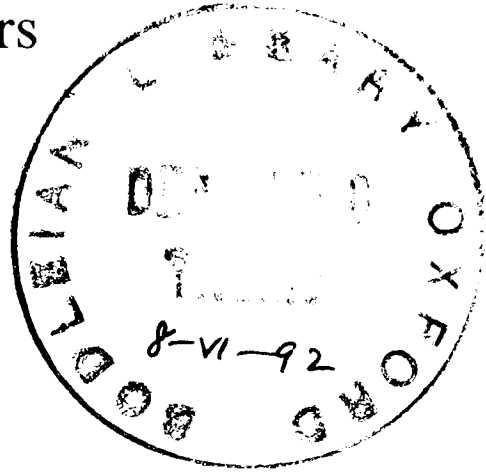


REFORMING THE IMAGINATION

Protestant dogma
in English literary thought and practice
from the Elizabethan Settlement
to the Civil Wars

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A thesis presented for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy to the
Faculty of English Language and Literature
Michaelmas, 1990.

History is Natural, Civil, Ecclesiastical,
and Literary; whereof the first three
I allow as extant, the fourth I note as
deficient.

Bacon

ABSTRACT

*Reforming the Imagination:
Protestant dogma in English literary thought and practice between the
Elizabethan Settlement and the Civil Wars:*
a thesis submitted for the degree of D. Phil.
in Michaelmas 1990, by

R.J.C. Major, Exeter College.

This is a study of some literary aspects of English thinking during the eighty years from Elizabeth's Settlement of religion to the Civil Wars. The central thesis is that there is a shift in the images the English Protestant mind uses for its own acquisition of knowledge: from images of public and visible entities, lit by the ubiquitous sunlight of authority and reason, to images of direct cognisance by the self, lit by internal Promethean light. As this image of inner light is primarily an image of reading, there is an imaginative, and thus exegetical, identification of the inspired reader with the meaning or 'voice' within the text. This identification is exploited by the more radical Protestants, the party in favour of further reform, to rebut the negative aspersions of scepticism, and the positive aspersions of Catholic polemic; especially in poetry that means to vindicate the truths of Protestant dogma, which is notionally read from the Bible, by replicating and extending the experience of inspired reading. Protestants are ambivalent about the legitimacy of such 'divine' literature, but nevertheless *Nosce teipsum*, *New Atlantis*, Sidney's *Arcadia*, *Paradise Lost* and even *Robinson Crusoe* are shown to employ this Protestant mode of inspired defence.

In the first of three parts, English Reformation uses of the word *imagination* are distinguished, and the Protestant faculty of *inspiration* is shown to be a function of the secondary imagination.

Part II discusses the Protestant ambivalence about human artifice on the edge of Scripture; such artifice is necessary to make the Bible work as Protestantism wants, but its existence compromises the Bible's character as a self-sufficient and self-interpreting oracle. This dilemma is demonstrated in the actions of English iconoclasm, and in English attitudes to illustrations of the Bible, Bible translation, and authoritative exegesis. In Part III, this same ambivalence is apparent in the theory and practice of literature, as evidenced by the writings of Jewel, Whitaker, Sidney, Greville, Hooker, Bacon, Sir John Davies, and Milton.

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ABBREVIATIONS

i. Periodicals

I have used the following abbreviations (generally following the usage of YWES) in my footnotes and throughout the bibliographies.

<i>Arch</i>	<i>Archaeologia</i>
<i>ATR</i>	<i>Anglican Theological Review</i>
<i>BHR</i>	<i>Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance</i>
<i>C&L</i>	<i>Christianity and Literature</i>
<i>CompL</i>	<i>Comparative Literature</i>
<i>CritI</i>	<i>Critical Inquiry</i>
<i>DUJ</i>	<i>Durham University Journal</i>
<i>EHR</i>	<i>The English Historical Review</i>
<i>ELH</i>	<i>Journal of English Literary History</i>
<i>ELR</i>	<i>English Literary Renaissance</i>
<i>ES</i>	<i>English Studies</i>
<i>ESC</i>	<i>English Studies in Canada</i>
<i>HLQ</i>	<i>Huntingdon Library Quarterly</i>
<i>JEGP</i>	<i>Journal of English and Germanic Philology</i>
<i>JHI</i>	<i>Journal of the History of Ideas</i>
<i>JWCI</i>	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i>
<i>Lib</i>	<i>The Library</i>
<i>LCrit</i>	<i>Literary Criticism</i>
<i>MiltonS</i>	<i>Milton Studies</i>
<i>MLN</i>	<i>Modern Language Notes</i>
<i>MLQ</i>	<i>Modern Language Quarterly</i>
<i>MLR</i>	<i>Modern Language Review</i>
<i>MP</i>	<i>Modern Philology</i>
<i>N&Q</i>	<i>Notes and Queries</i>
<i>P&P</i>	<i>Past and Present</i>
<i>PQ</i>	<i>Philological Quarterly</i>
<i>PMLA</i>	<i>Publications of the Modern Language Association of America</i>
<i>RenD</i>	<i>Renaissance Drama</i>
<i>RES</i>	<i>Review of English Studies</i>
<i>SQ</i>	<i>Shakespeare Quarterly</i>
<i>ShS</i>	<i>Shakespeare Survey</i>
<i>SSt</i>	<i>Spenser Studies</i>
<i>SB</i>	<i>Studies in Bibliography</i>
<i>SEL</i>	<i>Studies in English Literature 1500-1900</i>
<i>SLitI</i>	<i>Studies in the Literary Imagination</i>
<i>SP</i>	<i>Studies in Philology</i>
<i>SRen</i>	<i>Studies in the Renaissance</i>
<i>TLS</i>	<i>Times Literary Supplement</i>
<i>UTQ</i>	<i>University of Toronto Quarterly</i>
<i>W&I</i>	<i>Word and Image</i>
<i>YWES</i>	<i>Year's Work in English Studies.</i>

ii. Other frequently cited works

In my citations of the Bible I use the King James Version's system of chapters and verses, even with earlier translations, which do not. The translation (usually the Geneva Bible) is indicated. Quotations from Shakespeare are from the old-spelling edition by Stanley Wells, *et al.* (Oxford, 1986).

The following abbreviations are also shown (in bold type) beside the full citation of each work in the bibliographies.

- Adv.* Arthur Johnson's text of Bacon's *The Advancement of Learning*, in his ed. of *The Advancement of Learning and New Atlantis* (Oxford, 1974).
- Apologie* Olney's ed. of Sidney's *An Apologie for Poetrie* (London, 1595).
- Arcadia* *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia The original quarto edition (1590) in photographic facsimile*, ed. H. Oskar Sommer (London, 1891), cited by the original publisher's divisions.
- BLC** *The British Library General Catalogue of Printed Books to 1975* (London, 1975-87).
- BpsB* The folio first ed. of the so-called Bishops' Bible: *The Holie Bible. conteynyng the olde Testament and the newe* (London, 1568).
- Bps72* The second folio ed. of the Bishops' Bible, known as the 'Leda Bible' (London, 1572).
- Brunet** J.-Ch. Brunet's *Manuel du libraire et l'amateur de livres*, V vols. (Brussels, 1838-45).
- CBEL** Frederick W. Bateson's *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*, IV vols. (Cambridge, 1941).
- CF** John Carey and Alastair Fowler's ed. of *The Poems of John Milton* (London, 1968).
- Cranmer** *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer*, the PS ed. by John Edmund Cox (Cambridge, 1846).
- CSPD** *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office*, XCIII vols. (London, 1856-1924).
- DBF** Roman d'Amat and R. Limouain-Lamothe, *Dictionnaire de biographie française* (Paris, 1914-24).
- DMH** A.S. Herbert, *Historical Catalogue of printed editions of the English Bible. 1525-1961*, rev. by T.H. Darlow and H.F. Moule (London, 1968).
- DMW** Don M. Wolfe's ed. of *The Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, VIII vols. (New Haven, Conn., 1953-82).
- DNB** Sir Leslie Stephen's *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1889-1906).
- Doct. Chr.* Milton's *De Doctrina Christiana*, tr. John Carey, ed. Maurice Kelly, volume VI of DMW; with Milton's book and chapter divisions, and page numbers from Carey's edition.
- EE** *The English Experience: its record in early printed books published in facsimile*.
- ERL** *English Recusant Literature 1558-1640*, ed. D.M. Rogers.

- FQ Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A. C. Hamilton (London, 1977).
- GB *The Geneva Bible: A facsimile of the 1560 edition: With an introduction by Lloyd E. Berry* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1969).
- GtB *The Great Bible: The Byble in Englyshe* (London, 1539).
- Foxe G. Townshend and J. Pratt (eds.), *The acts and monuments of John Foxe*, VIII vols., third ed. (London, 1870).
- Hastings James Hastings' *A Dictionary of the Bible*, V vols. (Edinburgh, 1898-1904).
- Hobbes Sir William Molesworth's XI. vol. ed. of *The English Works of Thomas Hobbes* (London, 1839-45).
- Hoefer Hoefer's *Nouvelle biographie générale*, XLVI vols. (Paris, 1855-9).
- Hooper, I John Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, *Early writings*, the PS ed. by Samuel Carr (Cambridge, 1843).
- Hooper, II *Later writings*, the PS ed. by Charles Nevinson (Cambridge, 1843).
- Institutes* Jean Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, II vols., ed. John T. McNeill, tr. Ford Lewis Battles (Philadelphia, 1960), cited by Calvin's own division of book, chapter, and paragraph.
- Jewel PS. ed., by John Ayre, of *The Works of John Jewel*, IV vols. (Cambridge, 1845-50), by volume and page.
- KJV *The Holy Bible: A Facsimile in a reduced size of the Authorized Version published in the year 1611*, ed. A.W. Pollard (Oxford, 1911).
- L.A.-C.T. *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology* (Oxford, 1842-60).
- Lawes *The Lawes of Ecclesiastical Polity*, in W. Speed Hill (gen. ed.), *The Folger Library Edition of the Works of Richard Hooker*, IV vols. (Harvard, 1977-82), cited by Hooker's system of book, chapter and section divisions.
- Michaud *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne nouvelle édition* (Paris, 1914-25).
- More Louis L. Martz et al., ed., *The Yale Edition of The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, XIV vols. (New Haven, 1964-).
- NA Arthur Johnson's text of Bacon's *New Atlantis*, in his ed. of *The Advancement of Learning and New Atlantis* (Oxford, 1974).
- NCBEL George Watson's *The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*. IV vols. (Cambridge, 1974).
- NT Robert Krueger's text of Sir John Davies' *Nosce teipsum*, in his ed. of *The poems* (Oxford, 1975); cited by line number.
- OED *The Oxford English Dictionary*, second ed. (Oxford, 1989).
- PL The CF text of *Paradise Lost*, cited by book and line number.
- PS. *The Parker Society. . . . For the Publication of the Works of the Fathers and early Writers of the Reformed English Church* (Cambridge, 1841-55).

- Rheims *The newve testament of Iesus Christ, translated faithfully into English, out of the authentical Latin* (Rheims, 1582), repr. in facsimile (Menston, Yorkshire, 1975).
- RM Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici*, in the text of L.C. Martin (Oxford, 1964), cited by Browne's chapter and section divisions, and also by Martin's pagination.
- Sp. Sir James Spedding, *et al.*, *The Works of Francis Bacon*, XIV vols. (London, 1857-74).
- STC A.W. Pollard's *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland*, II vols., second ed. rev. W.A. Jackson *et al.* (London, 1976, 1980).
- Trent The first English tr. of *The canons and decrees of the Council of Trent* (London, 1687), cited by session, chapter and section.
- Vulgate Bonifatio Fischer, OSB, *et al.*, eds., *Biblia sacra: iuxta vulgatam versionem*, rev. Robertus Weber, OSB, II vols. (Stuttgart, 1975).
- Watt Robert Watt's *Bibliotheca britannica; or A general index to British and foreign literature*, IV vols. (Edinburgh, 1824), cited by Watt's own scheme of numbered and lettered columns.
- WC Westminster Confession of Faith, in the text published as *The confession of faith And Catechisms, Agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster* (London, 1650), cited by chapter and section.
- Wing Donald Wing's *Short-Title Catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America . . . 1641-1700*, second ed., rev. John J. Morrison *et al.*, III vols. (New York, 1972-88).
- XXXIX articles Francis Procter and Walter Howard Frere's text in *A new history of The Book of Common Prayer* (London, 1901).

PREFACE

This is a study into some literary aspects of English thinking during the eighty years between Elizabeth's Settlement of religion, and the outbreak of the first Civil War. My central observation is of a shift in the images the mind uses for its own acquisition of knowledge: from images of public and visible entities, lit by the ubiquitous sunlight of authority and reason, to images of direct cognisance by the self, lit by internal Promethean light. Broadly speaking, this is not a surprising progression, and can be understood as a small element of the long and complicated European journey away from realism, in which both Protestantism and the new philosophy were implicated. Nevertheless, there are oddities and contradictions within Protestant imagery which cannot easily be squeezed into a formula: and so I have worked from a fairly wide sample of contemporary publications, literary and theological, attempting to proceed as empirically as possible.

For that reason, the lists of primary sources are meant as a serious indication of the sample, and not only as a bibliographical prop. It will be seen from them that I use modern, critical editions where they exist and are to be trusted, but generally work from the best edition published within the author's generation. There is a lot of quotation from these primary sources, in which I have generally preserved the orthography and other accidents of the Elizabethan and Jacobean texts themselves, since it seems anachronistic to put the evidence into another century's dress. Repunctuation, particularly in the case of the eminent Victorian editions of Reformation polemic, involves decisions about meaning that an honest editor should avoid, as it is a subtle and unnecessary way of ventriloquising the past. A great deal of darkness has been shed abroad, for instance, from the nasty habit of reprinting *Spirit* as *spirit*.

This small exercise in literary history now has a small literary history of its own, in which the prime heroine is my wise, learned, tolerant supervisor, Dr Avril Bruton of St. Hugh's College, to whom I am vastly indebted. I am also grateful for previous supervision to Dr Helen Cooper at University College and Dr John Pitcher of St. John's.

Dr Catherine Maxwell of St. Hugh's was very brave, and endured a great deal of my prose; her suggestions and objections were generous and copious.

I am grateful to various other friends for their long-suffering willingness to let me talk over this work with them: especially Dr Marcella Hawlin (Somerville), Dr Stefan Hawlin (St. Catherine's),

Andrew Laird and Mark Wormald, John Fuller, Jeffery Rideout, Dr David Norbrook (Magdalen), Gréachám Napier, and especially my erudite and argumentative housemates, Dr Simon Wardrop and Brant Thornburg.

For word-processing lore and facilities I have debts to Simon Wardrop again, to Sarah Cannon, and Dr Tracy Lounsbury; and, as I am no linguist, I am grateful to Robert Carver, Gréachám Napier, Dominic Sinnett, Messrs Laird and Thornburg again, David Franklin and of course Catherine Maxwell for patiently explaining hard foreign words.

I am grateful to the indefatigable and tolerant staff of the Bodleian Library, particularly those who serve up large, unappetising folios in the Duke Humfrey; and grateful also to the librarians of Magdalen and Exeter Colleges; of the English, History, Theology and Philosophy Libraries of Oxford; of the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale; and to the librarian-fellows of Christ Church, Brasenose, Lincoln, New, and Corpus Christi, for access to their collections. Ms Suzanne Byrch, of the Oxford University Offices, was extremely courteous and useful.

My research was undertaken first at Magdalen College, funded by a scholarship from the Rhodes Trust and then by a grant from the Squire-Marriott Trust; and latterly through election to a Senior Scholarship in Theology at Exeter College.

I am more grateful than an acknowledgment page gives scope to express to the successive Wardens and Secretaries of Rhodes House; to Dr David Atkinson and Dr Stephen Tucker, successive Chairmen of the Squire-Marriott; to many Fellows of Magdalen College (especially to the President, Anthony Smith, to Fr Jeffrey John, Dr Ralph Walker, Dr David Ibbetson, Dr Michael John); and to the Rector and Fellows of Exeter (particularly Dr Alvyn Pettersen).

I am pleased, finally and most concretely, to indicate the financial succour or patience of Magdalen and Exeter, the Oxford Branch of the National Westminster Bank, the Haberdashers' Guild, the Skinners' Guild, and the Bishop of London.

PART ONE

Protestant imagination

For the reformatiō of our thoughts, ſundry rules muſt be obſerued which muſt admit this meaning, that a man muſt not conceiue a thought in his minde, vnleſſe he haue counſell & warrant from the word of God ſo to thinke

William Perkins, *A treatiſe of mans imaginations* (1607).

CHAPTER ONE

THE PROTESTANTISM OF
THE IMAGINATION

OLIVIA . . . Where lies your Text?

VIOLA In *Orsinoes* bosome.

OLIVIA In his bosome? In what chapter of his bosome?

VIOLA To answer by the method, in the first of his hart.

OLIVIA O, I haue read it: it is heresie.

Twelve Night, I, v, 214-8.

THE systems of dogmatic belief that lie beneath English poetry of the

. . . schools of thought, is after all rigidly determined by the original hypothesis¹.

Behind this notion lies the acknowledgment (in itself sceptical) that the basis of belief, in the face of many contradictory and hostile claims, is psychological; that this psychology is complex, for "the reasonings and opinions which are involved in the act of Faith are latent and implicit".² This expansive, penetrating idea is typically not linguistic. It is "as one, and individual and independent of words, as an impression conveyed through the senses"; besides, language is incapable of framing any positive truth about the supersensible God.³ Religious language is therefore true only at one remove: it formulates propositions from data that are virtually sensory – data, that is, which derive from the sensory shadow-life of the imagination. To Newman, as to writers during the century and a half of the English Reformation, it seems that imagination creatively replicates the senses; it is itself a sort of sixth sense, and its fictions are

Fables [and] mythical representations . . . narratives, untrue, but like the truth [Thus] details of such narratives . . . if . . . [they] did not occur, . . . ought to have occurred . . . [for] some are necessary⁴.

It also follows that theological propositions are dependent on something neither theological nor propositional: the relationship between imagination and doctrine is dynamic and temporal.

This process is its natural development, and results in a series, or rather a body of dogmatic statements, till what was at first an impression on the Imagination has become a system or creed in the Reason.⁵

On the face of it, this is rather a disquieting model for a Catholic. If neither theological intent nor reason determines the accretion of dogma,

¹ John Henry, Cardinal Newman, 'The Theory of Developments in Religious Doctrine', Sermon XIII (pp. 312-51) of *Fifteen sermons preached before The University of Oxford, between A.D. 1826 and 1843*, third ed. (London, 1872), sec. 17, p. 326.

² 'Implicit and explicit reason', Sermon XIII (pp. 251-77) of *Fifteen sermons*, p. 277.

³ 'The Theory of Developments', *Fifteen sermons*, sec. 22, p. 331; sec. 34, pp. 341-2 (Newman emphasises the first point over the second more and more, as he accepts to a greater and greater degree Rome, and the authority of Roman pronouncements).

⁴ *Ibid.*, sec. 35, pp. 342-3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, sec. 20, p. 329.

how can he think of this "natural development" as other than a function of history? The answer is the claim, of its nature wholly unempirical, that the Church is inspired by the divine Spirit, and though the process is evolutionary and consequential, the direction is authoritatively determined. The influence of the imagination over reason is redeemed because it is asserted that the imagination is inspired.

This formula is easy enough in Catholic thought, because Catholicism recognises in practice an external and collective authority, the historical and organic Church; and it is easy to imagine a parallel, higher plane of historical and organic inspiration. The Spirit is the invisible *primum mobile*, and turns the planets (Fathers, Councils, Popes, universities, bishops), whose motion we can see and whose influence we can detect. But it is not easy for an English Protestant of the sixteenth century, for he is consciously reacting against Catholic notions of authority. For him, historical development savours of corruption and accumulated human authority of paganism. Religious truth must spring directly and instantly from God's revelation. Newman's idea of imaginative development would cut across this pattern.

Francis Bacon, the central intellectual figure of this study, thinks, like Newman, that adherence to a religious proposition is swayed by perceived aptness or inaptness, more than by syllogism or observation:

the imagination [is not] simply and only a messenger; but . . . usurpeth no small authority in itself, besides the duty of the message. . . . For we see that, in matters of faith and religion, we raise imagination above our reason; which is the cause why religion sought ever access to the mind by similitudes, types, parables, visions, dreams.⁶

Once this is realised, one has, as a member of a Protestant Church still in the throes of reforming and defining itself, lost one's innocence about similitudes, types and parables. The "natural development" of dogma from image is altered by being observed; the function of the Spirit is shared by the critic who understands the influence of these fictions.

⁶ Francis Bacon, Viscount St Alban, *The Two Bookes of Francis Bacon. Of the proficience and advancement of Learning, diuine and humane. To the King* (London, 1605), edited quite badly by Spedding in the *Works*, III, 253-492, hereafter cited as *Adv.*; II, xii, 1.

Bacon's solution is to distinguish the imaginative acquisition of theological knowledge, from the inductive and empirical processes of the human arts and sciences. Newman, however, wants to bridle the creative imagination, especially within the liberal arts. I shall return to his programme at the end of Part I; it is rather like some of the Protestant projects to harness literature for the gospel described in Part III.

The reaction of the Protestant mind to such ideas is typically more uncertain, confused and tense; and although the causes of this tension are diverse and complex, deference to the Bible is the key to it. If divinity consists in draining truths from the font of the scriptural text,⁷ and if in this "we raise imagination above our reason", then we must be discreet. We cannot explicitly identify this process with the synthetic processes of composition or the analytic processes of rhetoric.

