beyond past criticism and show both how Tourneur imitates Spenser's poetry and also how "Spenser's death provides the occasion for the poem and the key to its understanding." "Spenser and Tourneur's *Transformed Metamorphosis,*" *Review of English Studies: A Quarterly Journal of English Literature and the English Language* 8, no. 30 (May 1957), 127.
[290] Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English*, 38.

Metamorphosis, unlike Copley's *A Fig for Fortune*, is a challenge to interpret: Allardyce Nicholl maintains that Tourneur's work is "obscure, not only because of its concealed allegory but because of its strained and frequently barbarous vocabulary."[291] Some of the work's stanzas use such convoluted vocabulary as to give a sense that the poet is leading his readers to various ideas simultaneously. Second, the work itself is a mixture of genres: an allegory that combines dream vision with elegy with lament, with satire, with history. On the surface, such a conglomeration is not an unusual one for allegorical writers to create. Many medieval dream visions are allegorical, and many allegories concurrently serve historical, political, and satirical purposes. However, Tourneur's work is created with such an inclusionary purpose by means of strange and hard-to-follow methods. Because it is convoluted, other early critics, such as J. Churton Collins, have seen fit to localize and simplify the text's significance as one that appears "in English history at the time it appeared in 1600, namely the dread and hatred of the Papal power allied with Spain."[292] Tourneur is most certainly a Protestant writer who takes issue with the Catholic Church. Indeed, it is this "dread and hatred of the Papal power" that forms one relationship among this text and allegories written by other Protestant writers. An equally important association, however, is the one that this text creates with Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*: *The Transformed Metamorphosis* acts as a prequel to *The Faerie Queene* that both rivals and imitates Spenser's work by creating a narrative beginning to Book 1 with a more radical Protestant hero at its center.

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[291] Nicoll believes that the main objection "that can be made against *The Transformed Metamorphosis is* that it is somewhat artificial and forced." Allardyce Nicoll, Introduction to *The Works of Cyril Tourneur*, ed. Allardyce Nicoll (London: The Fanfrolico Press, 1929), 8. All quotes from the text of *The Transformed Metamorphosis* come from this edition.

[292] *The Plays and Poems of Cyril Tourneur*, ed. J. Churton Collins (London, 1878), ii.

Hamilton may be right to see Tourneur's text as a tribute to Spenser, but it is also a text that works much like John Lydgate's *The Seige of Thebes*. Robert Edwards, in the introduction to his edition of the Lydgate poem, proclaims that "*The Siege of Thebes* directly engages Chaucer's *The Knight's Tale* as a literary precursor, and it continues Lydgate's ambivalent relation to Chaucer as a master and a rival."[293] Because *The Transformed Metamorphosis* is Tourneur's first published work and because the poet clearly admired Spenser as Lydgate did Chaucer, it is plausible that Tourneur endeavors to gain authorial credibility by making direct poetic associations with his "mentor." *The Transformed Metamorphosis* begins with a scene that describes the Catholic Church's impact on the world and ends with a scene that both alters and begins Spenser's initial book. For instance, Tourneur's final battle scene is a direct re-representation of the initial battle scene in *The Faerie Queene*, but it is also a rewriting of that scene. Tourneur's allegory also uses Spenserian characters in several places in order to speak to the religious abuses that will "become" more obvious in Spenser's own text. While Spenser seems to be Tourneur's "mentor," the younger poet also seems to be the older one's rival.

While Hamilton and other critics rightly identify moments of elegy, history, and satire in *The Transformed Metamorphosis*, and make some connections between Tourneur's and Spenser's texts, none goes far enough in identifying the intricate

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[293] John Lydgate, *The Seige of Thebes*, ed. Robert R. Edwards (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001). For more criticism that engages with this topic, see the following: "Lydgate's Canterbury Tale: *The Siege of Thebes* and Fifteenth-Century Chaucerianism," *Fifteenth-Century Studies: Recent Essays*, ed. Robert F. Yeager (Hamden, CT: Archon, 1984); A.C. Spearing, *Medieval to Renaissance in English Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1985); "*The Siege of Thebes*: Lydgate's Canterbury Tale," *Chaucer and Fifteenth-Century Poetry*, ed. Julia Boffey and Janet Cowen (London: King's College, Centre for Late Antique and Medieval Studies, 1991).

moments of religious animosity in *The Transformed Metamorphosis* and, especially, where that animosity concerns the Catholic use of images. As a Protestant poet, Tourneur likely shares certain ideas and theologies with others of his kind, but Tourneur's allegory is written from a more radical Protestant perspective than are the works of other Protestant allegorists. The purposeful connection Tourneur's is making with Spenser's work means that Tourneur does not need to apologize for his own use of allegory. Spenser has already justified using the allegorical mode for Tourneur in his letter to Raleigh; therefore, Tourneur need not worry that his use of allegory will meet with disparagement, although he may encounter criticism for his perceived lack of poetic talent. Like Spenser, Tourneur's work also engages in misogynistic and erotic discourses in order to enter the debate about images, although it says very little about the topic of translation and interpretation, about the need for "hearing" or "reading" rather than "seeing" in order to come to "truth." Indeed, the narrator most often warns his readers that both can be dangerous if the *source* is duplicitous. Unlike the other Protestant allegories I examine in this dissertation, *The Transformed Metamorphosis* argues that any sensual means of coming to "truth" can be dangerous if the layman is misguided in his interpretive methods. The poet consistently asks his readers to "see," which could be construed as a Catholic mode of interpretation, but "seeing" and "reading" can both be defined as "perceiving." Moreover, characters actually speak only one time in the text – in the Mavortio episode – and only one of these voices is a feminized voice that elicits change. Tourneur's Protestant program also differs from

those discussed in earlier chapters by arguing that a path of national and religious destruction ultimately leads to the possibility of national and spiritual renewal.

In this chapter, I analyze particular moments in *The Transformed Metamorphosis* that speak to the downfall of mankind and the ways in which the Catholic Church and the images it supports contribute to that downfall. Because such moments often mimic scenes in Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, a comparative analysis of the two texts is necessary; such an examination makes clear Tourneur's reliance on Spenser and foregrounds the prequel that Tourneur will create in the second section of his work. While Spenser's text follows a timeline that seems clearly based on the poet's own era (it is written to and for Queen Elizabeth and speaks to issues particular to the Elizabethan era), Tourneur's follows a much broader one that spans centuries, beginning with a pre-Reformation era. Two distinct features of Tourneur's allegory become more logical when viewed in this manner: first, because early British discontent with the Catholic Church focused on the Church's practices other than the use of images, the first scene of Tourneur's allegory relates only vaguely to the image debate. The growing anxiety about images and women in the text parallels the growing anxiety about them in the course of the sixteenth century. Therefore, my examination of Tourneur's initial section contains only a minimal analysis of images, and these incidents are very obscure. Second, Tourneur's allegory moves from a global perspective in the first part to a national perspective in the second, which means that certain ideas created in the first section will be elaborated on in the second section. Error/Errour, for instance, shows her presence in the text twice: once in the first section

and once in the second section of the allegory (which I call Act I and Act II, respectively). The most substantial difference between these two treatments is that the second is a microcosm of the first.

In each of the segments included in this chapter, I examine a particular moment in Tourneur's allegory. The first three analyze the first part of it, while the last two deal with the second part. Each of the moments I examine is a vision experienced and told by the narrator, and each relates to some aspect of the discourse concerning images and the duplicitous or deceitful woman. In contrast with Spenser's text, Tourneur's shows no positive feminized characters until the very end of the allegory. However, Tourneur certainly read and admired Spenser's work, and therefore many of the feminized characters in *The Transformed Metamorphosis* mimic, in some ways, those found in Book 1 of *The Faerie Queene*.[294] Character mimicking allows Tourneur the opportunity to engage in both repetition and emendation as he recasts figures such as Errour, Lucifera, and Duessa.

Finally, Tourneur purposely engages with and reworks aspects of the "Elizabethan political imaginary" in order to provide a critique of the early Church of England in the second half of his allegory. The Elizabethan political imaginary," as defined by Louis Montrose, is "[t]he collective repertoire of representational forms and figures – mythological, rhetorical, narrative, iconic – in which the beliefs and practices

[294] According to Hamilton, both writers "turned to satire, and in that medium displayed their strong affinity in a fierce Protestantism, an uncompromising Calvinist ethic, and a militant religious spirit." "Spenser and Tourneur's," 132. However debatable this statement may be, it is clear that Tourneur adapted episodes from Spenser's allegory to fit his own Protestant purpose, including scenes from the second Book as well as the first.

of Tudor political culture were pervasively articulated."[295] Montrose goes on to explain that:

> [w]ith varying degrees of conscious and deliberate fashioning, complexity, and skill, countless Elizabethan subjects worked and reworked such forms when they sought to formulate their experience, understanding, or judgment of the relations of power in their society. The rearticulation of such formal elements in new configurations […] meant that the political imaginary was unstable […] and that such instability worked against attempts to restrict, regulate, and enforce uniformity in the political culture.[296]

The literary narrative Tourneur reworks is the one produced by Spenser, but Tourneur also reworks the cultural narrative of a Protestant leader whose primary service is to the realm's subjects. The instability of the Elizabethan political imaginary would allow for a reworking of both spiritual and political narratives. As Montrose states, "countless Elizabethan subjects" contributed to and reworked the Elizabethan political imaginary to formulate and disseminate their concerns, judgments, and experiences. The latter half of Tourneur's allegory is just such a reworking that judges England's leader and her religio-political policies. For instance, Errour appears in both the first and second half of the allegory, and if the first half is a global view and the she-monster represents the errors of the Catholic Church, then the she-monster's reappearance in the national view shows that such errors continue to exist in the realm. The pomp and greed of both the Catholic Church in the first half and the early Church of England in the second half shows that there is little religio-political difference between the two churches.

Act I, Scene I: The Fall

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[295] Louis Montrose, "Spenser and the Elizabethan Political Imaginary," *ELH* 69, no. 4 (Winter, 2002), 907.
[296] Ibid., 907-10.