I find not any science that doth properly or fitly pertain to the imagination For as for poesy, it is rather a pleasure or play of imagination, than a work . . . thereof. . . . [and] imaginative or insinuating reason, which is the subject of rhetoric, we think it best to refer it to the arts of reason.⁸

But this is evasive. Divinity is a function of criticism for the Protestant, because theological truth is a function of the sacred text. Poetry and rhetoric are the sciences of the imagination, and while rhetoric can to some extent be commanded by reason (reason, applied to imagination, can furnish powerful language that compels belief), imagination is free.⁹ Authority is stronger in establishing belief than reason or experience, imagination is the means by which a man's belief may be manipulated by an authority,¹⁰ and the free working of the imagination in the arts must either be explicitly allied with the work of the Spirit, or pinioned.

Mere philistinism is only a small part in the classic unease of radical English Protestantism at poetry. The more profound impulse of the Protestant mind to literature is not tolerance, but a longing to control and

⁷ *Adv.*, II, xxv, 10-13.

⁸ *Ibid.*, II, xii, 1.

⁹ *Ibid.*, II, xviii, 4; *Sylva sylvarum*, x, 957 (Sp. ii, 660): the imagination is incapable of having a strong (and therefore efficacious) imagining at the behest of the will. Bacon borrows from Aristotle (*Adv.* xii, 1) a political metaphor of constitutional government to describe the command of reason over the imagination.

¹⁰ *Sylva sylvarum*, x, 946-7, 951 (Sp. ii, 656, 658).

baptise it, or to eschew it (or, often, both); for the Protestant recognises that his Protestantism is itself created by his own imagination. Naturally, he can, as Bacon does, trivialise literature, and tacitly identify it with fancy: poetry is imagining "at pleasure" a man flying, or wearing the Pope's vestments.¹¹

I can report no deficiencie [in poesy] . . . being as a plant that cometh of the lust of the earth, without a formal seed But it is not good to stay too long in the theatre.¹²

However, this is rather putting the telescope to the blind eye. The faculty employed to make and appreciate poetry is the same faculty, working in much the same way, that lets us believe the tenets of the Reformed faith. Protestant theology is a sort of poetry and a sort of criticism and, as for Newman, the influence of the imagination over reason is redeemed only because it is asserted or assumed that the imagination is inspired.

There was a Reformation in the English imagination, as well as in the English Church's dogma, government, and manners. There is a distinctively Protestant way in which the mind arranges its images after the Reformation; and English Protestantism, at its most sophisticatedly self-aware, or in moments of great polemical pressure, acknowledges the centrality of the new imagination to its defences. The two peculiarities of the English Reformation – its changefulness and factionalism, and its biblicism – which emphasise the crisis in authority, also draw attention to the *rôle* of the imagination in theological thought. This study is concerned with the frontier between English literature and Protestant theology, but the restlessness on this frontier is evidence of disorders deep within English Protestant thought.

It appeals from the tribunal of reason and learning to universality: and this is an appeal both outward, to universal human belief, and inward, to the source of such belief.

*For how can that be a false which every tong,
Of every mortall man affirmes for true;
Which truth hath in all ages bene so strong,
As lodestones-like, all hearts it ever drew.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*, x, 944 (Sp. ii, 655).

¹² *Adv.*, II, iv, 5.

For not the *Christian* nor the *Jew* alone,
 The *Persian*, nor the *Turke* acknowledge this;
 This mysterie to the wild *Indian* knowne,
 As to the *Caniball*, and *Tartar* is.

This rich *Assirian* drugges growes everywhere,
 As common in the *North*, as in the *East*,
 This doctrine doth not enter by the eare,
 But of itselſe is native to the breast.¹³

Protestantism is driven to an explicit appeal to the imagination as the final arbiter of true and false, possible and impossible; for reason can certainly be universally mistaken in a way the imagination cannot.¹⁴ However corrupt humanity is in the Calvinist scheme, the imagination must be least corrupt, and universal imagination the most trustworthy, faculty.

Nature is not vaine;
 "She covets not Impossibilities;
 "Fond thoughts may fall into some idle braine,
 "But one *Assent* of all is ever wise."¹⁵

In Thomas Beard's *The theatre of Gods iudgements*, the world of man is

nothing else but an Ocean full of hideous monsters, . . .
 or some horrible wilderneſſe wherein the inhabitants
 of earth, being ſauage and vnnaturall, void of ſence
 and reaſon, [are] transformed into bruit beaſts . . .

Yet, however devoid of sense and reason, men are just capable of the imaginative leap that lets them perceive God's "ſoueraigne empire and predominance ouer all the world."¹⁶ And divine providence is *necessarily* apparent in the world, because human beings are too corrupt to obey God, or even believe in His existence, merely through innate moral feeling, faith or hope; it is only their imaginative comprehension of His power that makes them believe and obey.¹⁷ Books like Beard's, which

¹³ NT, 1825-36. Philippe de Mornay, Seigneur de Plessie, *A Worke concerning the Trunesse of Christian Religion, written in French: Against Atheists, Epicures, Paynims*, tr. Sir Philip Sidney and Arthur Golding, third ed. (London, 1604), p. 225.

¹⁴ NT, 53-60.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1501-4.

¹⁶ Thomas Beard, *The theatre of Gods Iudgements: Or, a collection of histories out of Sacred, Ecclesiasticall, and prophane Authours, concerning the admirable Iudgements of God vpon the transgressours of his commandements* (London, 1597), sig. [A5]^r.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, sig. [A5]^v; [A7]^r; iii, p. 5; v, pp. 9-10; xxiii, pp. 143-5. On the innate atheism of man

offer pictures of invisible providence to the imagination, as in a theatre, can hope to be efficacious even in the wilderness of the human world;¹⁸ poetry like Sidney's hopes to offer pictures of unworldly perfection to "the imaginatiue and iudging powre" in much the same way.¹⁹

This "penetrating idea" affects many fields of literary study; most obviously it concerns Protestantism's notions about the imagination itself; about the dogma of Biblical inspiration, both in the text and in the process of reading it; and about literature generally. These last two are more closely related than we might assume; not only in the work of great writers, such as Bacon and Milton, who are conscious of the function of the imagination in Protestant polemic and exploit it, but in minor writers who run across the dilemmas of the Protestant imagination in various insoluble forms. For there are so many problems and contradictions involved in the new, Protestant mode of looking at things that the Protestant imagination may be described in general as paradoxical. This study is therefore largely a consideration of paradoxes, gaps, and evasions: the points where the Reformed party's system shows itself, in a literary context, unravelling; or where literary devices are employed to shore it up. So our first task is to define the party, to define what we mean by its paradoxes, and to show how these manipulate the imagination.

according to the Calvinist scheme, see below, Part II, chapter v, section (1), and Part III, chapter i.

¹⁸ Such books are very shy about having illustrations. *A christal glasse of christian reformation*, by Stephen Bateman (London, 1564), has realistic woodcuts of the vices, but only metaphorical virtues; Richard Bernard's *Contemplative pictures with wholesome precepts* (London, 1610) does not contain pictures at all: "my pictures are not Popish but sensible" (pp. 22). On this odd inhibition, Patrick Collinson, *From Iconoclasm to Iconophobia: The Cultural impact of the Second English Reformation* (Reading, 1986), pp. 22-3; *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London, 1988); see below, Part II, chapter vii, section (1).

¹⁹ Sir Philip Sidney's *An apologie for Poetrie* (London, 1595), hereafter cit. simply as *Apologie*, sig. D3^v; and *The countess of Pembroke's Arcadia The original quarto edition (1590) in photographic facsimile*, ed. H. Oskar Sommer (London, 1891), hereafter cit. merely as *Arcadia*, fol. 282^r- fol. 282^v.

(1) The parties

Beholde the daies come, I saith y^e Lord, that I will mak a newe couenant with the house of Iſraél I wil put my Law in their inwarde parts, & write it in their hearts . . .

And thei shal teach nomore euerie mā his neighbour and euerie man his brother, I sayng, knowe the Lord [*marginal gloss*: . . . vnder the kingdome of Christ there shalbe none blinded with ignorance So that it shal not seme to come so much by preaching of any ministers, as by the instruction of mine holie Spirit]: for they shal all knowe me

Jeremiah, xxxi, 31, 33-4 (GB).

Sir Keith Thomas' *Religion and the decline of magic: Studies in popular beliefs in sixteenth and seventeenth century England* is one of the vastest modern studies of the way the Reformation affected cultural life. In bringing this work to peroration, Thomas urges:

In the long run it may be that the Protestant emphasis on the single sovereignty of God, as against the Catholic concept of a graded hierarchy of spiritual powers, helped to dissolve the world of spirits by referring all supernatural acts to a single source. But if so it was a slow development.²⁰

Thomas would have us imagine generations of spiritual waifs, orphaned by the Reformers of Mother Church's magical protection, but yet more horrendously awake than ever in their imaginations to the leonine evil walking about, seeking whom it may devour.

Is this so? Such an "intolerable" situation²¹ makes Reforming enthusiasm seem rather strange. It does seem that a literate Protestant under Elizabeth and James could well feel precisely that sense of liberation so frequently claimed for him in Protestant polemic. For although he has been disabused of the Catholic claims, he has had revealed to him a mode of heavenly power as mysterious, ineluctable and efficacious as what had gone before. Even if we take Thomas' narrow focus on protection from

²⁰ *Religion and the decline of magic* (London, 1971), pp. 470-1.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 494: it is most intolerable being a Protestant when possession and exorcism comes up, but already late medieval thought internalised the spiritual and depreciated the outward magical efficacy of the Church; mass executions of suspected witches was the obvious answer, pp. 494-8. This, as is often said in criticism of Thomas, hardly accounts for the contemporary Continental witch crazes.

Satan, the Elizabethan Protestant does not think himself intolerably beleaguered by Hell. Thomas mentions a few instances of the Bible being used as talisman, though to him these appear atavistic, transferences of the methodology of Catholic magic to Protestant objects, doomed because anachronistic.²² But these may equally well be explained as popular application of the rhetoric of the Protestant hierarchs, as for instance Elizabeth's crafty Bishop of Salisbury, John Jewel, who assured his flock that the Scriptures "are salves and ointments to cure all maladies".²³

My proposition is that Protestantism brings with it a new power; and that it is reasonable – if we do wish to pursue, with Thomas, the comparisons of demotic magician and Catholic priest, Catholic priest and Protestant minister – to speak of its textual magic. Against the sacramental potency of Catholicism, with its claim to be and to be able to create Christ's Body, the Protestant writer raises up the printed text of God's Word, inspired in its nature and meant for a readership itself inspired to perfect understanding. Popular superstition about the printed volume, as recorded by Thomas, was the efflorescence of fundamental attitudes in Tudor and early Stuart Protestantism.

The dogmatic process of the English Protestant Left is essentially Newman's paradigm model of dogmatic development: "what was at first an impression on the Imagination has become a system or creed in the Reason."²⁴ Or, as Hooker says,

²² Thomas, pp. 51-2, 83, 123, 254, 590: the historiography is Whiggish: the decline of magic is a precondition of the rise of science; science must rise, *therefore* magic is doomed (p. 91):

Most historians like to believe that the tough and self-reliant men of Stuart England, the pioneers of modern science and founders of the British Empire, were too much like ourselves to be really worried [*sic*] by battles in the sky or tales of monstrous births. Yet there is no reason why we should be embarrassed when confronted by such primitive survivals . . .

Marxist historiography can also be pedestrian: Christopher Hill ('Science and magic', essay 13 of *The Collected Essays of Christopher Hill: Volume Three: People and Ideas in 17th Century England*, pp. 274-99 (London, 1986)) argues that the rise of the machine-classes created Calvinism, and caused a machine-causal turn of mind that doomed the idea of magic-causality: "Everything worked against the old ways of thought" (p. 291).

²³ *The Works*, ed. John Ayre, IV vols. (PS, 1845-50), hereafter cited as Jewel; IV, 1174. For Jewel's intellectual character: D. Featley's life (sig. 2¶1r - 2¶6v) in the Jacobean edition of Jewel's works (London, 1609); John E. Booty's *John Jewel as apologist for the Church of England* (London, 1963); the comments of Laud (for instance *Works*, VI, i, 58, in the seven volume edition by W. Scott and J. Bliss (L.A.-C.T., 1846-60) which I use throughout, and hereafter cite as Laud); C.W. Le Bas' *The life of Bishop Jewel* (London, 1835), pp. 245-319; and the Bishop of Peterborough's article in *DNB*.

²⁴ Newman, 'The Theory of Developments', *Fifteen Sermons*, sec. 20, p. 329.

by fashioning the very motions and conceits of men's minds in such sort, that . . . [the Puritans] may think that every thing soundeth towards the advancement of that discipline.²⁵

Ideas incipient in the Reformation bloomed in the radicalism of the mid-seventeenth century; and those radicals knew their ancestry. Hooker is already full of horror at the long outward journey of extremist Protestantism; and he supposes the seeds of this sort of extremism are present within all Puritans.²⁶ Lancelot Andrewes calls it the madness of the age to internalise the Spirit; "that make their breasts the sanctuary" are insanely puffed up not with spirit but with "wind".²⁷ Fulke Greville identifies the superstitious as those who "make the willfvll hearts their holy Temples"; he ascribes civil and religious calamities to this perversion.²⁸ But Milton is never more candid or serious than when he begins *Paradise Lost* by invoking the Spirit, that above all Temples prefers the breast.²⁹ Bradshaw is close to the marrow of Puritanism when he explains that each "act or habit in the mind of man are [speciall parts of the . . . figures ordained to shadowe forth . . . the Inward wor]ship of God".³⁰ Such mental acts have the same status as liturgy, and "ought euidently to be prescribed by the word of God":³¹ the same universal law of transferred Biblical inspiration levels all human artifice.

For the "single source" that Thomas argues replaced the medieval hierarchy of priests, angels and saints, was the self-conscious ego; this is the new centre. The Reformed imagination places itself at the centre of its

²⁴ Newman, 'The Theory of Developments', *Fifteen Sermons*, sec. 20, p. 329.

²⁵ Richard Hooker's *Of the lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie*, using the text by W. Speed Hill in *The Folger Library Edition of the The Works of Richard Hooker*, IV vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1977-82), hereafter cit. simply as *Lawes*; Preface, iii, 9; pp. 98-9.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, viii, 6-14.

²⁷ *Ninety-six sermons by . . . Lancelot Andrewes, sometime Lord Bishop of Winchester*, ed. J.P.W., V vols. (Oxford, 1841-74), III, 275.

²⁸ Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, 'Mvstapha' (I use the text of *The Remains: being poems of morality and religion*, ed. G.A. Wilkes (Oxford, 1963), as always hereafter, for Greville's plays and poetry), V, iii, 12.

²⁹ *Paradise Lost*, I, 17-19; I quote the text of *The poems of John Milton*, ed. John Carey and Alastair Fowler (London, 1968), hereafter cit. as *PL*.

³⁰ William Bradshaw, *English Pviritanisme: containening [sic] The maine opinions of the rigideft sort of those that are called Puritanes* (London, 1605), sig. A2^v.

³¹ *Ibid.* Cf. Milton, *Of Reformation in England and the causes that hitherto have hindered it* (London, 1641), p. 23.

own images. The human by an important synecdoche becomes associated with the faculty that perceives spiritual reality, that is, the active imagination; and the universalised human heart becomes the measure of the dogmatically viable. Don Cameron Allen is quite wrong when he says the result of the sceptical crisis of the Reformation was "the slaying of the egocentric dragon" of other-worldliness; and in "delineating the drive of positive rationalism"³² he is merely being parochial. One central philosophical consequence of the English Reformation is a greater stress on the authority of the self and its perceptions; the connection between English Puritanism and English Empiricism is not trivial.³³ As the attention of the religious imagination is transferred from the object (the Host) to the reception of the object (reading the text), it effectively finds its attention transferred to the subject. The speculative imagination speculates much more about the imagination.

This study, however, is specifically concerned with the efflorescence of Protestantism in another direction, as it concerns literature. This is a wide area, for often the connection between an idea in theology and an idea in literary thought is not a matter of overt connection, but of "the 'living idea'", the "master vision, which unconsciously supplies the mind",³⁴ "the very motions and conceits of men's minds"³⁵ – of similar images. The clothing of imagery merges the two diverse notions. The Reformed doctrine is pertinent to literature in diverse ways; even the specifically Biblical influence of the Reformation on English literature is a vast field. "There is no one aspect deep enough to exhaust the content of a real idea".³⁶ The separation of literature and theology is not hermetic in Protestantism: the Bible is the type and exemplar of all literature, in

³² *The Legend of Noah: Renaissance Rationalism in Art Science and Letters* (Urbana, Ill., 1949), pp. 22, 19.

³³ Henning, Graf Reventlow, *The Authority of the Bible and the Rise of the Modern World* [1980], tr. John Bowden (London, 1984), pp. 2-51, 123; Herschel Clay Baker, *The Dignity of Man: studies in the persistence of an idea* (Harvard, 1947), pp. 212-22; Sukanta Chaudhuri, *Infirm Glory: Shakespeare and the Renaissance Image of Man* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 18, 209-10; D.G. James, *Scepticism and Poetry: an essay on the poetic imagination* (London, 1937), p. 28; C.A. Patrides, *Milton and the Christian Tradition* (Oxford, 1966), p. 29.

³⁴ Newman, *An essay on the development of Christian doctrine*, 5th ed. (London, 1887), I, i, 4 (p. 36); 'The Theory of Development', *Fifteen sermons*, p. 322.

³⁵ Hooker, *Lawes*, Preface, III, 9; p. 99.

³⁶ Newman, *An essay*, I, i, 3; p. 35.

Protestant thought; and Protestant theology claims the text of the Bible as the ground and authority of all its propositions.³⁷ The processes of a similar hermeneutic are applicable to both, and both require the quality of inspiration in the text to be discernible.

I am not immediately concerned, therefore, with the pertinence of the Bible to Elizabethan and Jacobean literature in any of the following senses: scriptural narrative material; formal influence of Hebrew metrics or Old Testament 'epics', devotional or meditative influence of scriptural models; biblically-inspired poetry countering carnal poetry; categories of biblical symbolic hermeneutics, emblems, the formal influence of Biblical genres – nor in the sense Barbara Lewalski herself considers, of "biblical poetics".³⁸ But I do wish to trace the connection between the literary imagination and the epistemological crisis involved in the English Reformation, particularly in these areas: textual authority; the imagination's use to image forth ideas against doubt; inspiration in writing, reading and interpretation; and the 'transfer' of inspiration from one text, the Bible, to others.

Not all these different accounts of the Biblical influence on literature are necessarily in contradiction. But literary scholars do proceed from assumptions about the religious history of England under Elizabeth and James that send them off in different directions. There is perhaps no way of avoiding this dependency on the historiography of the period, and yet the religious historiography of the period is notably prone to revision.³⁹

Historiographical models necessarily modify literary studies of this

³⁷ Hooker, *Lawes*, Preface, ii, 7; Laud, *The Conference with Dr Fisher*, p. 89.

³⁸ Israel Baroway, 'The Bible as Poetry in the English Renaissance: An Introduction', *JEGP*, XXXII (1933), 447-80; "'The Lyre of David": A Further Study in Renaissance Interpretation of Biblical Form', *ELH*, VIII (1941), 119-42. Baroway's work, except as a formal study of Biblical metrics, is of interest only as a pioneering work in the topic, and as a period piece: for he is very crude - allegory is a dull scholastic device for neutralising the mystic power of Poesie; "even . . . Francis Bacon" is hoodwinked by this monkish plot, and in "his patronising treatment of poetry in *The Advancement of Learning*, . . . finds only one type worthy of serious consideration . . . allusive or parabolical poetry" (pp. 452-3). Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics and the Sixteenth-Century Religious Lyric* (Princeton, 1979), pp. 8-12. Jason P. Rosenblatt, in 'The Mosaic Voice in *Paradise Lost*', *MiltonS*, VII (1975), 207-32, makes heavy weather of the relationship between Milton and Moses, the implicit narrator of the events of Genesis.

³⁹ Cf. Christopher Haigh's survey of the field: 'The recent historiography of the English Reformation', chapter I, pp. 19-33, in his (ed.) *The English Reformation Revised* (Cambridge, 1987).

sort, and I rehearse some examples, for, of course, I cannot avoid adopting a particular historiographical model myself.

Lily Campbell's *Divine poetry and drama in sixteenth-century England* assumes an English Reformation popular, thorough, fast and Continental, which is to say Calvinistic; "divine poetry" was the enthusiastic and evangelistic overflow of the new religion into letters, and the changes in literary theory and in apologetic for literature were merely attempts to baptise literature.⁴⁰ Lewalski is more subtle about the relationship between poetry and Calvinism, but her argument still assumes a Calvinist *milieu* for all writers within the English Church: "'Anglicanism' in a normative sense did not become a reality until after the Restoration".⁴¹ This is true of the word *Anglicanism*, but not necessarily of an attitude within the English Church antagonistic to Protestant radicalism, suspicious of Continental Reformers, and positively attached to the Fathers, the medieval Church, and the Elizabethan Settlement. Such an attitude cannot be assumed to be absent from the age of Hooker and Herbert; certainly it is not a model that can be adopted on the strength of a quotation – from a footnote in a monograph on Puritan spirituality – that begins "It might even be argued . . .": yet this is Lewalski's method.⁴²

Malcolm Ross, in his study of poetry and sacramental thought, on the contrary denies the prime importance of the Reformation to English poetry. The Elizabethan and Jacobean Church continued as an unresolved amalgam of irreconcilable Protestantism and Catholicism. "Catholicism", or "sacramentalism", as a continuous, though unexpressed, current within English thought, was kept on the boil until the Restoration by the poets and mystics at Little Gidding, although it was essentially absent from the Arminian reaction and "Laud's garbled rhetorical usages".⁴³ Patrick

⁴⁰ Cambridge, 1959.

⁴¹ Lewalski, p. 13.

⁴² Lewalski says she is quoting Norman Pettit, *The Heart Prepared: Grace and Conversion in Puritan Spiritual life* (Yale, 1966), p. 5; she is actually quoting a footnoted, tentative remark Pettit himself derives from Ahlstrom, pp. 238-9. Thus Lewalski's book, the most authoritative in the field, relies on a game of amplified Chinese whispers.

⁴³ *Poetry and dogma: The Transfiguration of Eucharistic Symbols in Seventeenth-Century English Poetry* (New Brunswick, 1954), p. 63. About Laud, Ross is simply and importantly

Grant's *Images and Ideas in Literature of the English Renaissance* also detects a continuity in English literature unbroken by the Reformation. The sea-change came between Spenser's time and Bacon's, and it was to do with the transition from Augustinian to Cartesian thought. This, not the Protestant ontology, made poets stop believing in their images; and Grant agrees with Ross that seventeenth-century English poetry manages to reconcile the images of faith with the new ontology of materialism.⁴⁴

Henning Reventlow accepts a break in English civilisation and letters at the Reformation, but ascribes the break to the continuing Renaissance: the attitudes of humanism, especially towards hermeneutics, were applied, with increasing radicalism, to the reading of the Bible. This impetus continues through the internalising, spiritualising, Puritan wing of the English Reformation, to pietism, latitudinarianism, and deism, before going back to the Continent.⁴⁵ In a recent article which perhaps holds the key to future literary study of Puritanism, Patrick Collinson accepts this continuing impulse within English Protestantism: and argues that from 1580 or so it became fixed on cultural exchange. Puritanism from about that date grows hostile to songs, plays, poetry and pictures: to the image.⁴⁶ From a cultural or literary view, this second Reformation has more impact than the first.

Reventlow's and Collinson's findings may be generalised into a law about the nature of the Protestant imagination, and especially the

wrong: Laud's rhetoric about the Real Presence put him clearly to the Right of Luther: "a greater Reverence, (no doubt) is due to the Body" than to the word of God, because it is an external, objective and bodily reality; one is obliged to offer the Eucharist "external and bodily reverence" (*Conference with Dr Fisher*, pp. 286, 293-6, *Works*, V, i, 37-46); cf. *A speech delivered in the starr-chamber* (London, 1637), pp. 43, 77; xii; *Works*, V, i, 56-7; cited by William Prynne as particularly scandalous: *Canterburies doome* (London, 1646), pp. 204-5. Horton Davies, *Worship and theology in England*, V vols. (Princeton, 1961-75), III, 13; Nicholas Tyacke, *Anti-Calvinists: The Rise of English Arminianism c.1590-1640* (Oxford, 1987), p. 202. Prynne had no trouble demonstrating Laud's belief in the Real Presence for his impeachment (*Canterburies doome*, pp. 35, 202-4, 322-4, especially 203-4; *Hidden workes of darknes* (London, 1645), fol. 161^{r-v}).

⁴⁴ Patrick Grant, *Images and Ideas in Literature of the English Renaissance* (London, 1979), pp. 25-6; Ross is not cited. Grant thus seeks to identify Spenser almost entirely with the old tradition (p. 26); this seems to me to ignore the theme of the epistemological anxiety of Protestantism, which runs through *The Faerie Queene* (hereafter cit., using A.C. Hamilton's ed. (London, 1977), as *FQ*).

⁴⁵ Reventlow, pp. 60-1, 119-20, 123-5.

⁴⁶ *From Iconoclasm to Iconophobia*, pp. 22-3.

imagination's image of itself and its function. Such a generalisation is the object of this study. This project is therefore historicist: it is necessary to its methodology to consider the churchmanship of the author, or the degree to which his work is radically Protestant, before we consider its literary implications. Bacon, Greville and Jewel, for instance, appear sometimes as radicals, applying the Protestant imagination radically to diverse issues; and sometimes as moderates, trying to modify its impact. Nonetheless, naming the parties is not a trivial problem, as the central historical question remains: what were the important divisions? and why did they exist? and for whom? and when? Is Nicholas Tyacke correct in claiming that the "anti-Calvinist" Right within the English Church was an innovative reaction, and did not come into existence until James' reign?

Protestant is uncontroversial enough for the Continental Reformed Churches, but an uncomfortable word to moderate adherents of the Elizabethan Settlement, at least from the end of the century. *Sacramentary* or simply *heretick* are their opponents' words.⁴⁷ *Recusants* are only recusants after the Pope's excommunication of Elizabeth in 1570, and even then most of the Catholic-minded men of England remain *church-papists*, loyalists to Rome who conform outwardly and occasionally. *Roman Catholic* is a diplomatic invention of the pacific Jacobean régime, unwelcome to almost all sectarian positions; *Anglican*, as anything but a pedantry for *English*, is not current before 1660;⁴⁸ *Arminians* need not have read Arminius. *Puritan* is most anachronistic of all, for until the 1570s it was merely abusive, until the end of James' reign it was never used to mean *Calvinist*, and not even under Charles did it necessarily imply presbyterian leanings.⁴⁹ *Calvinist*

⁴⁷ Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici*, in the ed. by L.C. Martin (Oxford, 1964), hereafter cited as *RM*; ii, 8 (p. 8). William Chillingworth, *The religion of Protestants a Safe way to Salvation*, third ed. (London, 1664), sig. 2§3^r. John Harding, *A confutation*, iii, 5, sig. 2C2^r; Jewel, *Works* (1609), sig. C1^r. The pamphlet war between Harding and Jewel is a complicated affair: they waged two simultaneous controversies, and both repeated their book titles. A table in the primary bibliography summarises the sequence.

⁴⁸ *OED*.

⁴⁹ Bradshaw, sig. A2^v; Milton, *Of Reformation in England*, p. 11. Episcopacy was never the prime *casus belli* under Elizabeth: the radicals have other concerns, and have yet to find the English hierarchy altogether discouraging. Moderate Protestants, and particularly Hooker – as Peter Lake has argued – use the issue of episcopacy as a stalking horse for more thorough renunciation of radically Protestant religion (*Anglicans and Puritans? Presbyterianism and English Conformist Thought from Whitgift to Hooker* (London, 1988),

(although it perhaps recommends itself to the modern mind as an ideological term) is itself a difficult word to apply to Elizabethan or Jacobean Churchmen, then and now; for if it means those who took the *Institutes* seriously and respected the Geneva translation of 1560, it includes almost all non-recusants, and Calvin's *Summa* is consequently one of the most useful systematic theological sources for research such as this;⁵⁰ but if it means those who follow Calvin on Eucharistic, soteriological and ecclesiological matters, it means relatively few.⁵¹

Laud distinguishes those of the Protestant party who caused the schism with Rome (which he deplors) as "*peevish*, and *some ignorantly zealous*"; or as the "*Vnlearned . . . [whose] zeale . . . may eat out their Ignorances*", and who were thus distinct, even in "*Q. Maries dayes*", from the "*Learned Protestants*", whose orthodox shibboleth is belief in the Real Presence.⁵² Forbes of Edinburgh, one of the subtlest and most vehement of the Caroline bishops, attempts the same retrospective division between *Protestantes æquiores* – or (in a Continental context) most numerous and learned Protestants, *plurimi etiam doctissimi Protestantes* – and the others: *Protestantes Rigidores*.⁵³ Catholics and *Protestantes æquiores* concur on the grounds of belief, or at least on the way sound doctrine might be established; only the *Rigidores*, who make their own reading of the Bible the grounds of conviction, are beyond sense.⁵⁴ Both Laud and Forbes are thus trying to peripheralise the radicals as few or semi-literate or disingenuous: that is, to put them beyond the pale of argument. That is illegitimate for the historian, but their distinction

pp. 239-41, and *passim*).

⁵⁰ Laud, *The Conference with Dr Fisher*, p. 293; *Lawes*, Preface, iv, 1

⁵¹ Tyacke, pp. 7-8.

⁵² Laud, *The Conference with Dr Fisher*, pp. 135, 294. Laud's model (pp. 292-6) is of the papists, the Lutherans, "the *Calvinists*, at least they which follow *Calvine* him[self]" (p. 293), and the Church of England Elizabethan, Jacobean and Caroline, all affirming the Real Presence; although "none but the moderne and *superstitious Christians* [*Tridentine Catholics*] believe the other [*Transubstantiation*]; If they do believe it, for I, for my part, doubt they do not" (p. 294).

⁵³ William Forbes, Bishop of Edinburgh, *Considerationes modestæ et pacificæ controversiarum de justificatione, Purgatorio . . . et Eucharistia*, tr. G.H.F[orbes?], II vols. (Oxford, 1850-6), I, 170, 171, 316, 317; II, 564, 565. DNB. These *Modest and peaceful considerations*, unpublished at Forbes' death in 1636, appeared in a version edited by Timothy Sydeserf in 1658. I cite the L.A.-C.T. parallel translation edition.

⁵⁴ Forbes, I, 16-21.

is nonetheless a useful one, and I shall use throughout this study the clumsy and ugly terms *radical Protestant* and *moderate Protestant* rather than the elegant but anachronistic *Puritan* and *Anglican*. This at least emphasises the model of two impulses within English Protestantism, rather than two parties; the moderate or retrograde motion, *versus* the radical leftward motion of the *Protestantes Rigidiores*.

Both radical Protestant and Catholic impulses were active within the English Church after 1560; it was for this reason that only a very few Englishmen dropped out at either end of the spectrum, as recusants or separatists, before the 1630s. And as the Protestant or Leftward impulse became more extreme, in its disappointments, the Catholic or Rightward impulse became more conscious of itself in opposition to the radical tendency, even before finding a theologian in Hooker and a leader in Laud. Ecclesiastical divisions were important before they are overt. Amongst the Marian exiles the moderate and radical attitudes were already taking shape; and this division, mutual incomprehension, and finally, under Laud, division and rebellion, simmers along throughout our period. Between the *Precisians*, who follow the Protestant impulse with extreme and revolutionary thoroughness, and the moderates, who compromise with Catholic principles, lies the abyss. The "wonderfully expansive power and penetrating virtue of theological . . . ideas"⁵⁵ divides Englishmen more deeply, rather than less, than a study of the public history of the English Church might suggest. The natural Leftward tug of the Reformation, snagged at first on the Queen and little else, tended to spread English thought over a wider and wider spectrum; until in 1640 it became apparent how tenuous the dogmatic cohesion of England had become.

Radical English Protestantism was a tendency of mind. Its Elizabethan doctors, Cartwright and Perkins, failed to give it a final form; neither, indeed, did Calvin.⁵⁶ Elizabeth was successful in excluding it from control

⁵⁵ Newman, 'The Theory of Developments', *Fifteen sermons*, sec. 17, p. 326.

⁵⁶ "I urge my readers not to confine their mental horizons too narrowly but to strive much higher than I can lead them. . . . [for] my mind can think beyond what my tongue can utter" (Calvin on the presence of Christ in the sacrament: *Institutes of the Christian religion*, ed. John T. McNeill, tr. Ford Lewis Battles, and hereafter cit. merely as *Institutes*, II vols. (Philadelphia, 1960), IV, xvii, 7).

of the Church; the "second reformation" which thorough Protestants hoped would complete the Elizabethan Settlement, was checked by the Queen;⁵⁷ a party positively attached to the Settlement as a final form grew up in her reign, and was favoured by the first two Stuarts. Even after 1640, when it achieved power, radicalism failed to find a fixed form. But that was of its nature: radical Protestantism was not philosophical or systematic. Even a precise mind like Calvin's did not always run after final definitions, even on the Eucharist.⁵⁸ Radical English Protestantism has more to do with "a deep inner conviction and an attitude of mind," or a idiosyncratic "*mentalité*,"⁵⁹ than with any position. It was against its nature to be fixed. Milton brings this point to the surface in the 1650s, when the triumph of radical Protestantism demonstrated that no radical Protestant settlement could replace the settlement of Elizabeth I.

[For] if by the Protestant doctrine we beleeeve the scripture not for the churches saying, but for its own as the word of God, then ought we to beleeeve what in our consciences we apprehend the scripture to say, though the visible church with all her doctors gainsay⁶⁰

Covenant theology, on this view, is probably not a major facet of English Puritanism, only a branch of moral theology, however it coloured the general outlook of Separatist colonies in America. Its impulse is to mechanise the moral economy of the universe in response to the alarming inscrutability of God; and although the contractual language of (for instance) Hooper (I, 321) and William Perkins is very striking, their legalism was not the marrow of Puritan divinity ('A golden chaine: or, the description of theologie', pp. 7-118 in *The works of that famous and vvorthisie minister of Christ, in the Vniversitie of Cambridge, M.W. Perkins*, II vols. (Cambridge, 1608) – hereafter cited merely as *Works*; pp. 35-42). "The Bodie of Scripture is a doctrine sufficient to liue well" (*ibid.*, p. 7): yes; but it was for Protestantism so ontologically different from all other texts that its moral function cannot be its essence. Milton, *Of Reformation in England*, p. 23. Reventlow, pp. 105-112; Rebholz, p. 24; Leonard J. Trinterud, 'The Origins of Puritanism', *Church History*, XX (1951), 37-57.

⁵⁷ Collinson, *From Iconoclasm to Iconophobia*, pp. 1-9. William P. Haugaard, *Elizabeth and the English Reformation: The struggle for a stable settlement of religion* (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 337-41; cf. Milton, *Of Reformation in England*, pp. 9-12.

⁵⁸ Calvin, *Commentaries on the Catholic Epistles*, ed. J. Owen (Edinburgh, 1855), p. 118; *Institutes*, IV, xvii, 3; cf. *Commentaries on the book of the Prophet Isaiah*, tr. J. Owen, V vols. (Edinburgh, 1850-5), p. 112, *Institutes*, IV, xvii, 7. Laud, *The Conference with Dr Fisher*, p. 294.

⁵⁹ John Morgan, *Godly Learning: Puritan Attitudes towards Reason, Learning, and Education, 1560-1640* (Cambridge, 1986); Peter Munz, *The place of Hooker in the history of thought* (London, 1951), p. 46.

⁶⁰ 'A treatise of Civil power in Ecclesiastical causes' [1659], *Complete Prose Works of John Milton* gen. ed. Don M. Wolfe, VIII vols. (New Haven, Conn., 1953-82), hereafter cit. as DMW; VII, 248. This is sound English Calvinism, but clear contrary to Calvin: *Corpus Reformatorum (Opera Calvinii)*, xxxix, cols. 673-5, tr. Potter and Greengrass, p. 101.

Before the Civil Wars, attempts to bring the Protestant impulse to finality and settlement, which mean in essence to control the process of private Protestant reading,⁶¹ evade this point, or try to identify "our consciences", not with the imaginative process of reading, but with the authority of the Church or State.

The Elizabethan Settlement is for this reason no settlement; the controversy over further reform continues until 1660, when reaction rolls over it. I am concerned with the philosophical and rhetorical consequences of this debate. Of these by far the most important is scepticism. Philosophy is primarily concerned with epistemological issues.⁶² The most significant writers, therefore, are Bacon and Milton. Bacon writes as the Settlement definitively unravels: it becomes clear that the English Church as it stands cannot satisfy all Englishmen, or even all Protestant Englishmen; a great deal of Bacon's energy goes towards thinking of some reform that might hold it together. Milton (who has read his Bacon carefully) writes during the period of radical Protestantism's definitive failure, either to provide a thoroughly Reformed national Church, or to maintain its sectarian variety against a conservative Restoration. This study therefore hopes to explain the background to that portion of Bacon's and Milton's thought that seeks to deal with the epistemological crisis engendered by the collapse of the religious dialogue; and to offer an image of resolution.

Scepticism is the nemesis of the Reformation controversy. The most thorough sort of positive religious scepticism is atheism, and 'atheism' is of course a bogey word, one that is necessarily beyond the warm circle of writer and reader.⁶³ There are a great many books written against atheism, but they are not actually answering atheist books or addressing atheist readers.⁶⁴ Nonetheless, the real penalty threatened by the colloquy

⁶¹ *The confession of faith And Catechisms, Agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, To be part of Uniformity in Religion between the Churches of Christ in the three Kingdomes* (London, 1650), hereafter WC, xxxi, 3. William B. Hunter's Preface to 'A Treatise of Civil power', DMW, VII, 229-36.

⁶² Richard Popkin, *The History of Scepticism from Erasmus to Spinoza* (Berkeley, 1979), pp. 1-7.

⁶³ It therefore functions sometimes merely as a severe but general slur, a renunciation of any imagined cohesion with the accused (CSPD, 1598-1601, pp. 356, 547, 593; 1601-1603, p. 23).

⁶⁴ D.C. Allen, 'Ways of Dealing with Atheists', BHR, XVII (1955), 252-77.

is the provocation of increasing degrees of unbelief.

As the Protestant impulse of mind carries men further away from Catholicism, the Catholic position comes to seem not merely deplorable, but invisible, incomprehensible, a mere aberration of thought. This imaginative diversity is expressed externally as diabolism: the opposite side is not mistaken in its pursuit of truth, but in positive and deliberate untruth. The Catholics seem to the Protestants to be atheists;⁶⁵ they are not only believing superstitiously, but believing in the wrong way.⁶⁶ Papists are resolved on untruth.⁶⁷ The enormous, and self-consciously excessive, flow of polemical works fuels scepticism.⁶⁸ Writers begin to assume that "controversies are never determined".⁶⁹ Erasmus' prayers,

⁶⁵ Thomas, p. 477. Dillingham, pp. 21, 24. John Hull, *The unmasking of the politique atheist* (London, 1602). Beard, p. 143. Recusant areas of England are assumed by the government to be atheistic as well: CSPD, 1611-17, p. 465; Chillingworth, *The religion of Protestants*, sig. 2§3^{r-v}. Rogers, *The faith*, pp. 79-80. Calvin, *Commentaries on the Catholic Epistles*, tr. and ed. John Owen (Edinburgh, 1855). "There is a universal conspiracy against the truth from Cain to the Pope, and the Turke, whereof this by force, and hee by fraude, and both most wretchedlie for these 900 yeares haue de[se]parateli[e] addicted them[sel]ues to the vtter abolishing [of truth]": Niels Hemmingsen, *The faith of the Church Militant, Moste effectualie described in this exposition of the 84. Psalme*, tr. Thomas Rogers (London, 1581), sig. ¶3^v: this book is otherwise remarkable for being dedicated to two Danish coutiers called Rosenkrantz and Guilderstere.

⁶⁶ Robert Hoopes, *Right Reason in the English Renaissance* (Harvard, 1962), pp. 1-3, 7-21. *PL*, xii, 83-5. Popkin, *Scepticism*, pp. 1-5, 10-5. Cartwright maintains that authority is a bad thing even in human sciences; Hooker maintains that learning is therefore doomed if radical Protestantism wins its battle (*Lawes*, II, vii, 4).

⁶⁷ Francis Dillingham, *A Disswafive From poperie* (Cambridge, 1599), p. 21.

⁶⁸ *Adv.*, II, Epistle Dedicatory, 14; John Hull, *Saint Peters prophesie of these last daies. Discovering the iniquity of the time, and atheisme of the age* (London, 1610), sig. 3TV; Samuel Daniel's Preface to Michel Eyquem, Seigneur de Montaigne's *Essayes. . . done into English according to the last French edition by Iohn Florio* (London, 1613), hereafter cited as *Essayes*, p. 23; Martin Fotherby, Bishop of Salisbury, Epistle Dedicatory of *Fovre sermons . . . Whereunto is added, An anfwere . . . concerning the use of the Crosse in Baptisme* (London, 1608), sig. A2^{r-v}. Throughout this study, I partly rely on the still-accessible reprints of the Protestants of the first three generations of the schism – or "Fathers and early Writers of the Reformed English Church" – produced by the mid-Victorian Parker Society, as a counterblast to the Oxford Movement, at the Cambridge University Press, between 1841 and 1855 (and the permanently useful general index to the series (Cambridge, 1855) by Henry Gough. I cite the series hereafter as PS). The Society's translators and editors can be both unreliable or partial, and they are always nonchalant with the accidentals of the sixteenth and seventeenth century texts, so I usually quote from the original editions, citing both original and Parker Society pagination in the footnotes. In some cases, I use my own or other translations of Latin texts.

PS is a major achievement in Reformation scholarship, and it is a pity and a strange thing that no good modern overview of English Reformation thought on literature and inspiration has been written from these materials. There is one poor survey, Philip Edgcumbe Hughes' *Theology of the English Reformers* (London, 1965).

⁶⁹ *RM*, ii, 3 (p. 59). Potter and Greengrass, p. 105. Barnaby Rich, *Opinion deified*.

some of which are incorporated into the English *Primer*, imagine the undoing of creation:

that old confusion, which we call *Chaos*, wherein without order, without fashion, confusedly lay the discordant seeds of things But how much greater confusion is this, where there is no charity, . . . no reverence, . . . no agreement of opinions, but as it were, a misordered quire . . . !⁷⁰

Gabriel Harvey tries to laugh away Spenser's disillusionment by telling him "mens opinions and iudgements in matters of doctrine and religion" are a sort of art-form, and rightly imitate the mutability of nature.⁷¹

As Protestantism progresses, it also seems to take "pleasure in Untruthfulness".⁷² Its central ordering principle of inwardness, its "living idea",⁷³ grows until "an impression on the Imagination has become a system or creed in the Reason." But, unlike Catholicism, Protestantism does not have such a mechanism of control built into it; it is centripetal. The Protestant must in conscience acknowledge the authority of a true Church, but his conscience must detect where a true Church of God exists, and that means that the putative Church must accord with the invisible Church, which is the Church of his imagination.⁷⁴ The minds of thorough Protestants within the half-reformed Elizabethan Church seem to keep moving. Already by the 1560s the recusants can jeer at the

preface to his English edition of David Derodon's *The Arraignment and Conviction of Atheism* (London, 1679), sig. A2^r; Laud, *The Conference with Dr Fisher*, p. 267.