In his most basic and explicit critique of the Catholic Church, Tourneur begins by clearly lamenting the global damage done by it and obscurely attaching some of that damage to the sins embodied in and portrayed by the image:

> See, see, that mount that was the worldes admire,
> The stately Pyramis of glorious price;
> Whose seau'n hill'd head did ouer all aspire,
> Is now transform'd to *Hydra*-headed vice:
> Her hellish braine pan of each enterprice.
> On sinnes full number (loe) she is erect;
> For why? Great *Pluto* was her Architect.
>
> Black Auarice, makes sale of Holines,
> And steeming luxurie doth broach her lust;
> Red-tyrannizing wrath doth soules oppresse,
> And cankred Enuie falsifies all trust,
> T'enrich her coffers with soule-choaking dust;
> On slouth and gluttonie they build their blisse,
> Whereon they raise Ambitions Pyramis. (57-70)

Tourneur has assigned all seven deadly sins to the feminized Catholic Church, which was once a shining "mount that was the worldes admire." In fact, the Catholic Church is built by Pluto, the god of the underworld or hell, which effectively also transforms the church into the Whore of Babylon from the Book of Revelation with "her hellish braine" enclosed in a "seau'n hill'd head." However, vague moments occur in which the poet also attributes the wrongs done by the Catholic Church to its use of images. The references to images are couched in the discourse that lies behind such lines as "T'enrich her coffers with soule-choaking dust / On slouth and gluttonie they build their blisse" (68-69). While "coffers" can certainly refer to the place in which riches are kept, Tourneur's coffers are enriched with "soul-choaking dust," a phrase that embodies two ideas that refer back to images and thus help to exemplify the wrongs done by the

Catholic Church. The dust is, first, the metaphoric remnants of the layman's soul, which is oppressed and will turn to eternal "dust" should he embark on a pilgrimage to shrines in order to procure miracles from a dead image.[297] Accordingly, the layman falls into the trap of idolatry because the Catholic Church has led him to it, as is contended by the authors of *Against Ierome Osorivs, Byshopp of siluane in Portingall and against his slaunderous Inuectiue*s:

> When true Religion began to decay: Images crept into the Church by litle and little, and that former earnest desire of pure doctrine waxed cold in mens hartes; and that bastard and deformed superstitious Schoole Diuinitie vaunted it selfe at the length, and immediatly all places were patched uppe with Images.[298]

Just as the layman's soul will decay because he seeks the image, so too has religion decayed because it has provided such images. Doctrine or "truth" no longer exists in the church and therefore no longer exists in man's heart, which has now become the seat of idolatry. Second, it is the actual dust (in the sense of decayed bones) of the relics that fill such "coffer" spaces as reliquaries or "coffins." These are the "riches" that belong to and are embodied by the Catholic Church: they are both dead and deadly. Line 69 of the above stanza, "On slouth and gluttonie they build their blisse," can also refer to the Catholic Church's use of images to teach the layman. Some Protestant theologians insist that sloth is the reason that the Catholic Church uses images as books for teaching the laity. As Calvin asserts: "But whence, I pray you, this stupidity if not because they are defrauded of that doctrine which alone was fit to instruct them? Indeed, those in authority in the church turned over to idols the office of teaching for no

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[297] Shell rightly argues that Tourneur's poem emphasizes the perniciousness of idolatry and condemns the idol's lack of signification. *Catholicism, Controversy, and the English*, 38.
[298] Haddon, et. al., *Against Ierome Osorivs*, 41.

other reason than that they themselves were mute."[299] The Catholic Church has built a "blissful" or ignorant body of believers by slothfully using images to replace the instructional task bestowed upon the Catholic clergy.

In subtle ways, Tourneur shows that the priest's giving over the job of instructing the layman to the image causes spiritual confusion in the Catholic Church's followers. Tourneur continues to lament what the Catholic Church has done to those who follow its doctrines by stating that it will be a pleasure "for to see her sad confusion; / Whose vapours are the worldes infection. / Her high esteeme, is of high heau'n dispisde; / O see ere long her *Babel* Babelliz'd" (74-77). By using such words as "vapours" and "*Babel,*" the narrator alludes to the misuse of language by the Catholic clergy. The Catholic priest's words are "vapours" that cause infection much like we might think an airborne virus would, and "*Babel*" is the essence of linguistic confusion. However, the ambiguous initial phrase in this stanza – "Is for to see her sad confusion" – suggests that the Catholic Church is either confused or causes confusion (74). The layman, because he interprets the image as the bearer of "truth," becomes spiritually confused when he gives more credence to the false image that he sees than to the "truth" embodied by the scripture that he hears. The danger of such confusion is well documented by Protestant theologians such as Calvin, who argues that God "repudiates all likenesses, pictures, and other signs by which the superstitious have thought he will be near them."[300] After making these tenuous references to images and the damage they

[299] Calvin, *Institutes*, 107.
[300] Calvin, *Institutes*, 100.

and the Catholic Church have done to the layman, Tourneur warns the Protestant reader of what the future holds:

> Marke, you spectators of this tragicke act,
>   (If any rest vnmetamorphosed)
>   O you whose soules with hel are not contract
>   Whose sacred light is not extinguished;
>   Whose intellectuall tapers are not fed
> With Hells flame: marke the transformation,
> Wrought by the charmes of this rebellion. (106-112)

Tourneur's readers are also spectators of the historical drama represented in the allegory. The narrative of the wrongs done by the Catholic Church is a history lesson provided for those readers who remain "vnmetamorphosed" by the Catholic Church's abuses. Those who have not lost their souls to hell, whose "sacred light is not extinguished," are expected to "marke" or perceive the "truth" of Tourneur's continued narrative. What is to come is at once more explicit and more veiled. In the next section of the allegory, the charges against the Catholic Church become more clearly related to Protestant theories concerning images because the debate concerning them becomes more heated with time. Moreover, Tourneur's allegory will now also include personifications (so far lacking), which can further veil the allegorical meaning. Tourneur's personifications will mimic many of the feminized acts, gestures, and utterances assigned by Spenser to his own personifications, and they do so in order to continue showing the rise and fall of the Catholic Church while simultaneously writing a "history" for Spenser's Lucifera and Errour.

Act I, Scene II: The Sacred Female

Once Tourneur has described the initial corruption of and by the Catholic Church, he introduces his readers to the Sacred Female, the first woman character in his allegory and the first direct reference to Spenser's allegory. First, the Sacred Female represents the original purity of the Catholic Church and the original purity of the woman. Both, however, will become corrupted and corrupting, just like an image. Second, the Sacred Female is the prelude to Spenser's Lucifera, a symbol of pride and the feminized counterpart to the king of pride, Lucifer. When readers are first introduced to the Sacred Female, she is the one

> Who was inspir'd with heau'ns intelligence;
> Who was the last that drunke vpon the brim,
> Of deepe diuining sacred influence
> That heau'nly one, of glorious eminence.
> She, whom *Apollo* clothed with his robe:
> And plac'd hir feet vpon th'inconstant globe. (114-119)

She appears, at this moment, to be the Woman Clothed with the Sun (she wears Apollo's robe). She is a vision of light and revelation, having been the "last that drunke vpon the brim, / Of deepe diuining sacred influence" and sent to earth to teach "truth" to those who are living in darkness upon "th'inconstant globe." She has been given limits, however: she is "not t'exceede the bound of heau'nly listes" and is instructed to apply her mind to the things of heaven (124-26). Unfortunately, the Sacred Female's spirituality turns to material ends, and she begins to look less like an "angel of light" and more like the "fallen angel." The "rebellious starres" who "seeke her fall" are those within the church who have turned away from spiritual ambition toward worldly ambition and greed (127-28). She, as the Catholic Church, now begins to "mixe her

honny with the bitterst gall:" the Church that once taught the "truth" is now tainted with ambition and untruth (131).

The Sacred Female is a commentary not only on the "fall" of the Catholic Church, but also on the fall of woman and heaven's once most beautiful angel. The initial limits imposed on the Sacred Female are important as they represent the moral code for all women; what a woman appears to be externally should match what she is internally, and vice versa. Unlike previously discussed duplicitous women characters, such as the queen of Googe's Island of Pleasure, Spenser's Duessa, and Copley's Doblessa, the Sacred Female's original appearance coincides with her inward nature. When she represents the initial purity of the Catholic Church, she is clothed in a bright and shining coat. When she falls from her undefiled state, the Sacred Female's heavenly robe is

> […] transform'd vnto an earthly coate,
> Of massiue gold: because she did combine
> Affection with the Moon; and did remote
> Her heart from heau'ns book where her name was wrote.
> The globe takes head, that was her footstoole set:
> And from her head doth pull her coronet. (135-140)

What was once sacred is defiled; what was once "light" is "darkness." Her robe is no longer "clean" but is instead covered with the filth of the earth and she is coupled with the moon, a symbol of madness and inconstancy. She is now more fully an earthly rather than an ethereal woman because her sight is set on earthly, rather than heavenly, rewards. The Sacred Female only becomes duplicitous after her descent from heaven, and because she is now defiled, she will attempt to defile those around her through her acts and gestures. The Sacred Female has joined "rebellious starres" and engaged in

"smoaky warres," much the way Lucifer had done before his own fall to earth. Furthermore, if Tourneur is writing a prelude to Spenser's allegory, then this scene marks the birth of Lucifera, the beginning of Pride.

The Sacred Female represents the inception of the image that will be brought to fruition in Spenser's Lucifera. The shared traits (such as their homes, their exterior embellishment, and their sinful and duplicitous natures) of these female characters show a progressive movement from the former into the latter female character. First, now that she is deprived of the garment of light that God had previously given her, the Sacred Female begins "To be the couerture of leathall sin," becoming directly enmeshed with the seven deadly sins "[a]nd so with deadly sinne the world beguile[s]" (147,154). Unlike Lucifera, who projects the sins outward to her councilors, the Sacred Female embodies the sins. In other words, the internal sinful nature of the Sacred Female surfaces as councilors to Lucifera. Second, the Sacred Female and Lucifera are connected by the discourse concerning women and images. The duplicitous and deceptive nature of both is made clear in their respective texts. The Sacred Female literally masks her evil interior with a "pleasing smile" in order to "beguile" the layman who relies on his sight to interpret truth. Lucifera does much the same thing: "So forth she comes: her brightnesse brode doth blaze; / The heapes of people thronging in the hall, / Do ride each other, vpon her to gaze: / Her glorious glitterand light doth all mens eyes amaze" (1.4.16). Both are deceptively enticing the layman into sin through the medium of sight, just as an image does, according to Protestant critics.

As representations of the image, both women characters not only endeavor to lure the layman through visual means but also are embellished. Tourneur's reader is told that the Sacred Female's attire has been transformed "vnto an earthly coat, / Of massiue gold" (135-36). She was once embellished with Apollo's robe, a cloak that suggests divine inspiration. The transformation of her coat to "massiue" gold indicates that she is in the process of acquiring the type of embellishment that many Protestants believed made the image visually enticing and monetarily wasteful. Lucifera completes the process of adornment begun in the Sacred Female: Spenser's prideful queen sits on a bright, rich throne and is "embellished" with "royall robes and gorgeous array" (1.4.8). She is "[a] mayden Queene, that shone as *Titans* ray, / In glistring gold, and peerelessse pretious stone" (1.4.8). Where the sacred female's robe seems only to be embellished with gold, Lucifera's is also inlaid with precious stones. The heightened embellishment of Lucifera as compared to Tourneur's Sacred Female illustrates, in miniature, the larger program of Tourneur's work as a prequel to Spenser's.