⁷⁰ *Private prayers put forth by authority during the reign of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. W. K. Clay (P.S., Cambridge, 1851), pp. 100-2. Montaigne uses the image of Chaos for the confusion of unreconciled contrary opinions, in antiquity and since Luther: 'An Apologie of *Raymond Sebond*', *Essayes* (hereafter cited merely as 'Apologie'), p. 202.

⁷¹ *Sir Walter Raleigh's sceptick, or speculations* (London, 1651), pp. 22-6; Hemmingsen's book against atheism virtually admits this fragmentation to be an unanswerable point for atheism (sig. G4^v-G5^r). John M. Robertson, *A short history of freethought ancient and modern*, third ed., II vols. (London, 1915), II, 10. I use the text of 'Letter iv' on I, 140-50 of *The works of Gabriel Harvey*, ed. Alexander B. Grosart, II vols. (privately pr., 1884); p. 149.

⁷² Harding, *A Reiondre to M. Iewels Replie* (Louvain, 1566), sig. 3*2^r. This book, hereafter cited as *A Reiondre* (1566) should not to be confused with *A Reoindre to M. Iewels Replie against the Sacrifice of the Masse*, which I cite as *Reiondre* (1567). Harding, *An ansuvere*, sig. A5^r, C4^r.

⁷³ *An essay*, I, i, 4 (p. 36).

⁷⁴ 'The Theory of Developments', *Fifteen sermons*, sec. 20, p. 329. John Knox, *Works*, ed. D. Laing (Edinburgh, 1846-64), II, 93-5. *Institutes*, IV, i, 8.

Elizabethan Church:

How farre the Puritanes (who haue wel nigh tried the
Quintessence of your Gospel . . .) how farre, I saie, they
are alienated, and diuided from you . . . !⁷⁵

The debate expands in scope until we have something rather like poetry: two self-contained impressions, the invisible Church of the radical Protestants, and the almost equally invisible universal Church of Catholicism, held up in rivalry to the imagination.

Show me deare Christ, thy Spouse
Sleepes she a thousand, and then peeps up one yeare?
Is she selfe truth and errs? now newe, not outworne?
Doth she, and did she, and shall she evermore
On one, on seaven, or on no hill appeare?⁷⁶

The differences in imaginative impressions become apparent under such pressure: the rival positions become more irreducible, more fideistic, and more paradoxical.

⁷⁵ Harding, *A detection*, sig. M3^r. Anabaptists, even to a Protestant, can seem to have pushed the internalising impulse of Protestantism into atheism: Guillermus Houppeladus, 'Of the immortalitie of the soul', tr. by John Jackson for his anthology, *The soule is Immortall* (London, 1611), sig. A2^v.

⁷⁶ John Donne, 'Holy Sonnets', xviii, ll. 1, 5-8; the text is that of Dame Helen Gardner's second edition of *The Divine Poems* (Oxford, 1978). The resolving couplet –

[She] is most trew, and pleasing to thee, then
When she's embrac'd and open to most men

– is classically Donne in its sly paradoxy; but also classically Catholic in its theological impulse.

(2) Partisan paradox

I can answer all the objections of Satan, and my rebellious reason, with that odde resolution I learned of *Tertullian*,
Certum est quia impossibile est.

Sir Thomas Browne, *RM*, i, 9 (p. 9).⁷⁷

A system of belief that begins by asserting paradoxes amongst its fundamental propositions colours the whole structure of its thought by that beginning. Mere Theism is usually held to involve some radical paradoxes; the notion of the conjunction between divine and human through the Incarnation clearly involves systematic Christian thought in paradox building.⁷⁸ Hobbes' jibe that *Christian religion was once a Paradox*⁷⁹ – and thus, by implication, still is – works not merely as a jibe; for there is in fact a disturbing continuum in apologetics that exploits Christianity's paradoxical nature. Pauline thought emphasises the paradoxes of the Crucifixion against the predilections of human reason – "we preache Christ crucified: vnto the Iewes, euen a stombling blocke, & vnto the Grecians, foolishnes"⁸⁰ – and Protestantism can therefore utilise Pauline rhetoric against Catholic learning. There was a fecund English Reformation tradition of lists of Christian paradoxes, mock catechisms of triumphant processions of oxymorons, defying the reason to comprehend faith;⁸¹ the most famous of these lists was long attributed to Bacon.⁸²

⁷⁷ *RM*, i, 9.

In Christian thought, a mystery is a revealed truth not only inaccessible to human reason, but incomprehensible to it even when it has been revealed. To accept it requires one act of faith; but to think about it requires a second, for it cannot be considered by the reason alone; the imagination has to offer us an image to which we remain faithful. A formulation of a dogmatic mystery in words is likely to be a paradoxical statement: that is, a statement not meaningful by common standards, because logically neither true nor untrue. But paradoxical statements, if not a problem in theological system-building, are a decided weakness in polemics. Catholicism can appeal from logic to the authority of the Church, and the claim continues to be made by Catholics and by moderate adherents of the Reformation that the *diktats* of the Church supplement but do not contradict reason.⁸³ But thorough Protestantism relies on *sola scriptura* as its authority; the claim of Protestant apologetic is that all authoritative doctrines rest explicitly on a point or points in the Biblical text, and that, conversely, every passage of Scripture is transparent to candid reading, or at least to scholarship, or failing that to the 'analogy of faith', whereby every passage of the Bible interprets every other. The Bible and the canon of Reformed dogma are finite and definable sets, and every item in each set is overtly connected with the other.⁸⁴

Some Christian paradoxes, including those dogmatically involved with the Nativity and Crucifixion, rather lend themselves to rhetorical

Bacon's in the posthumous *Remains* of 1648 (Sp. VII, 292-7).

⁸³ Hooker, *Laws*, Preface, iii, 8, (11); iv; II, iv, 2, 5, 8-10, and particularly 6.

⁸⁴ This strange claim to reducibility is central to the Protestant case: it is made by Calvin (*Institutes*, I, vii, 5) and Milton (the Bible is "plane and easie to the poorest", *De Doctrina Christiana*, in the text of Don M. Wolfe's *Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, vol. XVI, hereafter cited as *Doct. Chr.*, I, xxx (p. 259)). Also: Whitaker, *Disputation*, 403-10, 445-6; Broughton, *An advertisement*, sig. O2^r; Rogers, *The faith*, pp. 35-6; W.B. and E.P., *A helpe to discovse* (London, 1619), sig. B2^r; Alexander Nowell's important semi-official (Hauggaard, pp. 277-80) *A catechism written in Latin*, tr. Thomas Norton, ed. G.E. Corrie (Cambridge, 1853), p. 117. "Nothing will be hid from him who asketh with meekness Evident will be those secret mysteries [of the text] unto him . . .": John Bale, 'The image of both churches', in *Select works*, ed. Henry Christmas (PS: Cambridge, 1849), pp. 260-1; all men can (in principle) be perfect exegetes: Miles Smith's Preface to Gervase Babington, Bishop of Worcester, *Certaine Plaine... Notes on Genesis* (London, 1596), sig. A2^r. Martin and Fulke find no common ground on this matter: Gregory Martin, *A discoverie of thew manifold corruptions of the holy scriptures . . . in their English Bibles used and authorised since the time of the Schisme* (Rheims, 1582), xiv; Fulke, *A Defence*, p. 37. See Booty, p. 145, and Frye, pp. 220-1.

exploitation, partly because of their pathetic value; others do not. Rosalie Colie observes that

part of the difficulty with *Paradise Lost* lies in the paradoxical nature of Christian doctrine. . . . [specifically in] an orthodox paradox which Milton himself conspicuously fell away from, . . . a Trinity which is One.⁸⁵

Such paradoxes as the Trinity are perennial in the exposition of Christian doctrine. But there are, despite what Colie concludes, specifically Renaissance paradoxes, generated by the schism in Christendom, and central to the English Reformation debate. Distinguishing these two classes is a difficult, though an important, matter. Thus, while it is an ancient Christian notion that God, being inscrutable and ineffable, is properly to be described only in negative terms,⁸⁶ Protestantism, with its stress on the unique and sovereign distance of God from creation, intensifies this notion:

the right way to conceive of God, is not to conceive any forme: but to conceive in mind his properties and proper effects.⁸⁷

Yet this in itself is not a bar even to positive apologetics.

Two elements are new to the Christian imagination after the Reformation. One is the division itself: the problem is rival paradoxical systems, in which competing theologies hurl contradictory mysteries at

⁸⁵ Colie, p. 169. That the text is a "verbal icon", as much as the icon is a pictorial text, and that both may be venerated as prototypes of the divine reality, is Catholic doctrine. It was proclaimed at the seventh Œcumenical Council, which met in the days of Byzantium's iconoclastic troubles (Hubert Cuncliffe-Jones and Benjamin Drewery (eds.), *A history of Christian doctrine* (Edinburgh, 1978), pp. 197-8). The Council was rejected by the Reformers, who sometimes identified themselves with the Byzantine iconoclasts (pp. 191-200): *Institutes*, I, xi, 14-16. Peter Brown, 'A Dark Age Crisis: Aspects of the Iconoclastic Controversy', *EHR*, LXXXVIII (1973), p. 7. Hutchinson, 'An image of bothe Churches', pp. 1-9.

⁸⁶ Colie, pp. 145-7. The Westminster Confession (hereafter WC, iii, 1, p. 7) stresses the negative doctrines of God above the positive:

God . . . is infinite in being and Perfection, a most pure Spirit, invifible, without body, parts, or paffions, immutable, immenfe, eternall, incomprehenfible, Almighty, most wife, most Holy, most free, most abfolute, working all things according to the Counfel of his own immutable and most righteous will for his own glory.

Montaigne argues that truth, puissance, justice, fear, anger, love, temperance, fortitude cannot pertain to God: "it onely belongs to God to know himfelfe" ('Apologie', pp. 200-1).

⁸⁷ Perkins, *Works*, I, 670.

each other. If reason cannot comprehend the paradox, how can one choose on any grounds between paradoxes? Unspeakable paradoxes, universally acknowledged, are viable enough before the Reformation as informing mysteries, but they become in the times of religious controversy a matter of scandal. Catholicism is driven to "more ample and full declaration of the truth . . . by heretickes".⁸⁸ Before the Reformation, while transubstantiation must "seem (as it appeareth to the unlearned) quite contrary",⁸⁹ learning props it up, but afterward, the ineffability of paradoxical propositions becomes difficult to maintain, with the authority of religious concord gone.

The second change is Protestantism's inhibition on infringing the divine inscrutability: unknowability is of God's essence, and therefore an infringement of fidelity. Protestant imagination censors itself when it approaches its central idea; it is meant to dwell on the level of the spirit, but to imagine "a spirit with an image . . . [is] an absurdity and an indecent thing"⁹⁰ – the stress perhaps being on the indecency more than the absurdity. God is thus curiously discarnate. Reformed thought shies away from one obvious imaginative impact of the doctrine of the Incarnation:

the forms in which the Sonne and the holy Ghost haue appeared, were not their Images, but onely sensible signes and pledges of their presence⁹¹,

where "signes and pledges" recalls typical Protestant language about God's presence in the Eucharist – the language of synecdoche,⁹² used in overt contradiction of the Catholic language of substance. The Christian revelation is not Jesus, but the Old and New Testaments; the Son is sent only "in the similitude of sinful flesh".⁹³ God's presence is not focussed on "any particular thing, or any particular place",⁹⁴ not even in the figure of Jesus.⁹⁵ It can only be focussed on a point by a dangerous turn of

⁸⁸ Harding, *An ansvvere*, sig. Q8^v. Jewel, I, 457.

⁸⁹ Harding, *An ansvvere*, sig. Q8^v.

⁹⁰ John Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, *A declaration of the X holie commandments* (1549, rev. 1588); I use the ed. in the *PS Works*, hereafter merely cited as Hooper, I, 317.

⁹¹ Perkins, 'The idolatrie of the last times', I, 657-701 of the *Works*; p. 660.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 661; Hughes, *Theology of the English Reformers*, pp. 123-4.

⁹³ Romans, viii, 3 (GB).

⁹⁴ Perkins, 'The idolatrie', *Works*, I, 661-2.

rhetoric: "by a figure of *Synecdoche* . . . God taketh away all circumstance of place on earth".⁹⁶

Both sides speak of the reception of symbols and sacraments as reading;⁹⁷ of hearing Scripture as digestion.⁹⁸ To that extent the rival mysteries are symmetrical. But the paradoxical nature of the Protestant mystery, that is of its central doctrines of speaking text and double predestination, imply for Protestants an imperative not to try to imagine the mystery.

So foone as the mind formes vnto it felfe any forme of
God . . . an idoll is fet vp in the mind.⁹⁹

Paradox in Protestant dogma implies a positive prohibition, not only on the action of the sceptical reason, but also on the action of the imagination:

a man muſt not conceiue a thought in his minde,
vnleſſe he haue counſell & warrant from the word of
God¹⁰⁰

This is the principle "For the reformatiō of our thoughts", that is, for the formation anew of the Protestant's imagination.

The Catholic mystery of transubstantiation describes a putative physical event, different in kind and causality from all other physical events, but still imaginable.¹⁰¹ The penumbra of semi-licit legends about

⁹⁵ Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London, *The works*, ed. Henry Christopher (PS, Cambridge, 1843), p. 91. Perkins, *Works*, I, 660.

⁹⁶ Perkins, *Works*, I, 662.

⁹⁷ Gardiner, Letter to Ridley, *Ridley*, p. 499; Perkins, *Works*, I, 72. John Calhill, *An answer to John Martiall's Treatise of the Cross.*, ed. Richard Gibbings (PS, Cambridge, 1846), p. 37. John Daye, Prefatory Epistle to Grindal, p. 3; 'The Image of God, or Layman's Book', pp. xi-208, by the Marian martyr Roger Hutchinson. I cite the PS edition of *The Works of Roger Huchinson*, ed. John Bruce (Cambridge, 1842); but have compared the 1560 text of *The Image of God, or laie mans boke* with Daye's significantly emended (and watered-down) ed. of 1580, which Bruce follows.

⁹⁸ Collect for the Second Sunday in Advent; I use the text of *The Book of Common Prayer 1559: The Elizabethan Prayer Book*, ed. John E. Booty (Charlotteville, 1976); *Reasons of refusal of subscription to the book of Common praier . . . with an msverre [sic] . . . by Thomas Hutton*, II vols. (Oxford, 1605, and London, 1606), I, 27-8; Cranmer, *Works*, I, 41-2; Whitaker, *Disputation*, p. 467, quoting Augustine or pseudo-Augustine; Harding, *An answere*, sig. Q8^v; Cranmer, *Works*, I, 207-10; Latimer, *Works*, I, 458-9. Hughes, pp. 199, 209-10.

⁹⁹ Perkins, *Works*, I, 671.

¹⁰⁰ Perkins, 'A treatise of mans imaginations' (1609), in *Works*, II, 545.

¹⁰¹ Laud, *The Conference with Dr Fisher*, p. 287; Harding, *An answere*, sig. Q8^v, R1^v-R2^r, S3^v-S8^r; Jewel, I, 455, 460.

bleeding hosts demonstrates the imaginative vitality of transubstantiation. Protestantism's predestination, on the contrary, accounts for all human volition in terms of a single, pre-temporal volition of God's. Protestantism's doctrine of the inspired text posits a reality within the text that is not merely the words; an indisputable truth within the text that only the elect can see. Protestantism's redemption is an eternal and infinite event, of which the visible event on Calvary was only a shadow or sign (and therefore the crucifix, the mnemonic of that event, is proscribed).¹⁰² These are mysteries that are not only impenetrable by simple reason: they are unimaginable. The mind of man prefers reason to the unreasonable paradoxes of God even when he has heard them propounded, for "the most secret judgements of God, sound very hard and harsh".¹⁰³ Protestantism therefore imposes a certain imaginative anguish and restraint: a set of strong and unconsidered mental inhibitions, or indeed phobias. Idolatry can be committed even within the skull, and idolatry is probably the worst and most subtle of sins: "[some false opinions conceiued of Christ, . . .] straight turne him into an Idoll."¹⁰⁴ There are no true religious images: they are always "but an ethnick verity".¹⁰⁵ The prelapsarian mind is lost to us, according to Bacon, because it is now corrupted by the idols of the mind, and the prime task of the new learning must be to remove the idols.¹⁰⁶ Protestant imagination maintains its

¹⁰² Cf. Bacon, 'A Confession of Faith', p. 219, in the text (Sp., VII, 217-26, which follows Harleian MSS. 1893, fol. 1, rather than Rawley's editing in the *Resuscitatio*):

before him with whom all things are present, the Lamb of God was slain before all worlds; without which . . . it was impossible for him to have descended to any work of creation

This work is hereafter cited as 'Confession'. See below, chapter ii, section (2). Latimer, *Works*, I, 74, 378; Cranmer, *Works*, II, 138; Broughton, *An advertisement*, sig. O2^r-v; Carlile, *A discourse*, sig. C2^r. Forbes refutes this doctrine, and shows why it is typical of radical Protestantism: II, 314-5, 324-5.

¹⁰³ 'Pan, or Nature', the sixth allegory of Bacon's *The wisdome of the ancients*, tr. Sir Arthur Gorges (London, 1619), sig. A6^r-v.

¹⁰⁴ Hooper, 'A declaration', *Works*, I, 320; *Correspondence of Matthew Parker, D.D. Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. John Bruce and Thomas Thomason Perowne (PS, Cambridge, 1853), pp. 79-95. This letter is probably not the Primate's (Haugaard, p. 190); Perkins, 'The idolatrie', *Works*, I, 659. The Westminster Confession forbade "the making of any representation of God . . . inwardly in our minde": WC, p. 108.

¹⁰⁵ Hooper, 'A declaration', *Works*, I, 320. Carr, the PS editor, has emended "verity" to "vanity" in his edition: which he ought not to have done.

¹⁰⁶ Sp. IV, 20, 26, 247. Mary Hesse, 'Francis Bacon's philosophy of science', *Essential Articles for the study of Francis Bacon*, ed. Brian William Vickers (Hamden Press, Conn.,

integrity by these repulsions; and it is appalled by the absence of such discipline in the Catholic imagination.

Protestant authors as disparate in opinion as Cranmer, Foxe, and Browne,¹⁰⁷ accept that Catholicism stands or falls upon its basis of the Real Presence. But such a doctrine must stand outside the usual range of propositions. Transubstantiation is "not to be tried by rules of nature . . . as it may be shewed by no examples in nature".¹⁰⁸ The Catholic imagination, and Catholic apologetic, is also avowedly paradoxical: Christ's presence in the Mass occurs "inuisibly, vn[spe]akably, miraculou[sely], [supernaturally[,] [spiritually, diuinely, and by waye to him onely knowen."¹⁰⁹ The most prominent Catholic doctor of the age, Bellarmine, confesses that

the Conuerſion of the Bread and Wine into the Body and the Blood . . . is ſubſtantiall, but after a ſecret and ineffable manner [*ſed arcanum & ineffabilem*], and not like in all things to any naturall Conuerſion whatſoever.¹¹⁰

It occurs "in ſuch a maner . . . farre paſſing all mannes capacities to comprehend the maner how";¹¹¹ it stands alone.

Double predestination is likewise in Protestantism "the great mystery . . . to which all others return";¹¹² the "high Myſtery . . . to be handled with ſpeciall prudence and care";¹¹³ it is like the peace of God and paſſeth understanding. Catholics calls it Protestantism's own master-lie;¹¹⁴ Browne is not showing the truly Protestant imagination when he avoids paradox in theology, suggesting or hoping that there may be a simple

1968), pp. 114-39.

¹⁰⁷ All ". . . beads, pilgrimages, and such other like popery . . . [are] but branches and leaves . . . but the very body of the tree . . . is the popish doctrine . . . of the real presence", *An answer unto a crafty and sophisticated cavillation* . . . (London, 1531); 'Defence', in *Works*, II, 289; PS I, 6; very roughly quoted (perhaps from memory?) by Ross, p. 56. Transubstantiation makes all the Catholic miracles possible: *RM*, i, 27. The "monstrous paradox of transubstantiation" is Catholicism's "master-lie of all lies": Foxe, III, 394.

¹⁰⁸ Harding, quoted in Jewel, I, 502, 504

¹⁰⁹ Harding, *An answere*, sig. Q8^v, R1^v-R2^r, S3^v-S8^r; Jewel, I, 455, 460.

¹¹⁰ Translated and cited as a paradox (meaning an oxymoron) by Laud, *The Conference with Dr Fisher*, p. 287.

¹¹¹ Harding, *An answere*, sig. Q8^v. Jewel, I, 455.

¹¹² Bacon, 'Confession', Sp. VII, 220.

¹¹³ WC, iii, 8; p. 11.

¹¹⁴ Harding, *A confutation*, sig. 3H2^{r-v}; Jewel, IV, 755, 761.

religious truth beneath all the paradoxical formulations of theology.¹¹⁵ The God of radical Protestantism is perverse to the marrow, and divinity is never closer to the nature of God than when it outrages reason.¹¹⁶ But predestination and Bible-reading rest on the same image of the encompassing and autocratic God.

Most of the paradoxes of the Reformation debate can be reduced to paradoxes of epistemology. Can the catholic, which is to say ubiquitous, opinion of Latin Europe for a millennium be wrong? Can dogmatic truth be something that "Sleepes . . . a thousand, and then peeps up one yeare?" Milton, in so many words, maintains it can; but this immediately involves him in paradoxical expressions: it is impossible to conclude on the truth when Protestants argue amongst themselves; only the papist can be a heretic – "he the only heretic, who counts all heretics but himself."¹¹⁷ But this is to abandon any hope of a religious settlement. Can, on the other hand, the truths be wrong that seem certain to the individual's conscience when he reads the text of God's Word? Yes, argues Hooker, for radical Protestant belief is like the Pythagoreans' doctrine that numbers are the ground of being – "a thing in reason impossible; which notwithstanding, through their misfashioned precurement", seemed certain.¹¹⁸ Milton's epistemology abolishes all possible authoritative religious knowledge, and resolves all Protestant consciences into monads; Hooker's voids all possibility of debate with the radical mind.

Protestant imagination is essentially anxious not about learning, but about the elaboration of human learning in words. However much it urges "the foolishnes of God [which] is wiser thê men"¹¹⁹ against the elaborate system of Catholicism, it is not wary about learning as much as about the expression of the power of the human mind in powerful and compelling words. Protestantism desires to preach its gospel over the head of words, which are so corrupt they are themselves an argument for

¹¹⁵ "In Philosophy, where truth seemes double-faced, there is no man more paradoxicall then my self; but in Divinity I love to keepe the road" (*RM*, i, 6; p. 7). Lewalski, pp. 214-7.

¹¹⁶ Perkins, *Works*, I, 670: "the right way to conceive of God, is not to conceive any forme".

¹¹⁷ 'A treatise of Civil power in Ecclesiastical causes' [1659], *DMW*, VII, 248-9.

¹¹⁸ *Lawes*, Preface, III, 9; p. 99.

¹¹⁹ I Corinthians, i, 25 (GB).

atheism,¹²⁰ to a firmer faculty for assent within man. It preaches, as Paul says, "not with wiſdome of wordes";¹²¹ this phrase the Geneva Bible marginal gloss expands "As rhetoricke or arte oratorie", and the marginal notes caution the reader against attributing "vnto eloquence, [that] w^c onely belonged to the power of God" – that is, salvation. For "this myſtery of Chriſt,"¹²² salvation, is as mysterious in its process from text to heart as transubstantiation. It is not the words that are miraculous: this is repeated so often in Protestant pamphleteering that it becomes a *cliché*.

The more figurative ſpeech aboundeth . . . the more let [the faithful beleever] confer it with other ſcriptures without all hornied colours of rhetoric or of crafted philoſophy¹²³

In the Reformed tradition it becomes rather an obsession: "there hath not bin a more diueliſhe deuce than theſe allegories, which ſtill delight many men."¹²⁴ It is the mysteriously transformed words. Grace is within the words, which are its vessel.

For this reason there is a profound ambivalence in Protestant thought about rhetorical and poetic analysis of the Bible. The theory of verbal inspiration requires reverence and admiration for the verbal form of the Bible, in its rhetorical intricacies and in its poetic flights: "euery Rhetoricall figure", and "euen the forme of theſe *Poems*", should "be conſidered . . . as if ſome ſacred myſtery were included therein."¹²⁵ But, paradoxically, rhetoric is to be unfavourably contrasted, not with verbal

¹²⁰ "The Atheiſts . . . dreame the World to [be] eternall, and conceiue that all men could not be of one, because of thi diuerſitie of Languages", Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (London, 1626), I, ix, 38.

¹²¹ I Corinthians, i, 17, 7 (GB gloss).

¹²² Gloss on v. 7 (GB).

¹²³ Bale, 'The Image', *Works*, p. 261.

¹²⁴ *Sermons of M. Iohn Caluine vpon the Epiſtle of Saincte Paule to the Galathians*, tr. Arthur Golding (London, 1574), fol. 216^v; cit. Patrides, *Milton and the Christian tradition*, p. 26. James Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, *The works*, ed. James Scholefield (PS, Cambridge, 1852), p. 286-7. Jewel, I, 448-9; II, 1102. *Institutes*, III, v. Perkins, *Works*, I, 650-62. An instinctive distinction between naked and unchained fiction on the one hand, and explicitly dependent allegory on the other, is typical of radical Protestantism long after our period. The protocols of one Victorian evangelical movement prescribe: "No fiction. . . . That which would come under the description of ordinary parables, visions, and analogies will be permitted." Robert Sandall *et al*, *The History of the Salvation Army*, VI vols. (New York, 1947-73), II (1950), 324-6.

¹²⁵ *A preparation to The Pfalter: by Geo: Wythe^R* ([London], 1619), x, 2; p. 75: I include the pagination of the accessible Spencer Society reprint of 1884. Cf. Bale, *Image*, p. 261.

literalism, but with the inward interpretation of the Spirit. The affective power within the Biblical text comes not from its linguistic craftsmanship, but from its inspiration; and though its literary magnificence, "the majesty of the Stile, . . . the many other incomparable Excellencies, and the intire perfection thereof", are in itself enough to prove it the word of God, our will is too corrupt to respond to our literary taste – the mystery of the Spirit's presence within the text gives it its authority, and only the Spirit's "inward work" gives its readers "full perfwajion and assurance of the infallible truth, and Divine authority thereof".¹²⁶

This distinction can be forced to the point of extreme silliness. Praising the poetic excellence of the sacred writings is a staple of Protestant commentary; but categorising the Book of Job as a "Hebrew Tragi-Comedy" is the mark of outrageous error;¹²⁷ and the worst thing Broughton can think of to say about one translation of that book is that it was done by a poet.¹²⁸ The Edwardian metrical version of *The canticles or Balades of Salomon*, while it eulogises the Song of Songs as literature, insists on differentiating "the song and the texte".¹²⁹ Preaching the Bible is the ordinary means of salvation, but preaching it without sound doctrinal exegesis is "no better then playing vpon a Stage".¹³⁰

Protestantism existed through the promulgation of the word, the ostentatiously direct and simple word, in preaching and in reading. Bishop Gardiner was not sure, if the Church were to be given an exclusive choice between the use of visual and verbal media, which it should choose:¹³¹ that is enough to mark his mind as Catholic. Reformation Christianity

¹²⁶ WC, i, 5 (pp. 4-5).

¹²⁷ Whitaker (*Disputation*, p. 33) accuses Anabaptists and Rabbis of this classification.

¹²⁸ Broughton, *An advertisement*, sig. G2^r.

¹²⁹ *The canticles or Balades of Salomon, phrafelyke declared in Englysh Metres*, by William Baldwin (London, 1549), sig. [A1]^v. The Song of Songs was controversial among Protestants in the 1540s because of Calvin's debate with Castellio ("simply a lascivious or obscene song"). Calvin succeeded in closing the question, which Luther had opened, of the Biblical canon, at least among his English followers: so that in the debate over poetry, Englishmen of all parties had to contend with the indubitable inclusion of an erotic poem in the Word. *Corpus Reformatorum (Opera Calvini)*, xxxix, cols. 673-5 (Potter and Greengrass, pp. 100-1); WC, i, 2, 4, 7; W. G. Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 14th ed., rev. from Paul Feire and Johannes Bohin's ed., tr. author and A.J. Mattill, Jr. (London, 1966), pp. 351-2, 354-5; Reventlow, pp. 70-2.

¹³⁰ Fotherby, *Fovre sermons*, sig. G1^r.

¹³¹ Gardiner, Letter to Ridley, in *The works*, p. 499.

depended upon the apparent simplicity and immediacy of the word against the complexity and *stasis* of vision. Hearing is morally better than seeing.¹³² The theory and practice of sophisticated language – rhetoric, poetry, explicit paradox – can be seen as types of all hypocritical sin, the desire to whitewash the outer form and disguise the reality within, the desire to evade the inwardness of Protestant revelation. But worse still, they signify the tendency to make or perceive language as a medium complex and intractable as visual images.¹³³

Cleanliness is what makes Protestantism so attractive to the imagination. Its inward images of the universe present themselves simpler and less layered than Catholicism's. The peeling-away of excrescence in liturgy, dogma and Church government is the type of a deeper cleansing of the imagination. That is why Bacon's epistemology of science is so optimistic: once the idols of the mind are scrubbed away, the human mind can come across pure, unmediated truth in the book of Nature.¹³⁴ The senses in the 'New Atlantis' are extended without let to perceive all things in the material universe.¹³⁵ The number of an object's properties is finite and can be listed. Beneath the excrescence of a thing's accidents lies its experimentally determinable form.¹³⁶ Raleigh's sceptical pessimism about perceptual imagination ("what [things] . . . are in their own nature . . . I cannot tell")¹³⁷ is merely the disappointed converse of Bacon's progressivism. Raleigh's hope is that the individual mind should be able to reach the essence of objects; but because he cannot conceive of any way of correcting the imagination's impression of reality, he is lost in (rather muddle-headed) *aporia* about the nature of the world – not only

¹³² Collinson, *Iconoclasm*, p. 27; "hearing aboue all our fiue naturall wittes . . . is allone nedfull to [a]luation", Claude Paradin, Preface to Bernard Salomon's *The true and lyuely historyke pvtreatures of the vvoll bible* (Lyons, 1553), sig. A2^v; Cranmer, *Works*, I, 41-2, quoted by Hughes, p. 199. John Weemes, *The portraiture of the image of God in Man* (London, 1636), sig. 2D7^r. On seventeenth century morality and the faculties, see Roland Barthes, 'Loyola', pp. 38-75 of *Sade Fourier Loyola*, tr. Richard Miller (London, 1977), pp. 65-6, who however is not much concerned with Protestantism.

¹³³ For the subsequent history of this dislike, see N.H. Keeble, *The Literary Culture of Nonconformity in Later Seventeenth-Century England* (Leicester, 1987), pp. 240-4.

¹³⁴ Sp. IV, 20, 26, 247. Cf. *RM*, ii, 2 (p. 2).

¹³⁵ Raleigh in his pessimism can conceive of other qualities which man lacks senses to detect (*Raleigh's sceptick, or speculations*, p. 29).

¹³⁶ Hesse, pp. 3-10.

¹³⁷ *Raleigh's sceptick, or speculations*, p. 12.

its sensible data, but dogma as well. This argument seems less bizarre if we realise how firmly the Protestant imagination expects direct contact between its own inward essence and the centre of things.

[For] the truth of being and the truth of knowing are one, differing no more than the direct beam and the beam reflected.¹³⁸

This beam is identified with the divine stream of light into the mind of the believer, of which the type is Saul's lightning bolt outside Damascus. It passes through the text of the Bible like

the purest sort of Lightning. . . . that passeth through a purse, which is a *porouse* body, and there meltis the Coyne, without leauing any impression or signe upon the leather¹³⁹

The Protestant soul's unmediated contact with God through reading the Bible, and through infusion of the Spirit, is presumed as the ideal for all perception. Nature is God's second book, second in explicit revelation only to the Bible itself. There is no third book; the Bible, and the world unmediated by human authority, are enough to show us all we can ever know of God.¹⁴⁰ Human experience of nature is expected to be explicable. Thomas Beard, who thinks to make a science of circumstance, is not so distant from the impulse of Bacon's new organon: the action of God's providence is so clear to the inspired eye of the elect that they can observe its action – "a straight and direct motion, as well the generall as the particular" – and generalise it into a sort of science.¹⁴¹ Fortune is as in principle determinable and demonstrable as canon law in the old dispensation.¹⁴²

Protestant paradox is most convoluted when it attacks paradox in the name of imaginative cleanliness, and on the grounds that universal

¹³⁸ *Adv.*, I, iv, 8.

¹³⁹ Wither, *A preparation*, x, 2, reading *purse* for *purse*.

¹⁴⁰ The human soul, "by the Word [the Bible], may behold the word [Nature]"; any third way, such as cumulative human learning, or pictures, are merely our own devilish devices: Calphill, *An answer*, pp. 46-7. Cf. *RM*, ii, 2 (p. 2).

¹⁴¹ Beard, sig. [A5]r.

¹⁴² Cf. Reventlow's comments on the mechanisation of divine providence in covenant theology, pp. 120-4; J.A. McKenzie, 'The Covenant Theology: A review article', *JPH*, XLIV, 198-206.

truths must be universally acknowledged, and therefore clear. Protestant poetry abuses poetry with great passion. Protestant rhetoric has a streak of antagonism towards rhetoric. Those to whom Spenser declares that he has to apologise for the "continued Allegory or darke conceit" of *The Faerie Queene*, who "had rather haue good discipline deliuered plainly in way of precepts",¹⁴³ and those to whom a minor poet such as William Baldwin has to apologise for his own "dark conceit",¹⁴⁴ are not the peripheral, cloddish philistines, but those in the mainstream of the Protestant imagination and conscience. Protestant imagination pictures itself as full of a strong bright light from above, a divine Promethean fire. Throughout this study we shall come across the ambivalent impulses within Protestant thought: to harness the devices of linguistic sophistication to the cause of the gospel, if only to make them safe; or to abolish them altogether. The second possibility is real because the Protestant thinks of the world as contained wholly within the divine volition; and of his soul as directly connected through grace with the divine viewpoint. Language's gaudy aids should not be necessary.

We needn't take abuse of linguistic sophistication too seriously, or too theoretically. The visceral anxiety of Protestantism over rhetoric blurs into the merely universal, hackneyed rhetorical abuse of rhetoric.¹⁴⁵ To allege that some bout of the Reformation debate is 'rhetoric' is to allege that it is trivial. Trent laments that Christ's words "should be wrested by certain contentious . . . men to fictitious and imaginary Tropes". Protestant apologetic is nothing but "Grammar, Sophistrie, Logique, & Rhetorique".¹⁴⁶ Equally, the Protestant aversion to poetry partakes of a general tradition of abuse against "vgly periwiggs of ob|ceane and shallow Poetry".¹⁴⁷ But sometimes this antipathy is a matter of "the very motions and conceits of men's minds",¹⁴⁸ that is, of fundamental sectarian imagination, as with this attack by Thomas Cartwright, on

¹⁴³ Edmund Spenser, 'Letter to Raleigh', *FQ*, p. 737.

¹⁴⁴ *The canticles or Balades of Salomon*, sig. [A1]^v.

¹⁴⁵ Brian Vickers' *In defence of rhetoric* (Oxford, 1988). Cf. Greville, 'Human Learning', st. 107-15, for comparably passionate, but unsectarian, abuse of rhetoric, which follows the pattern constant from Plato's *Gorgias* (464b-465d).

¹⁴⁶ Trent, Session XIII, 1; p. 49; Harding, *A reioindre* (1566) sig. 2D3^r, sig. 3*2^v-3*3^r.

¹⁴⁷ Robert Anton, *The Philosophers Satyrs* (London, 1616), sig. B1^r.

¹⁴⁸ *Lawes*, Preface, iii, 9.

the Sermons of manie nowe a dayes who in ſtead of
the pure word of God, doe moſt curiouſlie bring into
the pulpitt, *Poetts, Philoſophers, Rhetoricians,*
Phifitians, Schoolemen, and whatſouer¹⁴⁹

It is not merely that these "hugie emboſſements of ſtuffed bumbaſing" are an unfit form for the declaration of the Protestant gospel; they threaten its substance. "Will you bring vs to Atheiſme . . . ?" he demands of Hooker, for the synthesis of the mystery of the Biblical text, "in England . . . publiſhed . . . euen now theſe 40. yeares", with the textual explications of the "*Poetts, Philoſophers, Rhetoricians*", is an impossible betrayal of the Elizabethan Settlement. It makes any religious position viable and all scepticisms a possibility.¹⁵⁰

The devices of human cunning, but particularly the linguistic cunning of paradox, rhetoric and poetry, often appear in the Reformation debates as insults. Calling an opponent's divinity poetry, or even more, calling it theatre, is a slur because poems and plays are mere elaborations of words about a fictional reality. Such indirect expressions of truth can seem scandalous to Protestantism because with the vernacular Bible absolute truth to all is available in explicit words. Since "it [has] pleaſed the Lord . . . to commit [His revelation] wholly unto writing",¹⁵¹ no outward clothing is necessary for truth; the wholly and uniquely sufficient text the Bible-reading Protestant believer takes within himself: thus "all corporeal resemblances of inward holinesse and beauty are now paſt".¹⁵² Paradox, rhetoric and poetry can be seen as tainted with Catholicism's error, the unnecessary and unfaithful ornamentation of revealed truth.

Rhetoric, and literature, are eyed awkwardly by the Protestant imagination because such complicated use of language is uncomfortably close to its informing mystery of the sacred text. God is uniquely present in the text in a literal and unexaminable manner that must not be analysed:

¹⁴⁹ *A christian letter of certaine English protestants: 1599* (Amsterdam, 1969), p. 23.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 47, 43, 48-9, 43. Moderate Protestants often argue that poetic and religious inspiration represent different degrees of the same phenomenon: Robert Fludd, *Mosaicall philosophy* (London, 1659), sig. D3^v - D4^r; Fotherby, *Atheomastix: Clearing foure Truthes, Against Atheists and Infidels . . . All of them proued, by Naturall Reasons, and Secular Authorities* (London, 1622): see below, part III, chapter ix, section (2).

¹⁵¹ WC, i, 5 (p. 2).

¹⁵² Whitaker, *Disputation*, p. 466. *Doct. Chr.*, I, ii (p. 23). Grant, p. 133.

the text is thus powerful and affecting, but any comparison of this power with the power of poetic texts or of rhetoric is a violation of the mystery. It follows that His presence elsewhere, particularly in the symbols of bread and wine, might well be parallel to literary significations.

Radical Protestantism of course thinks of the Catholic and Arminian celebrations as bad theatre.¹⁵³ Foxe calls the vestments placed by force upon Ridley at his trial "apparel foolish and abominable, yea, too fond for a vice in a play": the Mass is theatre, and the celebrant is the Vice.¹⁵⁴ Prynne jauntily recounts Laud's elaborate liturgical veneration of the sacrament, and the sting in his low-comic account is the label "Sceane and Enterlude".¹⁵⁵ But in a discrete way, the Protestantism imagination insists on the theatricality of its own Lord's Supper. Prynne's jibe is not that Laud's Eucharist has become theatre, but that Laud makes himself a comic actor, the butt of the Interlude, rather than its undeluded director. For Christ's presence in the sacrament is in an inward sense; outward reverence is like the reverence paid a king on stage. The true king is absent: therefore the undeluded viewer reverences his imagination of the king within himself, not the *simulacrum* on the stage. In Protestant imagination, Christ's presence in the bread is precisely theatrical: "as kings oftêymes are represented in a Tragedie, or meane per|ones in a Comedie"; we call the bread Christ "as he that plaies the part of a king, is called a king."¹⁵⁶

Jewel's antagonist, the Catholic propagandist Harding, hopes to make his readers believe the doctrine of the Real Presence "altogether", not merely poetically, or theatrically, as the heretics do; indeed, he hopes "to exclude the onely imagination . . . there of".¹⁵⁷ And this is the Gordian knot of the Reformation pamphlet wars. Catholic and Protestant pamphleteers both seek to discredit the imaginative scheme of the other

¹⁵³ Fotherby, *Fovre sermons*, sig. G1^r.

¹⁵⁴ Foxe's account of Ridley's martyrdom, in Ridley, *Works*, p. 289.

¹⁵⁵ *Canterburies Doome*, pp. 114-20. Cit. Horton Davies, p. 19. Cf. Bacon's use of the stage insult, Benjamin Farrington, *The Philosophy of Francis Bacon: An essay on its development from 1603 to 1609 with new translations of fundamental texts* (Chicago, 1964), pp. 19, 62, 69, 84-5, 116-7.

¹⁵⁶ Harding, *An answer*, sig. R2^r; Jewel, I, 464; Perkins, 'A warning', *Works*, I, 661.

¹⁵⁷ Harding, *An answer*, sig. 2F5^v-2F6^r; Jewel, IV, 428.

faith by demonstrating that scheme to be indeed an artifice of the human imagination, a fiction. They attempt to exclude the active imagination. Their positive programme is to proffer their own imaginations, "the very motions and conceits" of their own minds,¹⁵⁸ because once accepted, the Protestant image of the Bible's authority makes it virtually impossible to conceive the possibility of a dogmatically authoritative Church; and the Catholic view of the Sacraments makes it virtually impossible to admit the coherence of individual, inspired reading of the Bible. They seek to promulgate their own active imaginations, in which their own paradoxes are incorporated and therefore incontrovertible.

"Paradox" as an explicit and abusive *term* of the Reformation debate thus requires careful and critical amplification. The debate of the Reformation in England is carried on, insomuch as it attends to fundamentals rather than malice or pedantry, at a level more radical than reason or dialectic, because each side denies the other's axioms; and because both sides rest upon axioms that are paradoxical, and in essence self-confessedly paradoxical. The debate, therefore, works on strategies of imaginative aggression; for to strike at one's opponent's central paradox is a good blow at the keystone, although in way it is merely to point out that the avowedly improbable is in fact improbable. Hence, in offence as well as defence, the debate must keep returning to the active imagination to excite or suspend disbelief; and hence the aggression with which the enemy's propositions are called *fantasy, singularity, or simply paradox*.¹⁵⁹

Paradox, in Reformation usage, is a proposition apparently untrue, or, in polemical writing, a proposition likely to strike a reader as untrue; but its untruth may be apparent in various ways, spread as it were along a spectrum. At one end of this spectrum *paradox* retains its etymologically precise denotation (*παρά-*, beyond, *δοξα*, opinion): a paradox is an apparent untruth because it is clean contrary to orthodoxy (*ὀρθο-*, correct, *δοξία*). This is what I shall call the weak sense. At the far end of the spectrum, a paradox is a mental perversity, untrue because it contradicts

¹⁵⁸ Lawes, Preface, III, 9; p. 99.