A similar progressive movement is evident in the palaces of these queens: what the Sacred Female's abode begins, Lucifera's completes. Both Tourneur's Sacred Female and Spenser's Lucifera live in "false" palaces that outwardly signify the nature of their respective women rulers. Lucifera's has high weak walls with "golden foile all ouer them displaid" (1.4.4), and high towers and galleries "[f]ull of faire windows, and delightfull bowres" (1.4.4). Lucifera's palace is built upon shifting sand, and "[g]reat troupes of people traueild thitherward / Both day and night, of each degree and place, / But few returned, hauing scaped hard" (1.4.3). The palace has been embellished and

the sight of it entices those who travel to it. However, because Lucifera's male counterpart is Lucifer, and her parents are Pluto and Proserpina, she has most certainly lived in hell, which is where the palace of the Sacred Female is built. The Sacred Female's palace is a "mansi'on-house blacke horrors cell" built by Apollo and Phosphorus:

> Whose deepe foundation's raisde from *Phlegeton*,
> The fi'rie riuer of blacke *Orcus* hall:
> Whence pillers rise, which do themselues vpon
> Quadrangle wise, vphold *Erebus* wall:
> Worldes trustlesse trust, soules vnmistrusted fall.
> Birds, vines and floures, and eu'ry sundry fruite
> Do compasse it; for best that place they sute. (168-175)

Like Lucifera's palace, this one entices the wayward, but unlike Lucifera's, the Sacred Female's abode can only entice those who have already plunged into spiritual disrepair. Because Spenser's Palace of Pride is glorious on the outside and is above ground, it has the ability to draw the living man's eyes to its visual appeal and thus lure him into pride. Tourneur's mansion seems only to be a place of "refuge" for those who have already fallen into pride and have descended into hell because of their fall. Tourneur's palace is not outwardly adorned in the same way as Spenser's because it represents the inception of Spenser's palace. Perhaps because it is underground, this mansion is decorated with those things that grow in the ground: vines, flowers, and fruit trees.[301] The Sacred Female's abode is "Hell's Eden," an amalgam that represents both Satan and the garden in which he first enticed Eve. As such, it is the birthplace of sin from which Lucifera's

[301] Hamilton maintains that this is "the clear imitation of Spenser's Bower of Bliss with its enchantress, Acrasia." "Spenser and Tourneur's," 131.

palace will arise. It is also, however, the birthplace of the image: Errour/error resides in the garnished womb of the palace.

Act I, Scene III: The First Dark Errour/Error

Tourneur's first she-monster is, in some ways, more humanized than is Spenser's Errour, and because of the monster's purposeful enticement of the layman, it plays a significant, albeit brief, role in the argument against images. Tourneur's opening feminized monster exemplifies the layman's initiation into error as he begins to use sight as an interpretive tool. Spenser's Errour symbolizes the error into which the unaware Christian will fall if that Christian follows the wrong spiritual path and lives in a dark cave, representing the spiritual darkness embodied by error. It regurgitates the propaganda of the Catholic Church, and after Errour unsuccessfully attempts to destroy holiness, her own offspring consume her. Spenser's Errour makes a fuller appearance toward the end of Tourneur's allegory when Mavortio battles the she-monster, however error/Errour begins in the image; error happens, first, when the layman becomes enticed by what the image is believed to signify. Tourneur's feminized figure represents the initiation into error. The layman who

> […] eies her eie, or views her blew vain'd brow,
> With sence-bereauing gloses she enchaunts,
> And when she sees a worldling blind that haunts
> The pleasure that doth seeme there to be found:
> She soothes with Leucrocutanized sound. (185-89)

It is important that this she-serpent first uses the sense of sight to lure the layman, for it is the visual appeal of the image that initially entices. Her overall seductiveness is dangerous, but only after she has trapped her victims through the sense of sight (the

spiritually blind must first “eie her eie”) does she continue her seductive maneuvers through Circe-like sounds.

Tourneur’s feminized serpent does not speak words in the text, but the feminized sounds she makes are a catalyst for change. The “worldlings” are blinded first, and so it is her vocal utterances that “soothe” or lead them into the shining hall of sin (187-89). Like those who listen to the vocal utterances of Spenserian feminized characters, such as Duessa and Errour in Book 1 of *The Faerie Queene*, the victims of Tourneur’s female serpent fall prey to the dangerous falsity and loquaciousness of women more generally. Once the “worldlings” have made the vital mistake of looking upon her, the she-serpent uses vocalizations to pull them further into the sinful, dead interior of the image where “he neuer shall his soule recouer” (201).

Tourneur’s she-serpent abides in an embellished, almost Edenic, shining hall within the garden of the Sacred Female. The she-monster’s den is falsely adorned with flowers and birds, and the “fraudfull floore” that is “couer’d o’re with grasse” is really “all of quagmires” (204-06). It is the shadow of “truth” to which the layman has given over his mind because of the sweetness it offers him – a sweetness that is illusory and, in Protestant theology, deceitfully so. The female serpent and the abode in which she lives are, together, a representation of the ultimate evil image as described by John Jewel: “So, in the book of the Apocalypse *imago bestia*, “the image of the beast,” is called, not any material image painted or graven, but the doctrine, the seduction, the errors, the lies, the blasphemies, the idolatry, and the whole conversation of

antichrist."[302] The seductive female serpent and her dark, but illustrious den represent the idolatrous image filled with error, lies, and blasphemies.

Though the appearance of the feminized serpent figure in this section of Tourneur's text is brief and her own description scant, this character's second appearance in the allegory shows her to be a truer Spenserian representation of Errour/error. In fact, the "second" Errour/error in Tourneur's allegory will be the only feminized character transformed from a figure that simply makes enchanting sounds to one that acquires a human voice. This she-serpent will rise from her hell-bound abode to one above the dark abyss of the underworld. What this means in terms of Spenser's Errour will become clear through an analysis of Tourneur's morphed she-monster as a more dangerous Catholic image than it first appears. Tourneur's later version of Spenser's Errour must be destroyed by the radical iconoclast rather than by the moderate Protestant. So far, Tourneur has given his readers a global history of the abominations associated with the Catholic Church, including its images and its errors. He next offers a microcosmic history of the repercussions such global abominations have had on England, repercussions that more specifically look forward to the action of Book 1 of *The Faerie Queene*.

Act II, Scene I: The Wrong Way

My discussion of key components in this section, such as the figure of Pan and his transformation, and the changes that occur in Arcadia/England due to Pan's metamorphosis, argues that Tourneur sees the need for *The Faerie Queene* because

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[302] Jewel, "Of Adoration of Images," 656.

Spenser initiates a more clearly Protestant national program than was present before Elizabeth's reign. Even after Henry VIII's break with the Catholic Church, the early Church of England retained many Catholic rituals and practices and could, therefore, be seen as in need of more radical reformation by Protestant sympathizers, such as Cromwell. In Tourneur's allegory, Pan represents what has happened to the early Church of England because it has replicated Catholic practices. Such a replication proves to be the rationale for a more radical Protestant agenda than the early Church of England and Spenser offer.

The initial section of the second part of Tourneur's allegory begins as an appeal for religious change in England, a plea to break with the Catholic Church because of its perceived idolatrous practices. The narrator implores Somnus to awake and "Rowze vp the watch, lull'd with worlds Syrenie" and to "pull off their golden maske," a phrase that indicates a desire to unembellish or destroy the image in order to bring "truth" to the layman (250-51). Those to whom the narrator speaks represent the English nation that has come to rely on the spiritual leadership of the figure Pan. Hamilton maintains that the figure of Pan typifies the primitive Church and is modeled on Pan in Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender*.[303] I agree but also want to point out that Pan begins as a righteous leader of England's early church and ends as a corrupt leader of a pseudo-Catholic Church in that his behavior can be assiated with ideas concerning the Catholic image.

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[303] Hamilton, "Spenser and Tourneur's," 132. Nicoll also recognizes that Pan symbolizes the primitive Church of England in the introduction to *The Transformed Metamorphosis*, 11.

The early Church of England was established in order to bring peace and "truth" to England, and this seems to be Pan's initial agenda. He, as the leader of England, desires to make England "*voide of strife*" (261). Pan himself begins as a representation of the unadulterated text; he is "Temper'd with surrop of heau'ns document" and thus brings "truth" to the people of Arcadia through the translation of the scriptures rather than through images (264). Furthermore, as the leader of Arcadia's church, Pan is divinely appointed:

> *Pan* that from heau'n recieu'd his due paid hyre,
> He that was wont, vpon the fertile ground
> Of *Arcadie* to feed, wherein was found,
> No golden India that might preuent,
> That high estate of poore, meane, rich content. (255-59)

He does not lead his people to rely on the image, the gold of India, in order to come to the true salvation that only Biblical truth can provide. At this point, Pan may recognize that such riches would prevent the poor from being content with "hearing" the Word because laymen are accustomed to "seeing" images in order to learn Biblical lessons. Unfortunately, Pan will stray from the narrow path, and in the end he is transformed into an image that represents a pseudo-Catholic agenda.

Pan's lust for riches, for the gold of India, marks his transformation from a once upright, spiritual leader of Arcadia's people, clothed with the simplicity of a woolen cap, into a leader who begins to guide his people toward spiritual and physical destruction. He was the shepherd who led his flock to the "truth" by means of "heau'ns document," but is now a leader whose "hand, to pawes, his sheep-hooke to a mace / Are metamorphosed" and his once pure heart is now "[w]ith cloud-high thoughts aspiring

high is fraight, / And chaoiz'd *Idea's* of conceit" (288-89, 91-92). Hamilton is no doubt right to contend that this section of Tourneur's allegory "shows Pan's metamorphosis by the gold of India into a preying monster."[304] However, Pan's metamorphosis by the gold of India also shows how the one who values the image, the idol, becomes an idol himself: "Pan, with gold hath fed: / And Pan with gold is metamorphosed" (272-73). His "head that once was couered, / With fleecy wooll, that hung on earth-low brakes" is "Now *Pan* of gold, himselfe a Cor'net makes" (281-82, 285). Pan now performs duplicity and destructively entices the layman. In his transformed state, Pan is leading his people toward destruction where "al his flocke neere drowned" (254). Pan has become externally embellished and alluring, but his internal nature is no longer pure; he has become the dead object that lures the innocent Christian into spiritual peril. His own metamorphosis into the Catholic image begins to destroy Arcadia, a once pure and purely Protestant nation.

Arcadia's situation may seem rather hopeless, but Tourneur offers a solution to his nation's potential annihilation by reworking the beginning of Spenser's narrative. In the final moments of the present section of Tourneur's allegory, Arcadia is being destroyed by its leader, who has through greed and pomp readily taken on the role of the Catholic image. Pan was once the spiritual leader and protector of his people, but now those same people need protection from him. Tourneur, however, seems to have an answer to the problem, and that answer lies in the hands of Arcadia's people:

> That if thereby we reaue no wight of blisse,
> We may preuent our earthly wretchednesse.

[304] Hamilton, "Spenser and Tourneur's," 131.