¹⁵⁹ Jewel, I, 449, 461, 505, and often elsewhere. Milton, DMW, II, 651; also deployed by other, Catholic, authors.

itself; or is repellent to sane reason, and contrary to common sense (it is *ἄδοξε*, or absurd): the strong sense of paradox. In between these extremes are more subtle degrees of denotation: a paradox of this middle sort is a proposition linguistically unlikely, because the categories of our language cut across the grain of the idea expressed by it. A paradox of this sort *sounds* improbable, but only because the words point our expectations in another direction.¹⁶⁰

The word is used quite loosely. *Religio Medici* uses the word in all its shades;¹⁶¹ Shakespeare's King of Navarre uses the word to contradict a courtier's *mot* as nonsense, because oxymoronic; but Hamlet uses *paradox* to validate a similar statement as a bitterly ironic truth.¹⁶²

Broadly speaking, it seems that if a Catholic proposition is being attacked, the Protestant is likely to urge that the proposition is contrary to reason and the patent sense of Scripture; if a Protestant proposition is under discussion, the attacking Catholic or moderate Protestant is almost certain to allege that the proposition is a flat, eccentric and singular perversity. Foxe denounces Rome's "master-lie of all lies", the "monstrous paradox of transubstantiation",¹⁶³ in the first way; Lancelot Andrewes denounces the "imagination" that every man can be the judge of Scripture through pneumatic inspiration as "the disease of our age", a paradox in the second sense.¹⁶⁴ Catholic rhetoric is thus inclined to push Protestant paradoxes towards the weak sense of the word, and show them to be untruths because innovations: not necessarily impossible in logical terms, but perverse conundrums erected against sanity and order: "we shunne and abhorre all newe goſpels, newe faithes, newe doctrines, newe religions."¹⁶⁵ Protestant rhetoric typically thrusts the word *paradox*

¹⁶⁰ Sp. IV, 20, 26, 247; George Hakewill, *An apologie of the povver and providence of God in the government of the world* (Oxford, 1627), I, i, 2, 6 (p. 5); *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, I, ix, 38. Montaigne, 'Apologie', pp. 149-50 (maintaining that, on the contrary, language is natural).

¹⁶¹ RM, I, vi, xviii, xxvii, liii (pp. 7, 18, 28, 50).

¹⁶² *Love's Labour Lost*, IV, iii, 252; *Hamlet*, III, i, 116-7:

the power of beautie will sooner transform honestie . . . to a bawde, then the force of honestie can translate beautie into his likenes, this was sometime a paradox, but now the time giues it prooffe

Hamlet is an epistemological radical, Navarre a conservative: which is as one would expect. These, and most of my other citations, are from S.H. Mellone's article on 'Paradox' in *Hastings*, IX, 632, and from *OED*.

¹⁶³ Foxe, III, 394.

¹⁶⁴ Lancelot Andrewes, *Ninety-six sermons*, III, 58.

towards the strong end of the spectrum: target propositions are absurdities or mumbo-jumbo, or 'fantasies', whether orthodox or not. Catholic reading of the Biblical text is "in manner a fantastical and mad way".¹⁶⁶ Milton calls the usual interpretation of the prohibition on divorce in Matthew's Gospel (that is, as a prohibition on divorce) "the most grosse and massy paradox that ever did violence to reason and religion,"¹⁶⁷ but obviously he means it does violence to the inner light of religious conscience, not to orthodoxy.

The threat of a paradox is that it can strike us as neither true nor untrue: and so we end up as Montaigne tells us to begin,

a white sheet prepared to take from the finger of God
what form soever shall please him to print therein¹⁶⁸.

Religious truth comes "not by our discourse or understanding" but by "forreine authority".¹⁶⁹ The "white sheets" of our imaginations must wait passively to be printed on by the print of the Bible, clean of the images offered on human authority, and unresistant to the paradox of the divine print when it comes.¹⁷⁰ But even this abject passivity hardly solves the problem, because Montaigne's assumption is that the white sheet will be marked by orthodox religious media, that is by images:

some image . . . [or the] sensible words [of] . . . our
Crucifixes, and pictures of that pittiful torment, . . .
[and] the ornaments and ceremonious motions in our
Churches¹⁷¹

This presumes a certain reliable and homogenous set of sights by which the secondary imagination can recover its course: that is, a culture. The

¹⁶⁵ Harding, *A confutation*, sig. 3M1r-v; Jewel, IV, 777.

¹⁶⁶ Jewel, IV, 772.

¹⁶⁷ 'Tetrachodron', DMW, II, 651; there is a pun on *massy*: such exegesis is typical of the superstitious reading of those blinded by the Mass to the truth, visible within Scripture to the inspired soul.

¹⁶⁸ Montaigne, 'Apologie', *Essayes*, p. 209. Rich, *Faults*, fol. 29r-35r.

¹⁶⁹ Montaigne, 'Apologie', *Essayes*, p. 201.

¹⁷⁰ Gardiner, *Ridley's Works*, p. 500. On Continental fideism, Reventlow, pp. 39-43. Popkin, *Scepticism*, pp. 1-5, 10-15, 77-87. Hiram Collins Haydn, *The Counter-Renaissance* (New York, 1950); Robert Hoopes, *Right Reason in the English Renaissance* (Harvard, 1962), pp. 96-122; Agnes Heller, *Renaissance Man*, tr. Richard E. Allen (London, 1978), pp. 84-8; D.C. Allen, 'The degeneration of man and Renaissance pessimism' *SP*, xxxv (1938), 202-27, and *Doubt's Boundless Sea: Skepticism and Faith in the Renaissance* (Baltimore, 1964).

¹⁷¹ Montaigne, 'Apologie', *Essayes*, pp. 217-20.

surrender of the didactic reason means the restoration of societal order. For that reason, the more conscious the Reformation controversialists become that rival creeds also depend upon digestion of imaginative patterns, the more anxious for truth to control the imaginative media: not only the glass or wooden artifact in the parish church, but all printed or acted artifact as well.

Protestant art does not result from the baptism of a secular branch of human culture, but from a reaction to the desire of the secondary imagination, and its lack of satisfaction with the Bible. For not only is poetry too much like the Bible for comfort, the Bible is sometimes too much like poetry: like "distracted peeces of *Poesie* to [the] . . . carnall eare";¹⁷² if we are to rely on its ability to inspire, we shall perhaps find its ability overrated.¹⁷³ Without the inspiration given by the grace of the Spirit, the Scriptures will seem to the reader "a volume of Non-sense", and indeed "carry him with the *Atheist* into a contemptible opinion both of them, and their Author".¹⁷⁴ It takes a cool and wilful hand, in this case Sir Thomas Browne's, not to be baulked by the resemblance between the Bible and literature:

I confesse there are in Scripture stories that doe exceed the fables of Poets . . . yet is all this of an easie possibility, if we conceive a divine discourse . . .¹⁷⁵

There is great power in that last word, *discourse*. It gives us a context for the Biblical text in which the reception is implicit in the utterance. The words of the Bible become, by the performative statement of God's presence, the words of a voice, heard within us through the power of our imagination, and thus distinct from the run of

Deuices, dreames, opinions vnsound,
Shewes, visions, sooth-sayes, and prophesies;
And all that fained is, as leasings, tales, and lies.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷² Wither, *A preparation*, xii, 1; sig. I3^v. Carlisle, *A discourse, Concernings two diuine Positions*, p. 23; cf. Whitaker, *Disputation*, pp. 414-5, 444-5, 446-9, 461-2.

¹⁷³ Knox, *The works*, V, 112. Popkin, *Scepticism*, pp. 132-42. Calhill, *An answer*, pp. 38-40. Hutchinson, 'The Image of God', *The Works*, p. 3.

¹⁷⁴ Wither, *A preparation*, xii, 1; sig. I3^v.

¹⁷⁵ RM, i, 10 (pp. 10-11).

¹⁷⁶ FQ, II, ix, 51, ll. 1-3; 6-9.

God, who has committed His revelation "wholly unto writing", speaks to us wholly through it; the text is not circumstantial or historical, and mediated to us by the usual processes of dissemination and scholarship. All those are leapt over by the voice of "the internal scripture of the Holy Spirit", that facet of the "double scripture" one finds not on the page but in the inward imagination.¹⁷⁷ The paradoxes of Protestant divinity are not meant to be offered to the believer from without, and are not liable to the critical objections of reason: they can be located within Scripture, and thus already within the believer himself. The unreasonableness of paradox simply carries no weight for the Protestant imagination:

this I think is no vulgar part of faith to believe a thing not only above, but contrary to reason and against the arguments of our proper senses.¹⁷⁸

(3) Partisan imagination

I find not any science that doth properly or fitly pertain to the imagination.

Bacon, Sp., III, 382.

"Imagination" has a drab and a divine face. The word in its drab aspect means merely a faculty of human perception. At its grandest, in certain of our texts, it is the ground of Protestant belief. This is because the authority of Protestantism, which is the Bible, depends upon a belief in God's presence in the text; and this presence is both undemonstrable and ineffable. It is possible to talk about the divine nature of the text only through a sort of code of images. Thus, in Protestant writing about the Bible, the constructive imagination fulfils the usual *rôles* of the intellect in defining and manipulating the base of belief; Protestant faith is of

¹⁷⁷ DMW, VI, 587. It is a typical claim to make for the Bible, to which is ascribed also a "mouth", and "the power of speech": Whitaker, *Disputation*, p. 450.

¹⁷⁸ RM, i, 10 (pp. 10-11).

course an act of will, but of will acting upon the obedient imagination, rather than upon the intellect. Moreover, because the inspiration of Scripture is a hermeneutic process of reading, rather than a quality in the writing, of the Biblical text, textual inspiration is a function of the faithful and elect imagination. In inspired literature itself, imagination is the bright, self-conscious centre that both interprets and guarantees the truth of the message. It is the faculty that creates the authoritative text, and the faculty necessary to read it. It is the mark of Providence, and of predestination. It is a synecdoche for the soul.

By imagination is meant, in the first place, the faculty of "inner perception" – we seem to sense, by inward similitude or recall, something which we do not in fact sense through our organs. Imagination in our period is, in this passive mode, described as a purely apprehensive operation: it collates the percepts of the senses, and creates images of reality to pass up the hierarchy of the mental faculties. It is fundamental to mental activity: the sensory imagination's impressions

are the first and most ancient guests of the human mind, and . . . the primary material of knowledge.¹⁷⁹

The presumptions behind this are dualist, as well as empiricist: imagination bridges the worlds of physicality and mentality, or presents the consciousness with senses in a preservable and, as it were, readable, form.

For the images of individuals are received by the sense and fixed in the memory. They pass into the memory whole, just as they present themselves.¹⁸⁰

Huarte Navarro's standard psychological monograph, *Examen de Ingenios*, is quite clear that imagination is the ghost of perception: sexual reverie, for instance, is no other "receiuing by that imaginatiō touching the venerious act", as a nostalgic or expectant ghost of the act itself.¹⁸¹ *Nosce teipsum* describes how the passive imagination – "common sense" – imitatively gathers the neural impulses and sends them to "a higher

¹⁷⁹ Bacon, 'Descriptio globi intellectualis', i (Sp. V, 503).

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹ Juan Huarte Navarro, *Examen de Ingenios. The examination of mens Wits*, tr. Richard Carew (London, 1594), p. 31. Bacon, *Sylva sylvarum*, viii, 795 (Sp. ii, 598; cf. IV, 405-6).

region of the braine".¹⁸² The workings of the mind thus do depend upon the passive imagination, but only in the negative sense that its derangement would starve the mind of raw material – if the passive imagination does its work awry, the higher faculties, however sound in themselves, will be deluded into actions mad or wicked.¹⁸³

But imagination in this simplest, passive sense is also the faculty that allows the individual mind continuity along the stretch of its physical experience. Imagination is explained as the converse of memory, for as the memory lets us back to experience taken from us by time, so imagination allows us to apprehend experience still only looked forward to.¹⁸⁴ Through imagination we escape in part the trammels of consecutive existence, and apprehend, beyond the limitations of consecutive perception; so in his unfallen state, in Eden or the New Jerusalem,

man cometh to possesse perfect memorie of things passed, and a great imagination to see what is to come¹⁸⁵.

As the perceptual imagination bridges the gap between the worlds of sense and mind, so the active imagination bridges the gap between mind and immortal soul. To this extent, even the passive imagination has the power to let us unite experience, escape our apparent mortality, and perceive as God perceives.¹⁸⁶ As the passive imagination unites experience into a whole, so the active imagination unifies thought.

As the active imagination dreams, fantasises, and feigns things that are not, it is also called (as by Davies) "*Phantasie*, near handmaide to the mind".¹⁸⁷ In Bacon's phrase, it may

¹⁸²NT, 1084.

¹⁸³ William Rossky, 'Imagination in the English Renaissance: Psychology and Poetic', *SRen.*, V (1958), 49-73; pp. 60-1. D.G. James, pp. 23-8. NT, 406-8. Greville, 'Treatise of Religion', st. 13. Beard, xxiii, pp. 138-43. Bacon, *Adv*, II, xiv, 10: "certainly if a child were continued in a grot or cave under the earth until maturity of age, and came suddenly abroad, he would have strange and absurd imaginations." Raleigh makes the Platonic or empiricist point that we are all in fact within caves of our own, so that our imaginations may well be strange and absurd: which is a dangerous although common Protestant insight (*Raleigh's sceptick, or speculations*, pp. 5-22; cf. Reventlow, p. 123). Montaigne, whose scepticism is aimed at human reason rather than human perception, on the contrary regards perceptual imagination (and perhaps even language) as innate: 'Apologie', *Essayes*, pp. 149-50.

¹⁸⁴ NT, 1100-04.

¹⁸⁵ Huarte, p. 240. See also Helkiah Cooke's *Μικροκοσμογραφια* (London, 1618), p. 424.

¹⁸⁶ Rossky, pp. 62-4; 66-8; NT, 1193-1200, 1217-1220.

at pleasure join that which nature hath severed, and sever that which nature hath joined; and so make unlawful matches and divorces of things¹⁸⁸

The active imagination gives man's mind something of the same arbitrary play upon nature that God has; it may even reconcile those most contrary of contraries, the infinite and finite; the divine, and the material and temporal, whose conjunction is one of the central propositions, and also one of the central problems, of Christian thought. For Christian faith is defined by Paul, not merely as an action of the will, but as "the grounde of things, which are hoped for, and the euidence of things which are not [ene]"¹⁸⁹ – as a sort of sixth sense. In the Reformation English Church, it was universally confessed that it is "Scripture [that] is the grounde of Beliefe".¹⁹⁰ But while *Protestantes æquiores*, like Catholics and all on the right of my diagram, assume that something else, either the universal authority of human reason or the public authority of the Church, is the approach to that ground,¹⁹¹ the radical Protestant asserts that the Bible's own inner light offers the paradoxical visibility to things unseen.

This assertion is a necessity of Protestant faith. Against the visible and established monolith of the Catholic Church, Protestantism raises inner certainty of election,¹⁹² self-evident and sufficient truth of the vernacular Bible, self-evident concord of the Bible with Reformed Church order, and perhaps an experience of conversion – all invisible inward experiences which must be imaged forth, especially if they are to be led out to battle with the old religion, or to resist corrosion from within by doubt. Protestantism rests upon things that of their natures cannot be seen, as the basis and authority for the outward order of the new English Church; it therefore entails a new emphasis upon the imaging forth of inner experience and religious dogma (especially such controversial points as predestination and the nature of the Fall). The Catholic mind extrapolates from the visible majestic and latinate splendour of the Mass to the majesty

¹⁸⁷NT, 1085.

¹⁸⁸ *Adv.* I, iv, 1.

¹⁸⁹ Hebrews, xi, 1 (GB).

¹⁹⁰ *Lawes*, II, vii; Laud, *The Conference with Dr Fisher*, p. 89.

¹⁹¹ *Lawes*, Preface, iii, 2; Laud, *The Conference with Dr Fisher*, pp. 69-71.

¹⁹² Trent, Session VI, xii. Perkins, 'A golden chaine', *Works*, I, 106. XXXIX Articles.

and splendour of the universal Latin Church, which is, as Huarte would say, to receive by that imagination touching the act of transubstantiation. Such universal authority, glimpsed by the apprehensive imagination, is the guarantee of the truth of Catholic dogma. But the Protestant mind must employ the *Phantasie* to show itself un-imaged truths. This half-conscious and subtle shift in the process of religious conviction, from the perceptual to the active imagination, is one of the profoundest changes to the English mind arising from the Reformation.

Anxiety about Duessa's own fables and "forged beauty"¹⁹³ is therefore only one, negative, imperative to this new imaginative activity; there is also a positive rivalry with Duessa's visible sacramentality. And there is in any case a Protestant obsession with making spiritual theory and experience tangible through the creative imagination. It is impossible "to fly up to the secrets of the Deity by the waxen wings of the senses";¹⁹⁴ but it is perhaps possible for the elect mind to go where faith, implanted miraculously by ineluctable grace, directs. However, if such faith is to be anything other than blind, it requires the help of the imagination. Imagination, if it has the "print of truth" upon it, flies where reason is proscribed.¹⁹⁵

Phantasie or active imagination is a parameter on religious belief: for no doctrine can be maintained, at least in an age of controversy, that cannot be pictured as true against attacks upon "the very motions and conceits of men's minds".¹⁹⁶ What is unimaginable is insupportable, once the mere system of belief that embedded it wobbles. Thus, Montaigne argues that atheism is an almost impossible position, because it is unimaginable.¹⁹⁷ The Council of Trent maintains that the paradox of transubstantiative doctrine *is viable* because, "although we can scarce expre[s] it in words," it is possible

¹⁹³ FQ, I, ii, 36, l. 1.

¹⁹⁴ *Adv.* I, i, 3.

¹⁹⁵ Cartwright, in *Lawes*, II, vii, 2. Bacon, Sp. III, 382. Rossky, pp. 50-1.

¹⁹⁶ *Lawes*, Preface, III, 9; p. 99.

¹⁹⁷ "Atheisme [is] . . . a proposition . . . hard and uneasie to be established in any mans minde": Montaigne, *Essayes*, II, xii; p. 134. The same point is made by John Hull, *An exposition upon a part of the Lamentations of Jeremie* (London, 1618), sig. [B1]V, and Calhill, *An answer*, pp. 39-40. Cf. NT, 1432-64.

for our imagination being illustrated through Faith . . .
[to] follow, and . . . most firmly to believe it¹⁹⁸.

Humanity is unassuageably corrupt in Protestant dogma, but imagination is necessarily not so corrupt as some other faculties. Sidney and his heir Greville argued that art, presenting *exempla* to the imagination, can aid virtue by exciting our 'infected will'; and that the appeal to the imagination is better than the appeal to the hopelessly infected will or reason.¹⁹⁹ The notion of the inspired imagination means, at least, a certain explicit trust in mental instinct or mental pictures, despite the Calvinist stress on human mental depravity.²⁰⁰

In my solitary and retired imagination . . . I remember I
am not alone . . . for who can speake of eternity
without a solœcisme, or thinke thereof without an
extasie?²⁰¹

Imagination is both necessary to consider the divine, and necessary to validate such considerations. The old pagan axiom of wisdom, Know Thyself, has a revived centrality with the Reformation,²⁰² because to Protestants it seems now more convincing to look inwards to the mind's images rather than outward to the authoritative images of the Church; and there at the indubitable centre of things, to "remember I am not alone". Soteriological attention shifts from *ratio recta* to creative imagination. Imagination (not the will that adheres to the orthodox gospel) makes salvation possible, because by it we can read the Bible with soul-saving sympathy. Hooker still compares reason to the star of the Magi,²⁰³ but Calvin is awed by

the skill with which [the soul] devises things
incredible, and . . . is the mother of so many marvellous

¹⁹⁸ Trent, session XIII, i.

¹⁹⁹ Sidney, *Apologie*, p. 29; Greville's 'Life of Sidney', in *Poems and dramas of Fulke Greville First Lord Brooke*, ed. Geoffrey Bullough, II vols. (Edinburgh, 1939), pp. 2-3, 16-18. Cf. Bacon's view, Sp. IV, 292; V, 504; Rossky, pp. 59-60.

²⁰⁰ Walker, 'Ways of Dealing with Atheists', p. 262.

²⁰¹ RM, i, 10 (p. 11).

²⁰² Desiderius Erasmus, *Shippe of fooles*, tr. Alexander Barclay (London, 1509), sig. &6r. G.A. Wilkes, 'The Poetry of Sir John Davies', *HLQ*, xxv (1962), 289. Hull, *Peters prophesie*, sig. 3Z4v.

²⁰³ Hooker, *Lawes*, Preface, iii, 2.

devices. These are unfailing signs of divinity in man.²⁰⁴

Such an intense inward gaze requires some tact, as it is a sixteenth- and seventeenth-century truism that the active imagination's inventions are, on the whole, malignant. *Phantasie* multiplies human sensory experience *arbitrarily*:

[He] doth so forme reforme, and it deforme,
As pleaseth his fantasticke faculty.²⁰⁵

Thomas Rogers, in defense of the Elizabethan Settlement, dismisses the Familists with the Mohammedans, because they both prefer their imaginations to the Word.²⁰⁶ Pyrrhonism is dismissed because its scepticism about sensory data is a *Phantasie*.²⁰⁷ Madmen are those whom imagination has mastered, and in literature the claims of poetic imagination are often put with melancholic irony:

The lunatic, the lover, and the poet
Are of imagination all compact.²⁰⁸

Mankind's unique "liberty of imagination, . . . this licence of thoughts" is a ruinously dear gift, pronounces Montaigne, and brings forth despair and irresolution.²⁰⁹ *Phantastes* is an ambiguous tenant of Alma's castle; he has

Bent hollow beetle browes, sharpe staring eyes,
That mad or foolish seem'd:²¹⁰

and his chamber

filled was with flyes,
Which buzzed all about, and made such sound,
That they encombred all mens eares and eyes . . .
All those were idle thoughts and fantasies,
Deuices, dreames, opinions vnsound,
Shewes, visions, sooth-sayes, and prophesies;
And all that fained is, as leasings, tales, and lies.²¹¹

²⁰⁴ *Institutes*, I, v, 5.

²⁰⁵ *The complete works of John Davies of Hereford (15..-1618) for the first time collected*, ed. Alexander B. Grosart, II vols. (privately pr., 1878), I, 7. Rossky, pp. 50-1.