For lawfull tis our owne harme to preuent,
If not by ill we compasses our intent. (319-22)

The only way to remake Arcadia into a nation that values the "truth" and simple scripture that brings such "truth" is to reveal the deception that is masked in holiness, to correct the errors that now abound, even if such moves are against the will of the leader. Tourneur's final stanza in this section not only divulges the poet's Protestant sensibilities and political disenchantment, but also acts as an antecedent to the next section of the poem. The next segment of Tourneur's allegory performs the answer to the problem alluded to above. Furthermore, the following section begins and reconstructs the first battle scene of Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*.

Act II, Scene II: The Savior Knight

The solution to England/Arcadia's problem, as Tourneur sees it, is offered by his militant Protestant knight, Mavortio, the counterpart to Spenser's Redcrosse Knight. Mavortio is the subject of much of the criticism of *The Transformed Metamorphosis*. Many, including Hamilton, endeavor to establish connections between Tourneur's noble knight and an historical figure.[305] For my present purposes, the historical identity of Mavortio is not important. I treat each of these characters as a "type" that coincides with their respective poet's religious agenda and the religious issues to which they speak. The analysis of this section of Tourneur's poem will also be comparative because the last scene of Tourneur's allegory mirrors the first scene in Spenser's. However, significant differences between the two episodes show Tourneur's

[305] Churton Collins believes that Mavortio is Essex, A.C. Hamilton believes that Mavortio is Spenser, and Allardyce Nicoll believes that Marvotio is Tubrio Marlowe. Collins, ed., *The Plays and Poems of Cyril Tourneur*; Hamilton, "Spenser and Tourneur;" Nicoll, Introduction to *The Works of Cyril Tourneur*.

Protestantism to be more militant than Spenser's. In constructing an episode that has direct associations with Spenser's work, Tourneur is accomplishing two goals. First, in constructing an authorial relationship with such a great writer, he is formulating a "history" for both Spenser and himself; he is calling on Spenser's own renown to construct poetic authority for himself (again, as Lydgate does with Chaucer). Second, by rewriting Spenser's initial scene, Tourneur is "correcting" it. Unlike previous scenes that show how characters in Spenser's allegory may have been conceived (such as Lucifera and the first Errour), here Tourneur is transforming particular characters in order to fit a Protestant theology that sees the "savior" of England as more radical and the errors that he must correct as more dangerous than they appear in Spenser's text. Furthermore, the illusory aspect of time plays a part in these two episodes. If Tourneur is writing a prequel to Spenser's text, he is also manipulating the past; his is both a forward and backward movement as he has pre-knowledge of Spenser and uses it to create his prequel.

While both Spenser's Knight of Holiness and Tourneur's Mavortio are bent on adventure, the difference in the companions of the two knights, the way in which the two knights battle their respective monsters, and the way in which those monsters react to the knights all comment on the degree of militancy in the Protestant programs of the poets. Redcrosse has never been in battle and is intent on proving himself to Gloriana, the Queene of Faerie Land, who has called on him to defeat a dragon (1.1.3). His own purpose is two-fold: to win the praise of the queen and to test his battle skills. Mavortio, by contrast, is not summoned by the monarch and does not seem concerned

about winning the favor of the queen; he already has knightly honor. Mavortio's is a mission based on his own convictions concerning the recent events in his country because of Pan's transformation. As soon as Mavortio hears of "the harme wrought by Hyenna's spight," he "draue as sail-swel'd barks are droue by wind, / And strait he armd him (mounting's pancer stout) / He forward pricks, spurr'd by a noble mind" (354, 359-61). Tourneur's knight, even as he begins his quest, is more militant than Spenser's hero. Mavortio's initial reaction to the harm brought to his country is to "draue" or move quickly and fervently to arm himself for battle. He is spurred on by a "noble mind" to accomplish a noble mission. Mavortio's militancy, however, does not mean that he has only to rely upon himself to complete his quest.

Like the Redcrosse Knight, Mavortio has companions, but the latter knight's companions are less involved in the success of his quest than are the former's because Mavortio is less in need of external attendants than is Redcrosse. Both of the companions who travel with Spenser and Tourneur's knights also help mirror the difference in the Protestant programs to which each poet subscribes. Redcrosse is assisted first by Una, who represents Truth and the One True Church. Spenser gives an elaborate description of Una to his readers and makes it clear that, as Truth, Una is pure: she, her transport, and the lamb that accompanies her are all milky white. Redcrosse's second companion is the Dwarf, or common sense, who lags behind Una and plays an essential if sporadic role in the initial book of *The Faerie Queene*. Often, he acts as a messenger, and without his presence, Redcrosse frequently chooses the wrong path and the wrong associates. Tourneur's description of Mavortio's first companion is much

simpler: Mavortio is "Awaited on by Truth his Page full kind" (362). This Page is given no further description or role in the ensuing adventure, and it is Mavortio who rides upon a "milk-white steed" (372). Tourneur, here, likens himself to the militant knight he creates by punning the word "page." Like Mavortio, Tourneur is assisted by a "page," but the poet's page is a literal one taken from Spenser's text. While essential to the "truth" embedded in Tourneur's allegory, the Page does not seem absolutely essential to Mavortio's success (as Una is to Redcrosse Knight's). Mavortio does not seem to need his Page, but this could be because Mavortio is already an accomplished Protestant, well aware of the Truth and deeply connected to it, while Redcrosse is learning holiness as Spenser's allegory progresses. In Mavortio's case, the "page" could be one from scripture and, if it is such a page, then Mavortio, unlike Redcrosse, has already read his "page" and internalized its "truth." Mavortio's second companion is described as "a'squire that artfull strength was call'd: / Seem'd, *Hercules* him could not haue appalld" (363-64). The squire accompanying Mavortio does not seem to represent common sense but instead a type of Justice. Like his Page, Mavortio's squire does not aid the knight during his upcoming battle because the knight does not seem to need him. Unlike Redcrosse Knight, Mavortio seems fully capable of defeating his foes without the aid of either of his companions. As a more militant Protestant example than Redcrosse, Mavortio may be what Tourneur hopes Redcrosse will become or what Redcrosse should already represent. Mavortio may have some trouble defeating his enemy, but Truth and Strength, or Conviction, are only there as reminders of those traits that Mavortio already seems to possess. The Page is never seen again after his initial

introduction, and the squire only reappears after the primary battle is over in order to aid Mavortio in massacring the monster and her offspring. If the enemies of Tourneur's knight are more dangerous than those of Spenser's knight, then Mavortio's heightened sense of militancy proves necessary for the survival of both England and Protestantism.

The differences between the she-monsters, the first enemy of each knight, and the conduct of the knights in their respective initial battles exemplify how Tourneur manipulates and revises Spenser's text in order to show the weakness of a moderate Protestant agenda. While Redcrosse encounters many enemies throughout *The Faerie Queene*, his first is essential to his own learning experience. After winning the battle with Errour, Redcrosse begins a journey toward holiness and the recognition of error as a force with which to be reckoned – a force that he cannot destroy without the aid of Truth. After all, it is Una's cry that is the catalyst for Redcrosse's defeat of Errour. Like Redcrosse, Mavortio's initial enemy is a she-monster:

> Thus (pricking on the plaine) at last he ey'd
> The grisly beast as in her den she lay,
> Tearing a lamb with iawes farre stretch'd awide,
> A seely lambkin which she made her pray,
> Straight with a courage bold began assay,
> How he could buckle with the monsters force:
> Not meaning once to harbor mild remorce. (365-71)

Both Spenser's and Tourneur's monsters live in dark hell-like caves, or dens, both spew poison, and both produce treacherous offspring. The she-monster that Mavortio encounters, however, is not simply lying on the ground but is "[t]earing a lamb with iawes farre stretch'd awide": she is consuming the innocent inhabitants of the land. If

Mavortio is the knight that Redcrosse will become or should be, then the monster Tourneur's knight battles is also more fully Errour than Spenser's own Errour.

Because Tourneur's is a more radical Protestant ideal than is Spenser's, Mavortio first displays one of the essential arguments advanced by Protestants in the debate about images. Redcrosse enters Errour's cave to find her simply lying upon the dirty ground. While Redcrosse first *sees* the monster and reacts to that visual stimulus, Mavortio begins his fight by *speaking* a warning to the she-monster he encounters. As he enters her den,

> Then stept to'th monster with a wise-hold heed,
> Thou monstrous fiend (quoth he) thy pray refrain,
> For with my sword Ile work thy mortall paine:
> The beast gan looke as one that were adrad,
> Fearing her future hap would proue full bad. (374-78)

Errour's greatest fear stems from the light that penetrates her cave when Redcrosse enters, because Errour cannot tolerate the light of divine revelation. However, Tourneur's monster fears the *voice* of the militant knight, a voice that is important to the Protestant program of truth production and dissemination. Mavortio's she-monster is put into a temporary trance by the knight's voice, which humanizes this monster; she understands what the knight is saying. Yet, her trance is soon broken and she reacts. The beast that Mavortio battles dreads his arrival, but she does not hide; instead, this monster begins to speak to the knight, and what she says puts the destructive actions of Pan into a verbal context:

> She stretched foorth here selfe vpon the ground;
> And to her cursed tongue herselfe betakes,
> Hoping hir speech wold yield best aid that stound.
> Faire Sir (quoth she) t'is said this soile hath found,

That I haue brought this Countries good to spoyle:
But (knight) beleeue me, I haue t'ane much toile

To feare the wolues with changed voyce of tong,
When they haue e'en beene ready to assaile
The ewes that haue beene suckling their yong:
Then hath my speech their purpose caused to faile;
My very heart doth bleede; O how I waile
To thinke vpon the spoyle the wolues would make;
Did not my Care them force their prey forsake? (380-92)

The inhuman utterances of Errour are here replicated by Tourneur's she-monster; both monsters produce errors or lies. Tourneur's tries to convince Mavortio that she is only protecting the young lambs, the unaware laymen, from the wolves who now represent the fallen Church of England led by Pan. In fact, she gives a voice to the actions of Pan who has already "brought this Countries good to spoyle" (384).

That the beast speaks may, at first, seem to problematize the Protestant argument that it is "seeing" that is dangerous when used as an interpretive tool, rather than "hearing" or reading. However, Tourneur's argument seems not so clear-cut in this episode as, perhaps, Spenser's does because of the effect the monster's vocalizations have on the Protestant knight. In fact, the monster's speech has an effect on Mavortio that is more akin to that of Revenge or Despair's utterances on Copley's the Elizian Knight than to that of any feminized character on Spenser's the Redcrosse Knight. Mavortio, like the Elizian Knight in his encounter with Despair and Revenge, is initially paralyzed by the "Syrenian song" of the she-monster:

To her Syrenian song, the Knight gaue eare,
And noted in her speech how subtill Arte,
Her gesture framed to eu'ry word so neare,
That had he beene a man of massiue hart,
He would haue melted at her Mermaides part. (393-7)

The monster could be the personification of an image except that it is not her outward appearance that holds the possibility of enchantment. Instead, it is her feminized voice, her "Syrenian song," that contains "subtill Arte" (393-4). Not only does the exterior of the woman entice the innocent man, but her voice has the propensity to do so as well, as already exemplified by the character of Duessa. Tourneur's she-monster is an example of St. Augustine's vocal *Fortuna*, but it is also a more fully diabolical female than Augustine's goddess. If the feminized voice is a catalyst for change, then that change can be for the worse as well as the better. She is duplicitous in that her exterior is hideous, but her voice is likened to sweet music. By the time Tourneur is writing this allegory, Catholic books and pamphlets had made their way into England and into the willing hands of Protestant laymen. Ceri Sullivan maintains that:

> [I]t was not only polemical works on the English succession or dogmatic works on the Sacraments, but also devotional works that were bought by Protestants. Recusant prefaces to devotional texts address themselves to an audience of "Catholikes, protestants, and demi-Catholikes." The rhetoric coaxed a Protestant audience to carry on reading, letting the recusant author appeal to the tolerant reader.[306]

The beast that Mavortio battles does not need to spew books and pamphlets, as Errour does, because she is a book – a Catholic book that speaks falsity to the Protestant knight and devours the innocent lamb/layman who engages with her. However, unlike Redcrosse, Mavortio is a "Knight of noble spirit" so that "[h]er tongue could not him of his heart dis'nherit" (398-99). Mavortio is the Protestant iconoclast that Redcrosse should be, and Tourneur's knight not only breaks the image but destroys the illicit book,

[306] Sullivan, *Dismembered Rhetoric*, 20.

because the she-monster represents both the image and the illicit book. If "truth" is only to be found in reading scripture and Mavortio's Page/Truth is absent because the knight has internalized him/it, then this scene argues for the power of one book over another. Protestant translated scripture, and the "truth" embedded in it, will ultimately tear down idolatrous images and illicit texts.

Tourneur's she-monster's is also a more humanized reaction to the first stroke of the knight's sword than is Spenser's Errour's. Both she-monsters vomit poison in order to defeat the knight, and this poison represents the ultimate vileness of their utterances against the Protestant faith. Like Errour, Tourneur's monster feels the sting of the knight's blade "[a]nd (for defence) with poyson hellie blacke / Forth hurled from her wide stretcht foaming throat" (405-6). While Tourneur's description is not nearly as vivid (and disgusting) as Spenser's, it is clear that the poison his monster elicits is no less treacherous than that of Errour. Errour is certainly angry, but Spenser does not show that she "thinks" about what she is doing, as Tourneur's beast does. The knights, too, have different reactions to the poisonous spit of their enemies. Redcrosse momentarily turns back from Errour, showing his own vulnerability as a Protestant layman. Mavortio, however, is already the Protestant iconoclast, and the "steeled coate" he wears, his own Protestant ethic, is "[s]o iunctly ioynted, that in all their fight, / Her hellish poyson, neuer enter might" (409-11). Mavortio never wavers in either his conviction or his prowess. His Page, Truth, never cries out to him, as Una does to Redcrosse, in order to save him because there is no need. Moreover, when Mavortio kills the she-monster, it is not by cutting her throat, by taking her voice away. After he

stabs her, Mavortio, with the aid of his militant squire, completely annihilates both the monster and her offspring, who "[t]heir owne hew'd limbes, there gasping iawes that waile, / To see their limbs lopt from their bodies lie, / On hugie heapes, like vnto mountains high" (439-41). The she-monster is the only enemy with which Tourneur's knight engages, but the end of the battle proves the final difference between the Protestant programs of Spenser and Tourneur. Spenser's Redcrosse goes on to battle more adversaries in Book 1 of *The Faerie Queene*, but he also ultimately becomes trapped by and in the image (see my discussion of Redcrosse's entrapment in Orgoglio's dungeon). Furthermore, Redcrosse does not finally destroy the personified image as portrayed by Duessa but instead watches the stripping of it. Spenser's moderate Protestant program is exemplified in this act as well as in the action of Kirkrapine discussed in chapter 4. Tourneur shows that a less compromising Protestant program is more advantageous. After Mavortio has completely destroyed the monster, he gains everlasting renown: "And for this act vntill the end his fame, / Wil through the world high raise *Mauortio's* name" (426-8). Mavortio does not engage with a Duessa, he does not succumb to an Orgoglio, nor does he battle a dragon, as does Redcrosse. Mavortio needs no other battle to prove himself holy – he is already holy and wholly Protestant. He has proven himself a capable Protestant reformist by destroying the feminized enemy of the future Church of England.

The Rescue

The future of England as a Protestant nation may have begun with Mavortio, the national hero, but England is fully transformed into a holy/wholly Protestant nation by

the nation's future monarch. After a rather long lament over the eventual death of Mavortio (which Hamilton interprets as a lament for the death of Spenser), Tourneur ends the poem with yet another moment of transformation, where the rock of his defense "[i]s metamorphosed to an Vnicorne" (583). Hamilton maintains that the image of the Unicorn "would seem to be taken from Spenser's *Astrophel* volume where a 'maiden Vnicorne' listens to a lament upon Sidney's death. In both poems, the female Unicorn is linked with Elizabeth" who, as the Protestant monarch and head of the Church of England, becomes the savior for whom her country longs.[307] In a moment of re-metamorphosis, Elizabeth is called to be the Lady Clothed with the Sun (see Figs. 18 and 19 for two renditions of this image), whose

> shining eies of glorious eminence,
> Doth all the world with brightnes cleare adorne,
> And with *Ioues* strength, hir life-preseruing horne,
> Hath purified the cristalized fount,
> That streames along the valley of Artes mount.
>
> Her streaming rayes haue pier'd the cloudie skies,
> And made heau'ns traitors blush to see their shame;
> Cleared the world of her blacke vironries,
> And with pale feare doth all their treason tame. (584-92)

Tourneur shows that Elizabeth is the true and honorable leader of her country; she is appointed by Jove and can guide Arcadia "with *Ioues* strength" (269). The unicorn has "eies of glorious eminence" that will see the truth clearly and lead the nation down the path of righteousness because "[h]er streaming rayes haue pier'd the cloudie skies" of Catholicism. The country's transformation into a nation of idolaters and image

[307] Hamilton, "Spenser and Tourneur's," 134. Nicoll, however, sees the unicorn seems to be pointing toward James VI. Introduction to *The Works of Cyril Tourneur*.

worshippers by Pan is not fatal. Tourneur sees hope for the country's future and seems to offer that hope to all who have fallen into the clutches of the corrupted early Church of England or have swayed from the narrow path toward righteousness:

> Come, come, you wights that are transformed quite,
> Eliza will you retransforme againe:
> Come star-crown'd female and receiue thy sight,
> Let all the world wash in her boundlesse maine,
> And for their paine receiue a double gaine.
> My very soule with heau'nly pleasure's fed,
> To see th'transform'd remetamorphosed. (596-602)

The invitation is to those who have fallen into despair because they have been led into error by their leader. The "you" of the second line in this stanza, however, is ambiguous. It could be a continuation of the address to the nation in the first line, but it could also be an address to Elizabeth herself: "Eliza, will you re-transform the nation again and become the great leader that Pan was supposed to be?" The "star-crown'd" Elizabeth has the power to re-transform her nation, to bring spiritual and political healing back to her people through the transformed Protestant Church, but only if the seat of monarchy is also "remetamorphosed."

Tourneur's *The Transformed Metamorphosis* works to adjust the Elizabethan political imaginary, and in doing so, it is itself a metamorphosis of the Protestant ideals promoted by the court of Queen Elizabeth and depicted in Book 1 of Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*. By attempting to offer a solution to the nation's spiritual and political problems as he sees them, Tourneur recounts and rewrites both global and national history. Similar to Spenser's, Tourneur's allegory is a collection of political, spiritual, and moral lessons that simultaneously critiques Elizabethan court and culture. As a

young poet writing his first published work, Tourneur relies on Spenser for poetic inspiration and authorial credibility, just as his savior knight relies on Spenser's Knight of Holiness to create a path by which to rescue and redeem England. England's re-metamorphosed monarch can bring the nation back to truth and wholeness, but it is the radical Protestant knight and the poet who creates him who will ultimately save the nation.

I acknowledge that more could be said about the representations of Elizabeth in the allegories analyzed in this dissertation. Like his predecessors, Spenser and Copley, Tourneur does address the political and spiritual leadership of Queen Elizabeth, such as in the final rescue scene of his allegory. There is a place for such a discussion of the queen in an analysis of early modern images and women because Elizabeth and her court produced propaganda that constructed Elizabeth herself as an image of the Virgin Queen, both physically and metaphorically. To consider fully the political images of the queen would require another type of dissertation that would concentrate on the social and cultural implications of such images. However, because the works discussed in this dissertation do engage with Elizabeth, the following analysis of Tourneur's Pan as a possible representation of the queen in the latter years of her reign may help to open a conversation about the relationship among the political and religious images of the last Tudor monarch in the allegorical texts produced during her lifetime.

There is a good reason that Pan has never been identified as a symbol of the queen. Pan is a highly masculinized character that is never truly feminized in the text, and because he is responsible for the initial downfall of England/Arcadia, it is highly

unlikely that Tourneur would overtly use the character to represent a monarch under whose leadership he is writing. Furthermore, unlike Spenser, Tourneur does not write an introduction to his allegory that outlines the plot or specifies characters as representations of people; he does not identify any given character as Queen Elizabeth. Therefore, the following brief analysis is speculative; it intends to consider the possibility, rather than the probability, of Pan as a representation of the queen. Yet, one reason that such a representation could be viable is because Tourneur is writing his allegory during the final years of Elizabeth's life and reign, a time in which Kevin Sharpe argues "the most extravagant panegyrics of the queen vied with a literature of disillusionment."[308] Speakers in Parliament had, in fact, already begun to hold the queen responsible for fulfilling the duties of her office as part of their perceived sacred duty to preserve the commonwealth, especially when the queen's inaction or obstruction put the crown and the collective welfare of her subjects at risk.[309] The task of holding the queen accountable, however, goes beyond the court and Parliament, because the Elizabethan political imaginary is not limited to or by the court.

As a step to reworking such imaginary, Tourneur obliquely refers to certain sixteenth-century religious and political moments in his allegory, such as Elizabeth's role in foreign affairs and the courtly spectacles that reinforced the mystical nature of the queen. Part of Tourneur's lament over the transformation of Pan includes an expression of grief over the loss of a leader who once guarded Arcadia from foreign forces, including those that possessed the gold of India. The moment of this lament is

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[308] Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 460.
[309] Montose, "Elizabeth," 912.

one that might refer to the possible invasion of England by Spain, a country much richer in gold than England with a leader who was once thought to be a suiter for Elizabeth. The Spanish Armada was put asunder during Elizabeth's reign, but Tourneur reworks this historical moment and transforms it into a dirge that suggests that Spanish riches have corrupted England even if their royal forces were destroyed on its coast:

> O, where are they, *Apollo* did appoint,
> To guard *Arcadia's* sea-enuiron'd banckes?
> The oceans monarch, whom *Ioue* did annoint,
> The great controller of the whaly rackes
> Is landed on *Arcadia's* tender flankes. (267-71)

Here, "[t]he oceans monarch, whom *Ioue* did annoint" could refer to Elizabeth, the leader of the greatest sea-fairing nation in Europe. However, England's leader, the one who once guarded "*Arcadia's* sea-enuiron'd banckes," is now more interested in acquiring riches from foreign sources than protecting her country from foreign enemies.