²⁰⁶ Philosophers prefer invention, papists prefer tradition, "Machiavel and his scholars" reason: but the reading faculty has the monarchy over all these faculties in the Elect mind. Rogers, *The faith*, pp. 79-80.

²⁰⁷ Montaigne, 'An Apologie', *Essayes*, p. 207. Cf. *PL*, V, 102ff.; VIII, 183ff.

²⁰⁸ *A Midsummer's Night's Dream*, V, i, 7-8.

²⁰⁹ 'An Apologie', *Essayes*, p. 151.

²¹⁰ *FQ*, II, ix, 52, ll. 6-7.

Nevertheless, Phantastes is, when properly deployed, one of Alma's wisest vassals. His feigning is needful if we are to see the future with "sharpe foresight", for patterning forth the unrealised ideal of things,²¹² and for imaging things true but invisible. In the first two of these three cases, imagination is a good, biddable servant because it is controlled by reason. In the third case, the imaging of the invisible, the one that most concerns us, imagination is benign because it is reined by the will, and especially by the will of true Christian faith. *Phantasie* is for Protestantism the first of mental faculties, and the one over which willful faith must most critically have control.

This half-conscious shift of emphasis amongst the mental faculties has varied, and perhaps some almost-imperceptible, consequences; but the most obvious in the process of Bible-reading, the central act of radical Protestant faith and epistemology. The shift is sometimes expressed quite explicitly as a literary theory, applied to this creative process of reading and reifying the Biblical text. The Reformed imagination can make us perceive signs and things at the same moment, as different and distinguishable facets of the entity of the Biblical text; and this imaginative action is the ground of right reading.

[For] the science of *Diuinitie* differs from all humane knowledges . . . in this, that all *Sciences of Humanitie*, are either employed about things, as the *Phyfickes*, *Metaphyfickes*, and *Mathematickes*, &c. or else, of Signes onely, as *Grammar* and *Logick*. But in *Diuinitie*, and the study of holy Scripture, especially of the Old Testament, we must consider them both together.²¹³

In reading, we do not admit as valid the cumbrous rhetorical process of scholastic exegesis. There should be no temporal, certainly not cumbrous, process at all: the totality of meaning in the Biblical text, however complex, must be a unity and not manifold. Biblical truth is different not only in degree but in kind to all other knowledge, and this difference

²¹¹FQ, II, ix, 51, ll. 1-3; 6-9.

²¹²FQ, II, ix, 48, ll. 8-9; Sidney, *Apologie*, sig. C2^r.

²¹³ *A preparation to The Psalter: by Geo. Wythe*^R (1619), XII, viii, sig. K1^r; I use the good modern reprint of the Spenser Society (1884).

engulfs the mode of its reception. "Scripture . . . hath one simple meaning".²¹⁴ Our apprehension of it is whole in itself; just as Paul's bolt of lightning from heaven was a complete and satisfactory revelation, so the inspiration of God passes through the fabric of the text and is unquestionably vocal, explicit, and intentional;²¹⁵ "it is Atheisme to say that . . . [the Bible] is not plain, to the Godly."²¹⁶

The function of the creative imagination that allows this certainty and this immediacy is the converse of apprehensive imagination, which, in reading, allows us to distinguish sign and thing. Protestant imagination arranges these without hesitation thus: the word is without, the thing within. Jewel expounds the Protestant process of reading the text thus: "first, . . . we put a difference between the sign and the thing that is signified";²¹⁷ and in another place urges:

we are taught not to seek . . . grace in the sign, but . . . by receiving the sign, that it is given by the thing signified²¹⁸.

Attention is displaced from the means of grace, which becomes merely the vehicle or garment; notionally to the font of grace, "the thing signified", that is, the divine; but virtually, as the divine remains invisible as ever, to one's own reception.

All this follows from the insistence that sign and thing are fundamentally distinguished and distinguishable. Sign and thing are in universal dualism – they are to be perceived at once as separate things.²¹⁹ This accords well with the dualistic streak in Protestant imagination, and it is also apt that sign and thing, like spirit and matter, are somehow uniquely merged in the Holy Book. Reason and sense must distinguish

²¹⁴ Whitaker, p. 445.

²¹⁵ Wither, *A preparation*, x, 2; p. 75.

²¹⁶ Hugh Broughton, *An advertisement of corruption in our handling of religion. To the Kings Majestie* (Middleburgh, 1604), sig. O2^r. *Institutes*, I, vii, 5. Booty, p. 145; Frye, pp. 220-1.

²¹⁷ Jewel, I, 449; badly miscited by Ross, p. 61.

²¹⁸ Jewel, II, 1102.

²¹⁹ This notion descends from Calvin himself (*Commentaries on the Catholic Epistles*, I Peter, p. 118; Potter and Greengrass, p. 36): "When we speak of sacraments, two things are to be considered, the sign and the thing itself." But Calvin rejects, not only the papists' evil in identifying signified and sign (they therefore "stop at the outward element"), but on the other hand the tearing apart of the two – the Zwinglian evil (*ibid.*).

between these two classes; faith and imagination need not.²²⁰ Catholic *phantasie* distinguishes "the Sacrament and the thing of the Sacrament",²²¹ and Protestantism exploits this dualist turn of mind not to defend transubstantiation, but an almost transubstantiative view of reading.

Sign here means *husk*: it is something the righteous recipient discards, not only because he has found the kernel so that the sign is no longer of interest: he discards the sign as the means of discovering the kernel.²²² Not only is the accident of the letter distinct from the substance of spiritual meaning in the text; the letter is, in itself, deadly, and to linger on the letter only exacerbates the distinction between person and proposition fatal to Protestant hermeneutics. Unbelievers at Calvin's Eucharist "indeed receive the sign; but because they linger" in the world of the senses, and do not pierce to heaven through reception of the bread, do not receive the reality of Christ.²²³ So also in reading the Bible.

When a figurative expression is understood as it were literal, it is understood carnally. And nothing is more appropriately named the death of the soul.²²⁴

Thus Jewel quotes Augustine; although in fact this passage from Augustine condemns scriptural literalism, including sabbatarianism. But Jewel assumes that the figure sits as loosely on top of plain speech as a shoe on a foot; and is as removable. The problem of course is how the symbols and the things, granted they are in some sense separable, as in the Protestant view, are related. Perkins speaks more coldly of

a certaine agreement and proportion of the externall things with the internall . . . : whereby . . . the signes . . . do by a certaine proportionable resemblance draw a christian mind to . . . the things signified . . .²²⁵

²²⁰ KJV, Preface; cit. George Steiner, *After Babel: Aspects of language and translation* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 348-9.

²²¹ Harding, *An answer*, sig. 2F5v.

²²² Ross, pp. 57, 60-1.

²²³ *Commentaries on the book of the Prophet Isaiah*, p. 211; Potter and Greengrass, pp. 35-6.

²²⁴ Jewel, I, 448. This again is pure Calvin (*Institutes*, III, v): "When the thing that is spoken in a figure is so taken as if it were plainly spoken (without figure), there is fleshly understanding".

²²⁵ Perkins, *Works*, I, 72.

Calvin taught that the sign and the signified are not arbitrarily combined. The shell of sensory reality is not merely to be ignored; he understood an efficacious connection between the sign and the thing in the Eucharist:

when the Lord holds out a sacrament, he does not feed our eyes with an empty and unmeaning figure²²⁶.

There is an "analogy" in the "symbols" at the Eucharist, which the imagination of the believer must "grasp" in order to receive.²²⁷ We cannot escape the study of symbols and their actions by the emphasis on pure inwardness. But his English disciples did not insist upon the efficacious connection between the two: and there is some truth in Ross' grand scheme, in which Protestantism's

denial of the Real Presence is inevitably a denial of the whole Eucharistic grip on reality and therefore . . . an assault on the analogical validity of the poetic symbol.²²⁸

This change in the image of images is sometimes called into question controversially, as when Harding complains to his sparring partner Jewel, that Protestantism always assumes

that a thing can not be exhibited really, and also in a mysterie, in a sampler, in an image, in a commemoration, in a representation, in signification, in figures, signes, and tokens.²²⁹

Harding thinks this assumption perverse and strange, and answers it with an *ad absurdum* (or rather, *ad* atheism). If the reality of a thing precludes its imaging forth, then Christ's actual sacrifice of Himself on the cross precludes the sacrifice of the Mass; but equally, the imaging forth on the cross itself precludes the reality, and our redemption has yet to occur –

And so should not the deuil haue a prety deuise to shake the foundation of our faith . . .?²³⁰

²²⁶ *Commentaries on the book of the Prophet Isaiah*, p. 211; Potter and Greengrass, p. 35.

²²⁷ *Institutes*, IV, xviii, 3; Potter and Greengrass, pp. 37-8.

²²⁸ Ross, p. 56: the "utter innovation" (p. 61) of Protestant poetic theory meant "leaving to the ancient symbolic words a purely psychological function." This is too sweeping; but does not deserve Lewalski's scorn (p. 61).

²²⁹ Harding, *A Reioindre to M. Iewels Replie against the Sacrifice of the Masse*, which I cite as *Reiondre* (Louvain, 1567), sig. 2R4^v.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*

In the Catholic view, to separate visible husk and spiritual kernel is to exclude any possibility of knowable spiritual action: "of the affirmation of the thing, you [Protestants] wil inferre (as your manner is) the negation of the thing it selfe" ²³¹ In the seeing of the *thing*, for instance the crucifix on Good Friday, "is wrapped up a great many of sentences, suddenly opened with one sudden sight": ²³² the words in the Passion narrative, and the wooden image of them, are inseparable.

But in the Protestant view, the confusion is disastrous: ²³³ "the peril, by experience of all ages and States of the Church . . . is most certain". ²³⁴ Protestantism understands expressions such as *Hoc meum corpus est* according to this unshakeable rhetorical habit: the meaning must be *within* the words: whole and simple once the elaboration of words is removed. Trent rejects the rhetorical handling of these words as "a most detestable wickedness"; ²³⁵ Protestantism insists on reading them respectively, metonymically, symbolically, representationally, spiritually, as a simile, theatrically, synecdochically -- indeed, these lists of minimalising, exegetical adjectives for the words of institution are among the rhetorical staples of Protestant reading. ²³⁶ Catholicism insists upon *not* reading them "only [as] tropical, symbolical, metaphorical, allegorical" truth. Protestantism declares the transubstantiative doctrine that follows from Catholicism's literal reading to be a work of the imagination; Catholicism finds Protestantism's obvious reading of them

²³¹ *Ibid.*

²³² Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, Letter to Ridley, in *The works of Nicholas Ridley . . . Martyr, 1555*, ed. Henry Christopher (PS, Cambridge, 1843), p. 499.

²³³ Ridley, *Works*, p. 91.

²³⁴ Ridley, *Works*, p. 88.

²³⁵ Trent, xiii, 1; p. 49.

²³⁶ Perkins, *Works*, I, 72, 661; Hutton *et al.*, I, 24: the Body and Blood are merely "the representations which the bread & wine offer to our minds"; Harding, *An answer*, sig. 2F5^v-2F6^r; Jewel, IV, 428; Calhill, *An answer*, p. 46. English radical Protestant thought is strongly influenced in this by Zwingli, who insisted that *Hoc est meum corpus* must "be construed symbolically, sacramentally, metaphorically or as a metonymy" ('An exposition of the faith' [1531], pp. 239-79 of *The Library of Christian Classics, Volume XXIV: Zwingli and Bullinger*, sel. and tr. G.W. Bromiley (London, 1953), p. 265). But such cataloguing of exegetical categories as a means of neutralising the *est* in the words of institution is a device older than Zwingli: Wycliffe argues that they are to be understood "*sacraementaliter, spiritualiter et virtualiter*": B.M.G. Reardon, *Religious thought in the Reformation* (Oxford, 1966), p. 5.

poetic or theatrical. It claims its understanding of the words of institution excludes imagination.²³⁷

Jewel tries to show how Christ "lyeth hydden underneathe" the Host; and Harding, rebutting this, discerns that the problem is "this terme (*Lyeth*) [which] we [Catholics] knowe not".²³⁸ This is just the crux: that the image of truth hiding beneath words is too deep within their imaginative framework for Protestants to let it go. Protestantism wants to allege that *Hoc meum corpus est* is merely rhetorical, meaning that once the metonymy of Christ and bread is understood, the spiritual, and unsubstantial, meaning remains: "by a figure of *Synecdoche* . . . God taketh away all circumstance of place on earth".²³⁹ It is inherently uneasy about any rhetorical analysis that complicates this clear pattern of peeling.

As we turn inward, away from the sign and towards the inspiring Spirit, in reading, so also in the Eucharist. By this imaginative technique we may avoid "ſo many controuerſies about the Sacrament", for though we know, though Christ commands the Church "to vſe and conſider the *Bread, wine, and Water*", these, being signs, remain without, and the reality of union with God must be within.²⁴⁰ Catholic attention to the "sign" appears incredible and diametrically perverse to the Protestant imagination, not merely repugnant to Biblical (and Patristic) authority.²⁴¹ Images cannot communicate; and it is hard for empirical evidence for the contrary to register on the Protestant imagination.

It is evident that millions of souls have been cast into damnation by the occasion of images used in places of religion. And no history can record that ever any soul was won unto Christ by having images.²⁴²

Again, a Protestant finds it hard on first principles to believe that the Roman state could have been converted by Constantine's seeing a cross in the sky: his mysterious sign must have been the Greek letters X and P,

²³⁷ Harding, *An ansvvere*, sig. 2F5^v-2F6^r, R2^r; Jewel, I, 464; IV, 428.

²³⁸ Harding, *An ansvvere*, sig. 2F5^v-2F6^r.

²³⁹ Perkins, *Works*, I, 662.

²⁴⁰ Wither, *A preparation*, XII, viii, sig. K2^v. Calvin also hopes this dualist approach can avoid the insoluble debate on the Eucharist in which "godly and learned men are engaged" (*Commentaries on the book of the Prophet Isaiah*, p. 211; Potter and Greengrass, p. 35).

²⁴¹ Ridley, *Works*, p. 88. Milton, *Of Reformation in England*, pp. 8-9.

²⁴² *Correspondence of Matthew Parker*, pp. 79-95. This letter, probably not by Parker (see above), expounds a rather advanced Protestant view.

for ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ, on top of each other. The cross itself is not a symbol, but a sign, being derived from the Greek letter *Tau*.²⁴³ The sight of "Christ's name" or monogram may affect a mind for good, but not of His cross.²⁴⁴ The shape of the Protestant imagination always makes us picture sign and thing, seal and text, letter and spirit; it will not picture the two as one; and it therefore compels attention to the interpretation, and the miracle implied by true, universal, individual interpretation of signs. The letter, the inward, the heard, the aural, stand in almost Zoroastrian contrast to the picture, the outward, the seen, and the visual.

English Protestant apologists are fond of quoting from Paul *the letter kills, but the Spirit quickens*;²⁴⁵ by which they understand not only the process of reading one's Bible (distinguishing "the [spiritual doctrine, which] is in our hearts", from the letter of the text),²⁴⁶ but also all other means of receiving grace and revelation. This process, this reading by reduction, is applied almost universally; it is so universal and fundamental that for the well Reformed imagination it becomes an unconscious and indubitable axiom. The vagary about it is that, when applied to the Eucharist and the efficacious words of institution, this process is reductionist and uses the vocabulary of rhetorical analysis, because it is meant to reveal a simple, mental and emblematic relationship between the elements and Christ. But when it is applied to Bible-reading, upon which the structure of Protestantism rests, this process resists rhetorical reduction. The words are

²⁴³ Fotherby, *Fovre sermons*, sig. G1^r. This bizarre controversy is also canvassed by Calhill (*An answer*, pp. 110-12) and William Fulke, *Stapleton's fortress overthrown. A rejoinder to Martiall's reply. A discovery of the dangerous wreck of . . . Sanders*, ed. Richard Gibbings (Cambridge, 1848), pp. 139-40, 148. Harding asserts (Jewel, *Works*, II, 647-9) and Jewel concedes (*ibid.*, pp. 649-50) that Constantine's cross was a cross.

²⁴⁴ Perkins, 'A golden chaine: or, the description of theologie', *Works*, I, 36. Perkins argues *de fide*, but there is indeed some ambiguity in the ancient sources about the shape of Constantine's *Labarum* or Σταυρος: Robin Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (Harmondsworth, 1986), pp. 613-5, 775. For the extraordinary controversy over the symbol of the cross (or crucifix – the presence *corpus* is of small importance; it is the existence of a symbol that is not linguistic that outrages the English Protestant conscience) see Haugaard, p. 89, n.1;

never to be accounted for in the terms of analogy or allegory, even if those devices are present;²⁴⁷ the inner meaning or "internal scripture"²⁴⁸ within the outward words is revealed, not by a closer or more analytic regard to the text, but a more intimate inward glance into the reader's imagination. Grammar and the sciences of language attend to "Signes onely".²⁴⁹ Inspired exegesis applies itself to the thing of which the carnal word on the page is only the husk.

If we forget what an extraordinary process such reading is, both in its advertisement and in its practice, we are losing sight of its essence. To be authoritative against the old authority of the Church, this new exegesis, individual and universal, must be miraculous. Private, inspired reading is the most internal and least demonstrable of all miracles; the mental capacity that allows us, the imagination, must declare itself to savour of God's in-breathing Spirit. It contradicts doubt; it allows a safe path out of Catholicism, a process of doubt and revolt that hopefully reaches a point of stasis. Imagination contains the God-like spark within us.

²⁴⁷ Whitaker, *Disputation*, p. 441.

²⁴⁸ Milton, DMW, VI, 587.

²⁴⁹ Wither, *A preparation*, XII, viii, sig. K1^r.

(4) Protestant fiction

I found Poesie which I so much reuerenced, created but a handmaide to attend Diuinitie: and that as Poesie gaue grace to vulgar subjects, so Diuinitie gaue glorie to the best part of a poets inuention.

Gervase Markham, *The Poem of Poems*, sig. A4^v.

The shift in the activity of the imagination that I have described is widely relevant to Protestant letters, as well as, for instance, practice of education, philosophy, and art. My investigation of the Reformed imagination is concerned with two areas: the heart of the imaginative reform, as revealed by self-consciously Protestant fiction; and the periphery, the frontier between licit and illicit imaginative activity.

In such overt fiction, the Protestant mind has to consider what to think about the bright and self-conscious centre of the text, which sometimes in the writing we consider is simply called the soul, the meeting place of the visible and invisible worlds; but which, within the text itself, works as the active imagination, combining visible and invisible in the constructed fiction. Fiction, the public exhibition of what is not, is closely related to the imaginative mechanics of Protestant dogma. The Protestant scheme of things needs to be reified in the mind, that is, to be feigned; and the dilemma for Protestant criticism is the awkwardness of considering, and the awkwardness of ignoring, the parallel between imagining dogma and imagining fiction. The dogmatic paradox sometimes shifts from the immediate concerns of the mystery of predestinarian theology (human will, sovereign divine volition, causality and time) to the process of reading itself. Davies' *Nosce teipsum*, for instance, exploits an ambiguity about who in the poem is making visible the inward and invisible reality of the soul. The poem's preface explains that only the soul itself, thwarted in the world by providential circumstance, can be induced to look inward;²⁵⁰ but the poem then reproduces the inward vision as the poem itself, and as long as we are attentively reading, we forget that this is the premonition, offer or *simulacrum* of the inward gaze, and not the gaze itself. Literary

²⁵⁰ NT, 141-68.

imagination *stands for* the soul; and because, through the poem, we share imaginary vision, we seem to share souls. Thus when inspired vision is granted – of predestinarian economy of salvation, for instance – we all share it.²⁵¹

Imagination is understood as a faculty of apprehension in literature though it is not so much a faculty of apprehension, but of invention. This matters with the Bible even more than for secular literature: the Protestant reader has to think he is seeing what he is actually inventing for himself. Reading in the Protestant mode is a matter of creative imagination, in which the reader looks inward to see the secret pattern of meaning; but this is meant to look and feel like apprehensive imagining of the reality on the page, and beyond the page, in the beam of light that shines from God to man. Inspired reading is the type, for Protestantism, of all apprehension; it is not a feeble substitute for experience, and we hear God as clearly and unequivocally as if He spoke from the sky or a burning bush.

Sir John Davies' *Nosce teipsum* is a work of theodicy, and means to vindicate the ways of God to man in the matter of death. Death is not dreadful and bewildering, because it is apparent to reason that the soul is immortal, and must pass through death into another and better realm. Fear of death is merely loss of nerve, not rational doubt; Hamlet is wrong to think it can make cowards of us all.

Thus, when Davies says that we know God exists through our senses –

*Our wit is geven, Almightye God to know,
Our will is given, to love him being knowne
But God could not be knowne to us below,
But by his works, which through the sense are shown*²⁵²

– it is patently not the unaided sense that shows us God, but sense as ordered by the apprehending imagination.

*Sense sees the barke, but she the life of trees,
Sense heares the sounds, but she the Concord true*²⁵³,

²⁵¹ Ruby Nemser wrongly pictures Davies as resisting the inward scepticism of Montaigne: 'Nosce Teipsum and the *Essais* of Montaigne', *SEL*, xvi (1976), 95-103.

²⁵² *NT*, 1229-32. As with all Reformation discussions of the evidences of God in Nature, Davies' view is finally grounded upon Paul's account in Romans, i.

²⁵³ *NT*, 435-6.

where "she" is the soul, but particularly the imaginative function of the soul in perceiving the invisible order, and imaging it forth as perceptible "Concord". Imagination is the eye of the soul, and, when that eye is turned upon the soul, it becomes a synecdoche for what it perceives.

As the passive imagination perceives order in apparently chaotic things, so the active imagination perceives divine order amidst the apparently intractable contradictions, interdictions, and anathemas of the English Reformation. For the Protestant, this means especially that strangest and most terrible doctrine, double predestination.