By recalling the royal display produced for and by Elizabeth, Tourneur also leaves open the possibility of reworking the political imaginary that creates the queen as a mystical figure and turns her into the figure of a mystical beast and a Catholic image. Montrose maintains that "[t]he very exorbitancy of late Elizabethan royal display and panegyric seems to elicit a range of equally exorbitant negative images of female regiment." [310] It could be inferred that the "preying monster," Pan, is one such negative image. Elizabeth, especially in the latter part of her reign, frequently engaged in creating a mystical image for and of herself. Greenblatt states that "[i]n the official spectacles and pageants, everything was calculated to enhance her transformation into

[310] Montrose, "Elizabethan," 930.

an almost magical being, a creature of infinite beauty, wisdom, and power."[311] As magical beings, Elizabeth and Pan share a type of mystical nature.

Pan's metamorphosis into the Catholic image could also reinforce his role as Elizabeth. Late in her reign, the queen became more tolerant toward her Catholic subjects, and she retained many of the rituals associated with Catholicism. Stephen Hamrick writes that the English Church's retention "of clerical vestments, a clerical hierarchy, a public liturgy modeled on the Mass, and Elizabeth's refusal to endorse more extensive reform together suggested the potential for a return to Catholicism."[312] In fact, the queen conducted elaborate saint's day celebrations in which the rituals were recognizably Catholic in nature, showing that Catholic practices were retained and adapted by Elizabeth as part of her courtly and cultic aesthetic.[313] Furthermore, much of Elizabeth's monarchical propaganda was created from visual representations of her; she, in other words, transformed herself into an image while simultaneously attacking idolatry. The transformation of Elizabeth into an image can be seen most clearly in the Procession Portrait (see Fig. 20). In this particular portrait, the spectators gaze at the queen as though she were a sacred object. Kevin Sharpe analyzes this portrait and notes that "[i]n its subtle moves between secular and sacred and between local and topical and larger iconographic gestures, the Procession Portrait represents Elizabeth as an object of worship for all her subjects."[314] In portraits of Elizabeth, she is the central image and she is an image that is embellished with costly jewels and gold. Pan's, and by extension

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[311] Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 167.
[312] Hamrick, *The Catholic Imaginary*, 37.
[313] See Hamrick for a discussion of the celebration of Saint George's day in his section, "With a Crosse of Sant Gorge," Ibid., 41-45.
[314] Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*, 387.

Elizabeth's, metamorphosis into the Catholic image begins to destroy Arcadia, a once pure and "purely" Protestant nation. Tourneur's rivalry with Spenser could ultimately also be a rejection of Spenser, and thus a rejection of royal image making. The poet, like his hero knight, finally breaks the image – both the royal and the religious image.

CHAPTER 7

REMNANTS

During the course of this study, it seems at times as if the debate over the use of images might continue interminably. There seems to be no historical or literary means whereby an agreement concerning images can be reached. The question of what happens to the image debate as it is represented in allegorical writing following the sixteenth century is the focus of this final brief chapter. The conclusion of the debate produced in allegory is actually less complex than one might imagine and is due to two factors: 1) the death of Elizabeth and the subsequent ascension of James VI; and 2) the transformation of the allegorical mode.

James's oppression of non-conforming English Catholics increased as he took harsher measures against Catholics than Elizabeth had. Even though he had promised Catholics greater religious freedom, the king often reneged on such promises. For example, the 1605 Gunpowder Plot was the result of Catholic anger at the reimposition of fines and penalties that James had earlier relaxed. His 1606 Popish Recusants Act required every citizen to take the Oath of Allegiance denying the Pope's authority over the king. The king's inconsistent policies toward English Catholics and Puritans within the established church angered both Catholics and Protestants. Because of such policies and a growing distrust in the king, the focus of both Protestants and Catholics was

redirected, and the image debate virtually disappears as both religious sects began to fight for basic freedoms in England.

If one looks hard enough, one can find remnants, echoes of the image debate in particular religious poems written during the seventeenth century. These remanants are only glipses that harken back to some of the essential ideas in the debate of the sixteenth century rather than full-fledged reproductions of the argument. Two lyric poems written by John Donne and George Herbert show that even though the image debate fairly ceases to exist after James ascends the English throne, the use of misogynistic and erotic discourses in order to voice concerns with identifying the "One True Church" and finding "truth" through nonvisual means continues into the seventeenth century. Donne's *Holy Sonnet #18* reveals how arduous the task of identifying the Bride of Christ is. The speaker asks,

> "What! Is it she which on the other shore
> Goes richly painted? or which, robbed and tore,
> Laments and mourns in Germany and here?
> Sleeps she a thousand, then peeps up one year?
> Is she self-truth, and errs? now new, now outwore? (2-6)

These particular lines could be read as repeating some of the anxieties surrounding the image debate voiced by sixteenth-century Protestant allegorists. Donne's lyric shows that (like in previous Protestant authored texts) interpreting the "richly painted" woman is a difficult as interpreting "truth" when that "truth" is polluted with "errs" and ultimately asks where the "One True Church" can be found – is it hidden beneath

garments that are beautiful or a cloak that is "tore?" In other words, is the church an allegory that must be stripped in order to be revealed so that the speaker can "find" it? Influenced by Donne, George Herbert's *The Holy Scriptures (1)* also uses misogynistic and erotic discourses, but his lyric speaks to the issue of Biblical interpretation. The opening lines of this poem reveal the eroticism of reading scripture:

> O Book! infinite sweetness! let my heart
>   Suck every letter, and a honey gain,
>   Precious for any grief in any part
> To clear the breast, to mollify all pain. (1-4)

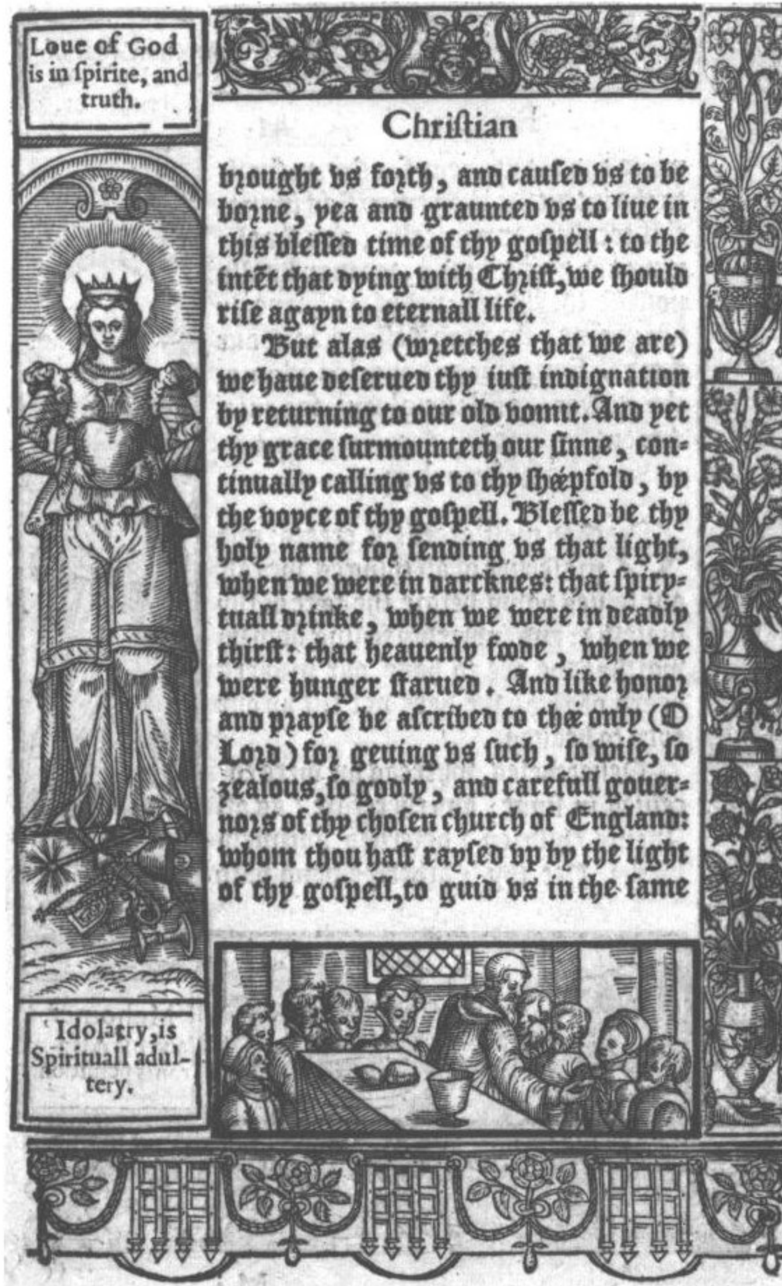
Reading scripture is an erotic experience that will ultimately bring one to "truth" because such reading has the potential to mend "the looker's eyes" and wash clean "what it shows" (9-10). Both Herbert's and Donne's sonnets carry remnants of particular ideas central to the sixteenth-century image debate, a debate that, by the seventeenth century, was lost in the wake of greater concerns brought about by the decisions of a new monarch.

Not only do the actions of James VI change the course of the image debate, but the debate no longer appears in allegory because the mode and its uses also come under scrutiny during the seventeenth century. It has been said that *The Faerie Queene* is the last great allegorical epic written. Indeed, allegory was not rejected but rather transformed in the years following Elizabeth's reign. The devaluation of allegory stemmed from a growing distrust in its ability to explain scripture on multiple levels simultaneously. Rather than adhereing to the medieval four-fold structure of allegory,

many seventeenth-century thinkers only recognized two senses: the literal and the figurative. After allegory was reduced to two senses or levels, it continued to be degenerated into either mere analogy (the analogical method would become the primary tool for interpretation in the eighteenth century) or into typology, whereby types presupposed a true history in ways that allegories did not. Types looked to facts, as allegories did to words and doctrines. Types were prophetic of specific events, whereas allegories, not rooted in history, were more general in application. The heightened distrust in allegory does not mean that the mode was ruled out in the seventeenth century, but that allegories were usually accompanied by warnings against the elaboration of parallels, and by various attempts to strip it of its meaning. Allegory became an image that needed to be stripped in order that its "truth" could be revealed.

APPENDIX A

IMAGES AND IDOLATRY



Loue of God is in ſpirite, and truth.

Chriſtian

brought vs forth, and cauſed vs to be borne, yea and graunted vs to liue in this bleſſed time of thy goſpell: to the intẽt that dying with Chriſt, we ſhould riſe agayn to eternall life.

But alas (wretches that we are) we haue deſerued thy iuſt indignation by returning to our old vomit. And yet thy grace ſurmounteth our ſinne, continually calling vs to thy ſhéepfold, by the voyce of thy goſpell. Bleſſed be thy holy name for ſending vs that light, when we were in darcknes: that ſpiry-tuall drinke, when we were in deadly thirſt: that heauenly fóode, when we were hunger ſtarued. And like honor and prayſe be aſcribed to thée only (O Lord) for geuing vs ſuch, ſo wiſe, ſo zealous, ſo godly, and carefull gouernors of thy choſen church of England: whom thou haſt rayſed vp by the light of thy goſpell, to guid vs in the ſame

Idolatry, is Spirituall adultery.

Fig. 1. Love of God. Richard Day, *A Book of Christian Prayers* (1578).

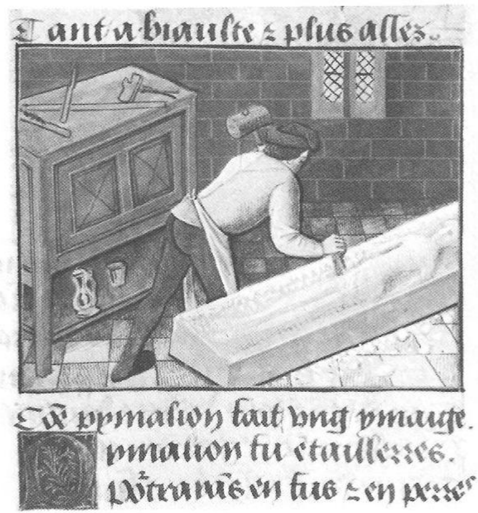


Fig. 2. Pygmalion carves an image. *Romance de la rose*. Oxford. Bodleian Library, MS Douce 195.

Fig. 3. Pygmalion is overcome by the beauty of the image. *Romance de la rose* Oxford. Bodleian Library, MS Douce 195.

Fig. 4. Pygmalion worships his image. *Romance de la rose*. Oxford. Bodleian Library, MS Douce 195.

Fig. 5. Pygmalion dresses his image. *Romance de la rose*. Oxford. Bodleian Library, MS Douce 195.

Fig. 6. Purification scene at East Harling. Photograph by Eamon Duffy. *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1992).

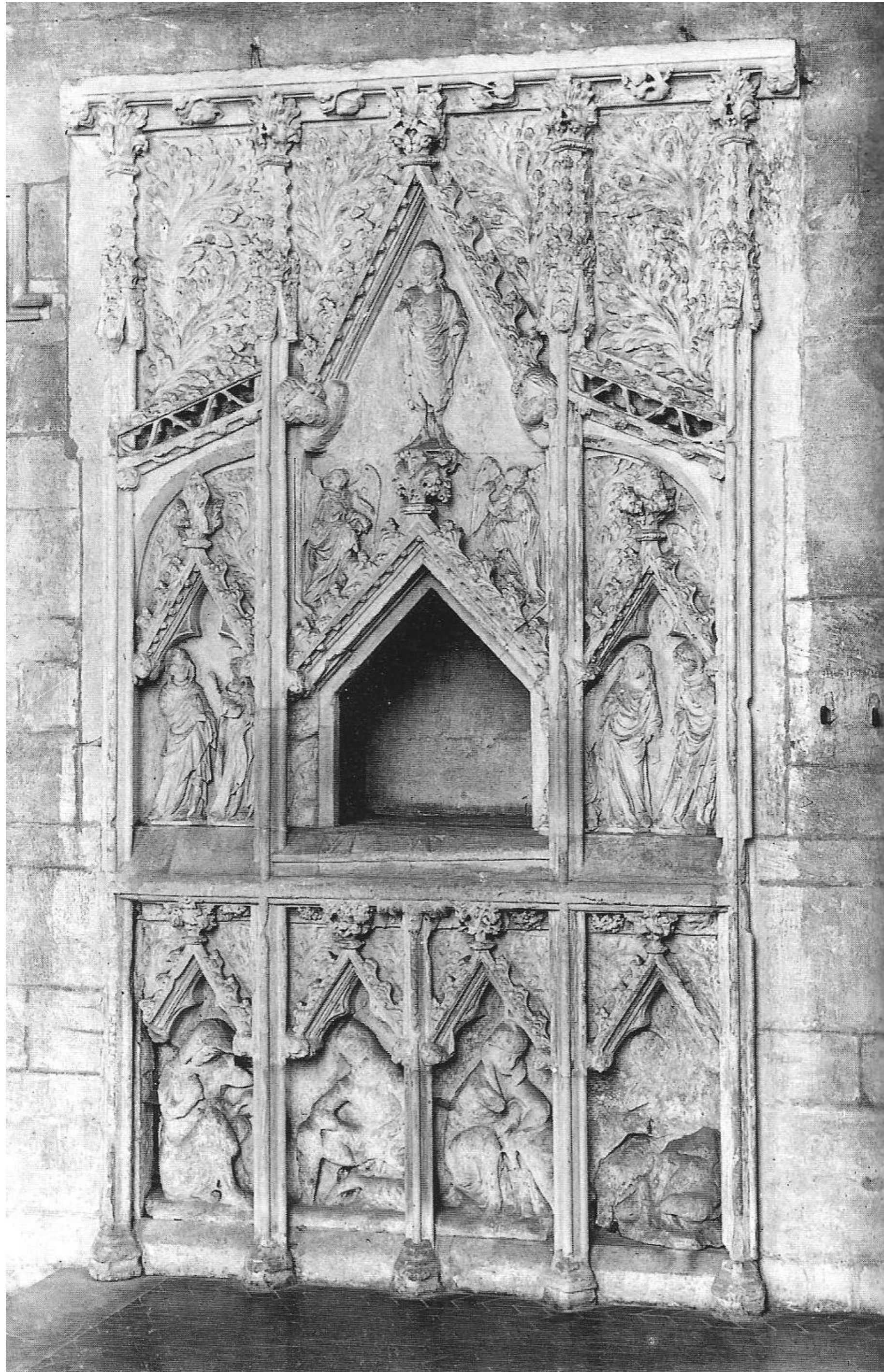


Fig. 7. The Easter sepulcher at Heckington, Lincolnshire. Photograph by Eamon Duffy. *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1992).

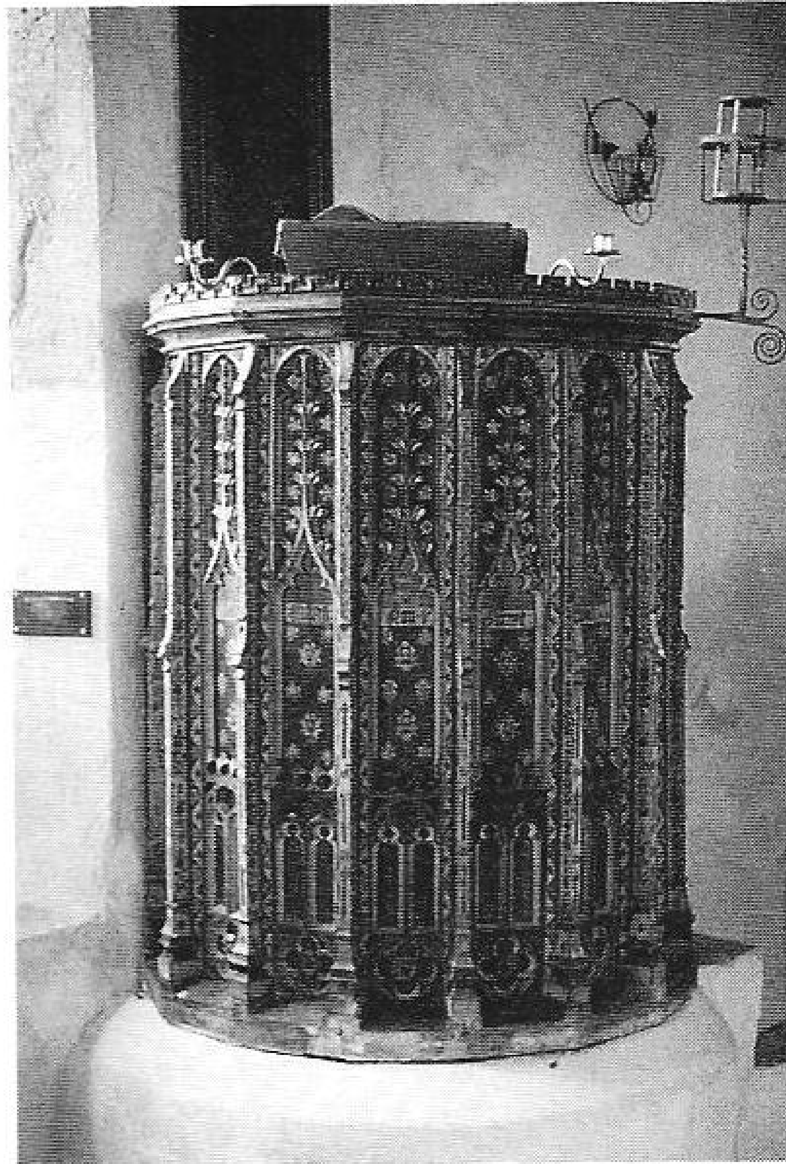


Fig. 8. Fifteenth-century pulpit, Burlingham St. Edmund, Norfolk. Photograph by Eamon Duffy. *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1992).

Fig. 9. The restored Rood-screen at Eye, Suffolk. Photograph by Eamon Duffy. *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1992).

Fig. 10. The pilgrim encounters Idolatry and she shows him the carpenter worshipping an image he has made. Lydgate, *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*. English illuminator *c*.1430. London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius A.VII, fo. 65v.

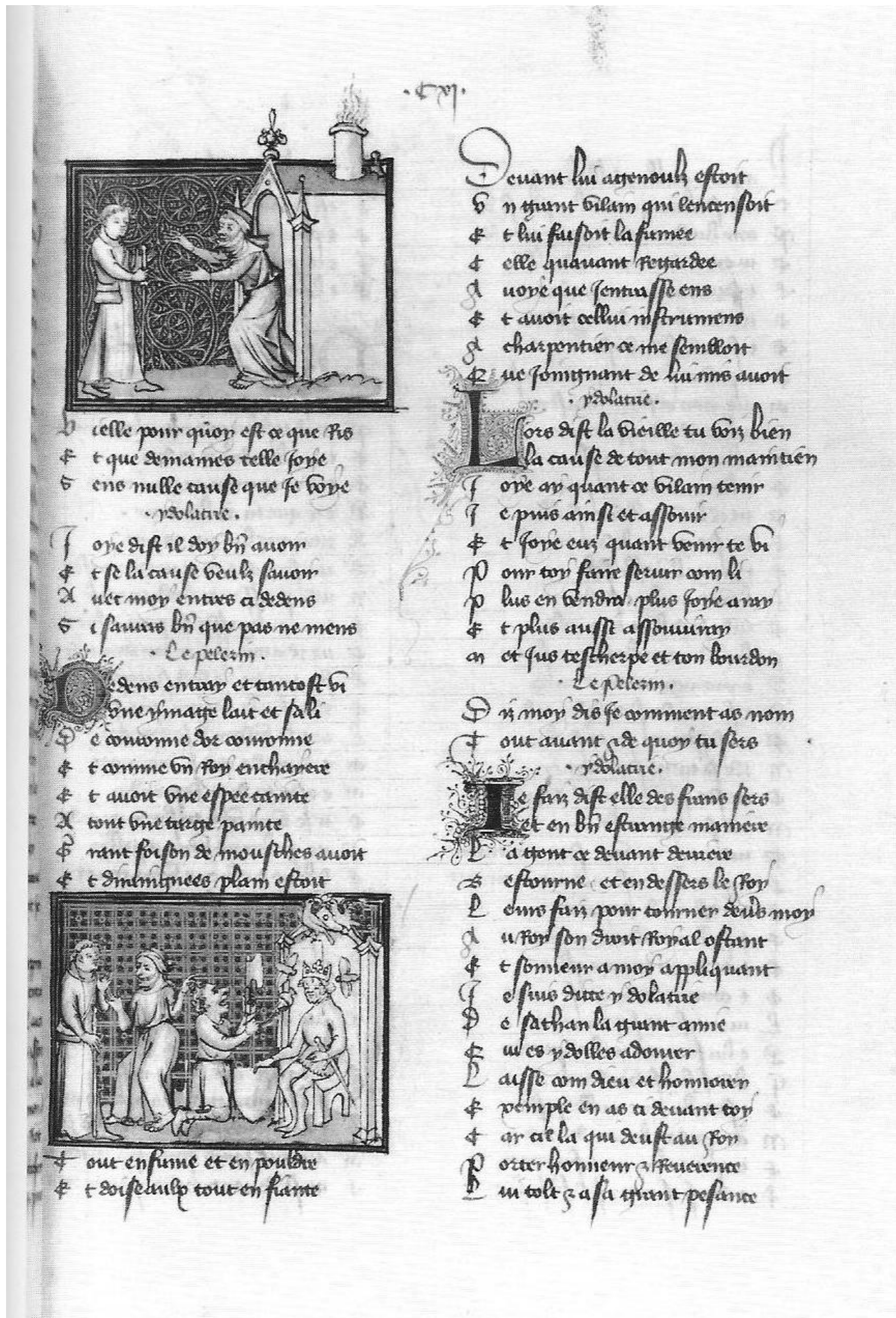


Fig. 11. The pilgrim encounters Idolatry outside her house; Idolatry shows the pilgrim the carpenter worshipping an image he has made. Guillaume de Deguileville, *Pelerinage de la vie humaine*. Parisian illuminator *c.*1390. Paris, Bibliotèque Nationale, MS fr.829, fo. 112r.

Fig. 12. The attack on St. Thomas Becket. Photograph by Eamon Duffy. *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1992).

Fig. 13. St. Anne at Kersey. Photograph by Eamon Duffy. *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1992).

Fig. 14. Iconoclasm at Ringland. Photograph by Eamon Duffy. *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1992).

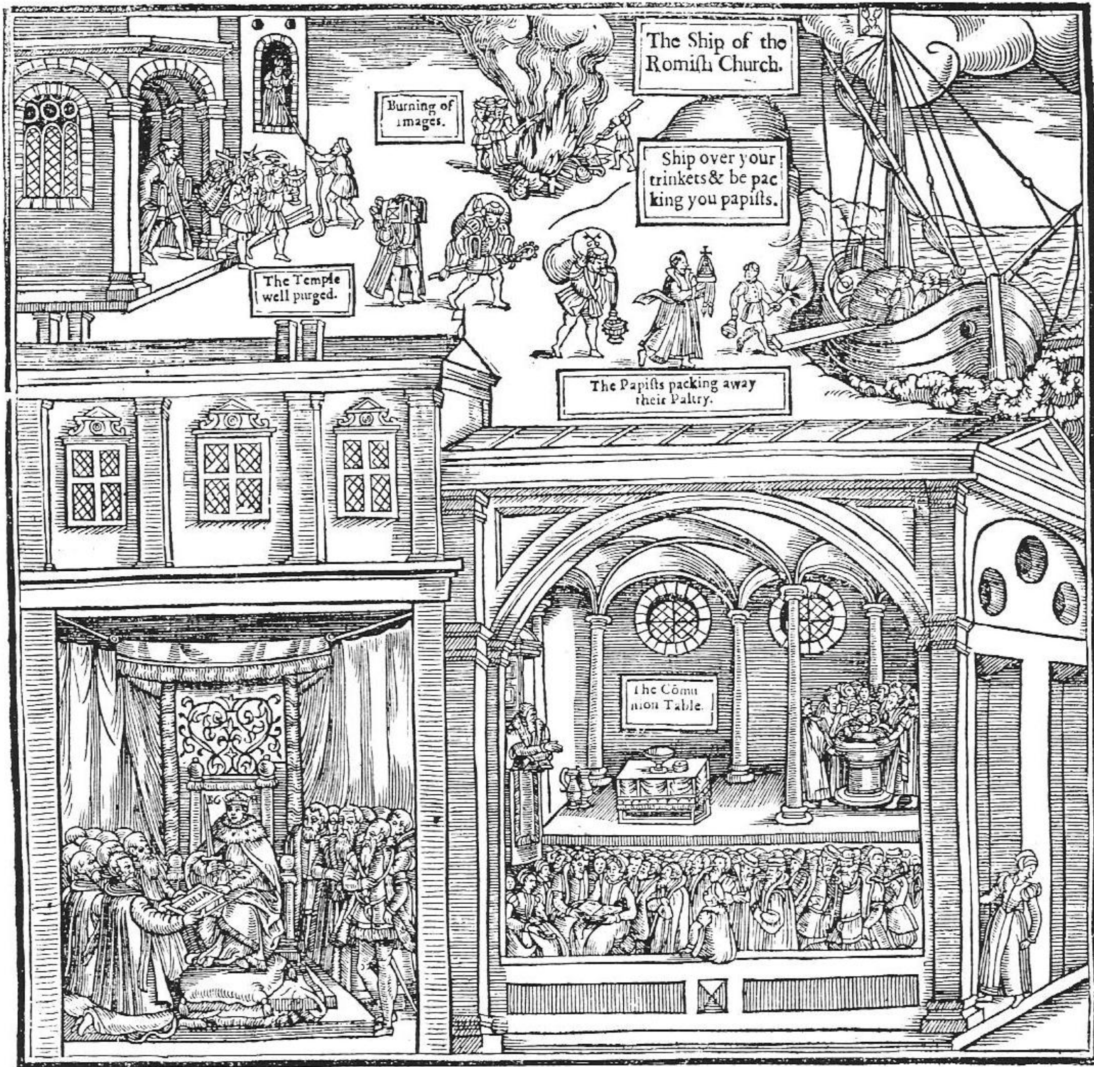


Fig. 15. The Edwardine destruction of traditional religion. John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* (1569).

Fig. 16. The Whore of Babylon. Hans Holbein the Younger, German New Testament (Basel: T. Wolff, 1523).

Fig. 17. The Whore of Babylon. Van der Noot, *A Theatre for Worldlings* (1569).

Fig. 18. The Seventh Trumpet: The Woman Clothed with the Sun and the Seven-Headed Beast. Lucas Cranach the Elder. Luther's September Testament (1522).

Fig. 19. The Woman Clothed with the Sun and the Beasts from the Sea and Land. Van der Noot, *A Theatre for Worldlings* (1569).

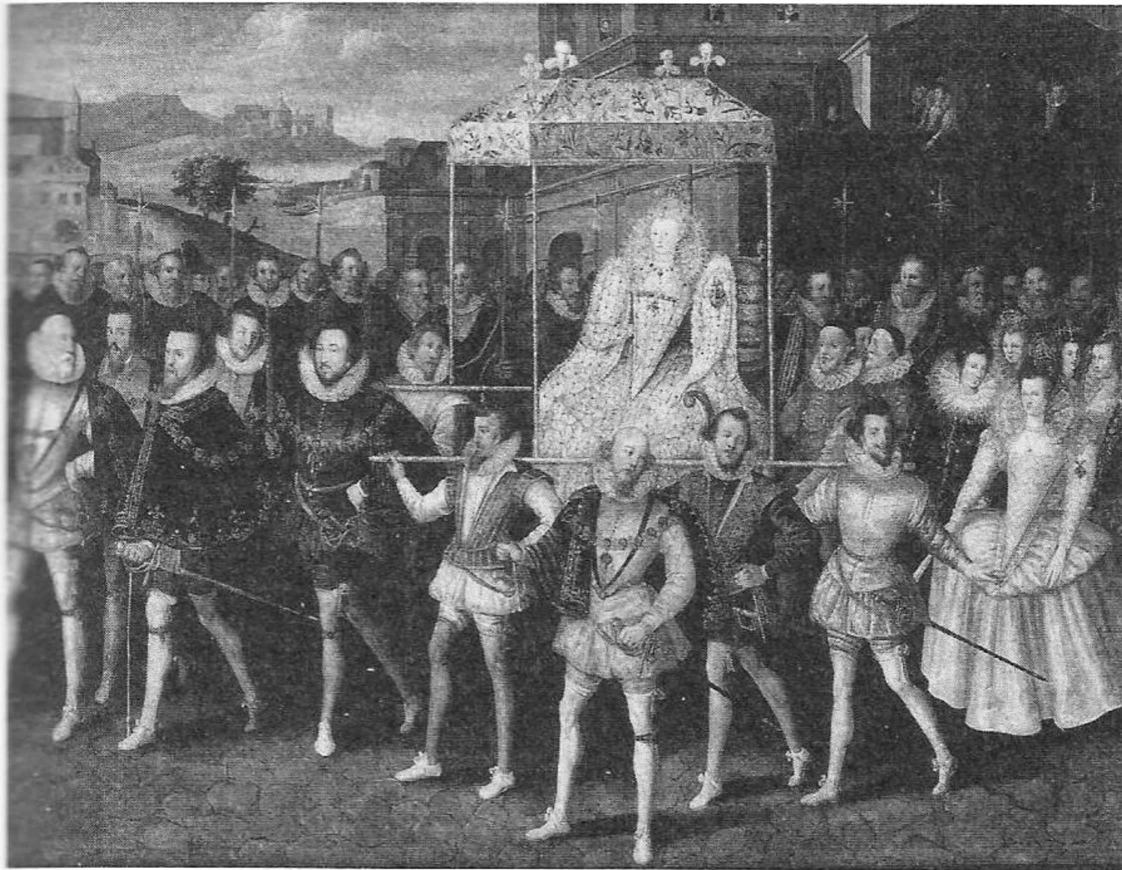


Fig. 20. The Procession Portrait. c.1600-2. Provided by Mr. J.K. Wingield Digby, Sherborne Castle in Kevin Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2009).

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