O could we see, how cause from cause doth spring,
How mutually they linckt, and folded are,
And heare, how oft one disagreeing string
The harmonie doth rather make, then marre:

And view at once, how *death* by *sinne* is brought,
And how from *death* a better *life* doth rise,
How this Gods *justice*, and his *mercy* tought,
We this decree would praise as right and wise.²⁵⁴

This is one of what Bacon calls the "unlawful matches and divorces" of the imagination.²⁵⁵ Double predestination appears an abomination within time, but, beyond time and contingent causality, it is revealed as delightful. To human eyes it is tyranny; to God's, mercy and justice. Protestant faith gives us (as we, the elect, are to taste its mercy) an intellectual assurance of its sweetness and comfort;²⁵⁶ but the imagination gives us a sensory assurance. We apprehend Calvinist soteriology as a chord of music; and perceive that the destruction of the reprobate is a subtle sort of creation. The complexity of sensory experience carries us over the moral and intellectual paradoxes of double predestination; by investing our moral and intellectual anxieties in the imaginative process of the poem, we are both evading and resolving the paradox by an act of will.

We begin by crying "O could we see", and almost at once we do see. For the moment that recognises the incorrigible limitation of human

²⁵⁴ *NT*, 749-56.

²⁵⁵ *Adv.* I, iv, 1.

²⁵⁶ XXXIX Articles, xviii. Perkins, 'Golden chaine', *Works*, I, 106.

perception and thought – analogous to the moment of conviction, when mortal sin is recognised, in the Protestant scheme – is the moment when the certainty of salvation is granted, by the infusion of the Spirit into the individual breast. The self-abnegating act of will, which gathers human blindness into the individual soul and admits the soul's own paralysis, is at the same instant an act of self-assertion. To confess the natural and thorough blindness of man is at once to imagine the preternatural enlightenment of man through inspiration; and to imagine it is to discover it.

Therefore Protestant literature compounds the apprehensive and inspired functions of imagination. In doing so it gives us a God's-eye view of created reality, and as Davies declares,

All in *him selfe* as in a glasse he sees,
For from him, by him, through him all things bee;²⁵⁷

– a solemn formula which is in fact a reminiscence of the Roman Missal.²⁵⁸ Throughout *Nosce teipsum*, the mirror is a symbol of the soul's ability to know herself – and, in the context of this poem, that means in the first place to know that she exists:

the mind can backwarde cast
Upon her selfe her understanding light²⁵⁹.

But Davies insists that the mirror is sullied; the first book of his poem teases with the problem of how any self-knowledge at all is possible to a naturally wicked creature, "blind and ignorant in all".²⁶⁰

²⁵⁷ NT, 761-2.

²⁵⁸ "*Per ipsum, et cum ipso, et in ipso, est tibi Deo Patri omnipotenti . . . omnis honor et gloria*, By Him, and with Him, and in Him, all honour and glory is unto Thee, God the Father Almighty", from the prayer *Per quem*, at the end of the long prayer of Consecration (Francis Procter and Walter Howard Frere's *A new history of The Book of Common Prayer* (London, 1901), p. 290; cf. Joseph A. Jungmann, S.J., *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, tr. F. A. Brunner, C.S.S.R. (London, 1959), pp. 453-4, 457-8). The ultimate source is Romans, xi, 36. Krueger's commentary, usually very erudite, does not notice this derivation (p. 341 – nor, indeed, the liturgical echoes of much of NT). Reformed English liturgies avoided the third clause, presumably because of its transubstantiative taint, and have only "By whom and with whom" (Procter and Frere, pp. 457, 511); Davies restores the Trinitarian rhythm without compromising Protestant dogma: a curious example of the defensive capabilities of Protestant poetry.

²⁵⁹ NT, 109-10.

²⁶⁰ NT, 174. The first stanza of NT plunges us into a lament for the Fall, and from the consciousness of the Fall we never retreat through all two thousand lines.

Neither *Minerva*, nor the learned *Muse*,
 Nor Rules of Art, nor Precepts of the wise,
 Could in my braine those beames of skill enfuse²⁶¹.

The answer, overtly, is that such knowledge is a matter of personal enlightenment, granted from without²⁶² – by Providence, and thus by the predestining God. But *Nosce teipsum* itself reveals that knowledge to us; the process of reading the poem is the process of apprehending the divine spark within:

my *Soule*, turnst thy Curious eye
 To view the beames of thine owne forme divine²⁶³.

Knowledge granted, like Promethean fire, by God to the elect individual, is shared in the public realm by the poem. To read it is to share the spark of divine fire within, and even to follow that spark to its source, and see the world from the view of the omniscient sole cause. In the Protestant epistemology, no outward authority can correct the inner conviction: thus, all in ourselves, as in a glass, we see. Nature, God's second book, is like His first, the Bible; it is read by the inward gaze. The truth of nature, as of the divine text, is its inner writing, and that inwardness is to be understood as individual inspiration.

By knowing ourselves, and especially by regarding our imaginary identification beyond time and personality, we come to sit in God's throne, and to view with His only-seeing eyes. Or, to change the perspective, we might say that by abandoning a sense of a distinct outwardness of God, and attending to the divine image in our minds, we can reorder our sense of the universe. I have said that such knowledge must depend upon our individual circumstances, which is a matter of God's special providence, and thus of predestination; and predestination, properly understood, flattens any possibility of human action at all, for it is impossible that even the Fall itself

His Counsels execution should prevent. . . .

²⁶¹ NT, 161-3.

²⁶² NT, 141-68. Here Providence appears in her terrene dress as *Affliction*; but the disguise is shed later in the poem.

²⁶³ NT, 1913-4.

Could *Eves* weake hand, extended to the tree,
In sunder rends that *Adamantine chaine*,
Whose golden linkes, *effects* and *causes* bee,
And which to Gods owne chair doth fixt remaine?²⁶⁴

Yet, through the imagination, even the effect of Protestant doctrine on causality can be stood on its head. By being properly *imagined*, human freedom, thought and morality are restored by the identification of God's viewpoint with ours.²⁶⁵ From His viewpoint the moral dilemma of double predestination, the authoritative dilemmas of the revolutionary Church, and the philosophical dilemmas of the new thought, are simply annihilated. And of course from God's point of view, all scepticism is impossible. The Protestant imagination lifts us up to God; the Protestant imagination, equally, abolishes the outward numinous by placing it

and election; all events therefore work almost mechanically from the viewpoint of the elect. The elect are unwaveringly inspired to truth, at least about essentials.²⁶⁸

The Protestant idea of plenary scriptural inspiration is not primarily a theological proposition, nor a hermeneutical proposition, but a hermeneutical *procedure*; an act not of reason, but of will. It is most specifically a refusal to entertain certain rhetorical procedures – all those based on challenging the authority of the text. The usual critical faculties of unbelief when reading are to be suspended. In this it is close, as a critical procedure, to the assertion of literary inspiration. We will not tamper with the *anima* of the poem, because we consider that to be something irreducible; we choose not to analyse the poetic authority, either in terms of causality or substance. Similarly, by saying that the Biblical text is inspired, we are saying no more than we will not challenge *its* inspirational authority. Inspiration is not something that we may induce from the words. Nor is it claimed by the words themselves (with the exception we shall discuss shortly). Inspiration is the doctrine that we should read the Bible *as if* listening to the voice of God. It is an identification with the situation, paradigmatically, of Saul outside Damascus.

Certainty granted thus is not to be shaken by argument.

[All] those who are inwardly taught by the Holy Spirit acquiesce implicitly in Scripture; that scripture, carrying its own evidence along with it, deigns not to submit to proofs and arguments²⁶⁹

For radical Protestants, the direct revelation of God through the imagination, the inner eye, is the only hope and conclusion to the Reformation controversy. Though simply an act of will in its negative form (its refusal of doubt), in its positive form inspiration also implies an act of imagination. That is, it is not enough to posit the voice of the God in the words, as a theological proposition, because that proposition is avowedly *beyond* the words, and the words are the ground upon which

²⁶⁸ 'Confession', Sp. VII, 220; WC, v, 4 (p. 13); Beard, sig. A5^r-A7^v; Foxe, VIII, 668-71; Reventlow, pp. 120-4.

²⁶⁹ *Institutes*, I, vii, 5.

all our discussion must move. Nor is it simply that we are to act *as if* God were audible in the words, for the doctrines of double predestination, of special providence and of the priesthood of believers imply that we are ourselves inspired when we read, that the miraculous process of revelation in words is not complete with the first autographs, but continues through preservation, translation, printing, preaching and reading. It is not a miracle merely posited by faith, but requires to be reified. Sir Thomas Browne is therefore never less sound a Protestant than when he confesses that "*Defenda me Dios de me*, God deliver me from my selfe, is . . . the first voice of my retired imaginations".²⁷⁰ No thoroughly Protestant imagination desires God to deliver it from itself: God is within it. As D.G. James points out in his study of *Scepticism and Poetry*, scepticism only demonstrates how much more we apprehend than the merely sensory data; it shows how much we rely on the passive imagination. By analogy, the reflective and organising principles of the active imagination are more significant than its raw material, the Bible.²⁷¹

Calvin implies this when he asserts that while particulars always err, general notions are unlikely to be wrong; there is a particular religious excitement of the imagination produced by the experience of God, even in blind and dirty man; it is therefore possible to appeal from the hopelessly corrupt reason of man to the sounder imagination.²⁷² Thus the ethical goal of Sidney's Calvinist poetry, and Greville's, the appeal to the imaginative reminiscence of good, which the Fall has obliterated in the reason and will, is legitimate enough.²⁷³ Their sense of the failure of their project can perhaps be detected in Sidney, and becomes explicit in Greville's closet dramas, and his bitter-sweet *Life of Sidney*.²⁷⁴

The Reformed imagination is thus self-conscious partisan

²⁷⁰ RM, ii, 11 (p. 69).

²⁷¹ D.G. James, pp. 23-30. Baker, *Dignity*, pp. 203-5.

²⁷² *Institutes*, II, ii, 13, 23; Harold Fisch, *Jerusalem and Albion: The Hebraic Factor in English Literature* (London, 1964), pp. 4-5; Cowper, p. 186.

²⁷³ Rebholz pp. 66-7, 136-9; Joan Rees misses the point, however: *Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, 1554-1628: A Critical biography* (London, 1971), pp. 6-7. D.P. Walker qualifies this matter as regards Sidney: 'Atheists', p. 276. See below, part II, chapter viii, on how the imagination is reconciled with the doctrine of the Fall.

²⁷⁴ Ross, pp. 6-7: "the actual aesthetic effect of such symbols [as transubstantiation and its denial] must be searched and felt in terms of a subtle contrapuntal tension between tradition and innovation with dogma itself." See above, part III, chapter ix, (4).

imagination, deploying images to undisclose the knots and intransigences of reason. It lubricates the grinding of Protestant divinity; it awakens the Biblical text, vivifies reading with the sense of divinity, and makes possible the extremest understanding of the authority of the printed word. And from this extreme alteration to the imagination come changes, to the theatre, pictures, book illustrations, translation, engravings in Bibles: the periphery of the text is the point where the Reformed imagination is most conscious of its own controlling and containing presence.

In summary: imagination as a perceptual process organises our sensory data into cogent experience; by extension – as the active process of feigning – it organises thought, by making the invisible (and more fundamentally real) visible, and the incompatible (the central mysteries of faith) compatible. Protestantism is particularly concerned with this mental process, for to maintain its authority, Protestantism must bring the inner witness of the Spirit into the public realm; which in the first place implies a transfusion of biblical authority to other, interpretive, texts. Protestant writing praises Holy Writ as uniquely authoritative, and by its own mediating authority diminishes that uniqueness. This paradoxical process also requires us to identify the voice of God as the voice of authoritative hermeneutics, or in other words to adopt His voice as an interior monologue – what Milton calls "an internal scripture",²⁷⁵ and the Geneva Bible, in contradistinction to the mere letter of the text, "the [spiritual doctrine, w^c is in our hearts."²⁷⁶

Protestantism has its mysteries of predestination and the inspired, all-sufficient Biblical text, to set against the sacramental mysteries of Catholicism. These mysteries generate their own dynamic tension: it is difficult to keep all the paradoxes balanced in one's head without sliding off into simple self-contradiction. To speak of the rival miracles tactfully, that is, with polemical success, requires great imaginative energy; and colours the imagination accordingly: for these miracles are claimed to be quite outside the processes of nature,²⁷⁷ and thus virtually ineffable in

²⁷⁵ DMW, VI, 587.

²⁷⁶ GB gloss on II Corinthians, iii, 6 ("the letter killeth, but the Spirit giueth life").

²⁷⁷ Harding, *An answere*, sig. S3^v-S8^r, R1^v-R2^r; Jewel, I, 455, 460.

terms of human experience.

These Protestant mysteries are a "master vision, which unconsciously supplies the mind",²⁷⁸ and affects in potential all spheres of humane learning. It is not merely that the text of the Bible is claimed to have universal application to all spheres of human knowledge and speculation;²⁷⁹ the image of God as the ground of human thought and imagination, which lies behind this exegetical claim, touches all possible mental activity. The work of Spenser, Sidney, Bacon and Milton is coloured by this image when they discuss the Muses, sensory scepticism, and the moral influence of painting.

One function of literature for the Protestants, the people of the book, is to translate into the public sphere this internal scripture of inspired reading. The Bible is the type of all literature; inspirational reading becomes the type of reading. Such reading is, explicitly, at odds with the avowed processes of exegesis, and relies upon an external and supernatural motive force – the Holy Spirit. In practice, Protestant reading uses its images of itself rhetorically; the reader imagines the text as a supernatural product. The reader's imagination is efficacious, authoritative, and itself supernaturally motivated; he brings forth the miraculous presence of the *Λογος*.

Protestant imagination works by identifying itself with the Spirit and with the Bible. Such imaginary leaps of personal identity are comparatively easy in practice. The Reformed imagination works negatively:

the mind imagining itself to seek the execution of
God's will, laboureth forthwith to remove ... things ...
which in any way hinder it²⁸⁰

It is the nemesis of doubt; to picture forth the Protestant imagination, even about some controversial point like the historicity of Adam and his Fall,²⁸¹ is to make it incontrovertible. It works positively, to prescribe the

²⁷⁸ Newman, 'The Theory of Development', *Fifteen sermons*, p. 322.

²⁷⁹ Pilkington, pp. 286-7; Cartwright, *The second replie*, p. 56; Reventlow, pp. 114, 119. This is a Calvinist view, but not Calvin's: Potter and Greengrass, p. 21.

²⁸⁰ Lawes, Preface, viii, 5.

²⁸¹ Sidney, *Apologie*, sig. C2^r.

contents of thought. Perkins' *A treatise of mans imaginations* insists:

For the reformatiō of our thoughts, ſundry rules muſt be obserued . . . which muſt admit this meaning, that a man muſt not conceiue a thought in his minde, vnleſſe he haue counſell & warrant from the word of God ſo to thinke . . .²⁸²

It thus stands as an alternative to reason as a controlling template for thinking; and, once accepted, it is perfectly binding: "howſoeuer with men we ſay *thought is free*, yet with God it is not ſo".²⁸³ Despite, for instance, John Jewel's attempt to reconcile Protestant faith with reason, the alternative to this realisation is not synthesis, but evasion. And once the admission has been made, and the claims of reason left behind, the Protestant imagination enters a new realm, not only of dogmatic method, but of epistemology in general. Dualist patterns of thought become overt and dominant; the imagination becomes deified itself, because it has the power to show one a God's-eye view, merely by imagining itself to have such a view. As the imaginative soul comprehends the order of the world by leaping up to God's throne –

as the faire, and cheerefull *morning light*,
Doth here, and there, her ſilver beames impart,
And in an inſtant doth her ſelfe unite
To the transparent Aire, in all and part²⁸⁴,

so the light within (Davies' 'Soul', our imagination) unites the individual Protestant with the universal invisibly, inwardly and by election, as the Catholic world-order did visibly, historically, and by succession. Poetry is the most obvious tool for this process, if only because it is the art technically proficient at "sporting" with the imagination; and "the more lustrous the imagination is, it filleth and fixeth the better".²⁸⁵ For the problem becomes, not the maintenance of Protestant truth against Catholic authority, but the synchronisation, the filling and fixing, of Protestant consciences into a stable universal authority of their own. This

²⁸² *A treatise of mans imaginations* (Cambridge, 1607), sig. H10^v-H11^r; p. 545 in the text (II, 521-552) of the collected *Works*.

²⁸³ Perkins, *A treatise of mans imaginations*, sig. H12^v.

²⁸⁴ NT, 909-12.

²⁸⁵ Bacon, 'Descriptio globi intellectualis', i (Sp. v, 503; cf. III, 329, 343-6 and IV, 292-314); *Sylva sylvarum*, x, 956 (Sp. ii, 659).

order, as I shall argue in the next chapter, depends upon a particular application of the principles of the Reformed imagination to the processes of reading and writing: the doctrine of Protestant inspiration.

CHAPTER TWO

PROTESTANT
INSPIRATION

. . . the truth of being and the truth of knowing are one, differing no more than the direct beam and the beam reflected.

Bacon, *Adv.*, I, iv, 3.

INSPIRATION for us is almost a burnt-out word, in literary, and even in theological, discussion. Yeats scarcely believes that his images come to him from without; our sense of separation of our minds' structures from the structure of the world is too precise. Even modern Protestants who adhere to a strict doctrine of Biblical authority evade, or simply cannot credit, the Reformation doctrine of the text as the transcribed voice of God.¹ This incredulity is the permanent accomplishment of the English Enlightenment; the object of this discussion is to get behind the empiricist axiom that all knowledge must reach us through the portals of authority or experience. I

¹ Protestant exegetical theology since the Enlightenment has been defensively concerned with the origins of Scripture, and identifies inspiration with the content of revelation: since the enemy is now not pyrrhonic scepticism or Catholic authority, but anti-Christian rationalism, which overturns the implausible in the Bible bit by bit. Protestantism therefore tends to shrug off the *mode* of divine inspiration: inspiration is a theological proposition, not a hermeneutical exercise. Protestant dogmatic history often projects this attitude back onto its founders, and treats the verbal inspirationism of the Reformers as a curiosity:

many Christians really did believe that the Bible was dictated by God. . . . In its day the identification of inspiration with dictation was relatively harmless. It was simply part of the mental furniture of many of our forefathers

(W.J. Abraham, *Divine Revelation and the Limits of Historical Criticism* (Oxford, 1982), p. 29; also *The divine interpretation of Holy Scripture* (Oxford, 1981); likewise Ernst Bizer, in his revision of Heppe, ii, 6, 10 (pp. 16-17, 26); John Baillie, *The Idea of Revelation in Recent Thought* (New York, 1956); James Barr, *The Bible in the modern world* (London, 1977); *Fundamentalism* (London, 1977) and *Holy scripture: Canon, Authority, Criticism* (Oxford, 1983). J.I. Packer, *'Fundamentalism' and the Word of God* (London, 1958). B.B. Warfield, *The Inspiration and Authority of the Bible*, ed. S. G. Craig (London, 1951).

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of "aer inſpirated or breathed in", without connotations. Milton, despite what he claims for inspiration in his invocation, speaks of "earth's hallowed mould, / Of God inspired",⁷ meaning that God breathed it out, not that its hallowedness involves a necessary divine presence. Even in Johnson's day, the *Dictionary* regards the physical senses as primary, and "Infusion of ideas into the mind by a ſuperiour power" is a subsidiary definition.⁸ But apart from this purely technical usage, the numinous sense of the word predominates. That air breathed in is the breath of God more than the physical air; metaphysical connotation predominates over physical denotation. Lord Shaftesbury speaks of the "Inſpiration of Pipes" by air, but these pipes are "mere paſſive Organs, actuated by an exterior Force":⁹ he is making a heavy joke. Predominant among the senses of the word *inspiration* is not the infusion of air, but of esoteric knowledge: Shaftesbury's butt is the dissenting religious enthusiast of the Augustan age, the authority of whose "Impulſe" stands in opposition to the rational authority of "our National Church".¹⁰ Shaftesbury's joke works because the notion of a God ubiquitous and half-perceptible has become alien and grotesque to the English rhetorical imagination. *Air* in Shaftesbury is an image for *nothing* – and this imagery is reversed in due course by the Æolian harp of the Romantics.

Nonetheless, the eighteenth century alteration is permanent: inspiration in the metaphorical sense predominates, and seems incredible. In discussion of literature or of the Bible, *inspired* is a word that means authoritative. The genesis of the text is placed further back, behind the processes of human thought, composition and publication. To assert that a text is divinely inspired is no more than to assert its divine authority,

⁷ PL, V, 321-2.

⁸ *Μικροκοσμογραφία: A description of the Body of Man* (London, 1618), p. 424. Johnson quotes Gilbert Watts, Bacon's translator (*A dictionary of the English language*, II vols. (London, 1755), *sub* 'inspiration'):

Inſpiration is when an overwhelming impreſſion of any propoſition is made upon the mind by God himſelf, that gives a convincing and indubitable evidence of the truth and divinity of it; ſo were the prophets and apoſtles *inſpired*.

⁹ Anthony Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury, 'Treatise I. Viz. a letter concerning enthusiasm To My Lord ****', I, 1-55, of *Characteristics Of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, III vols. (London, 1711); pp. 28, 55.

¹⁰ Shaftesbury, I, 55.

except perhaps (usually in the case of the Bible) to declare we should not further examine its provenance or claims in a critical way.

Reformed man's understanding of inspiration is different: first, because it acknowledges the possibility of innate, authoritative images of the world; secondly, because the Protestant mind then narrows this possibility to the text of the Bible. Scripture's very text is different in kind from all other texts because it is inspired, and has to be read differently. For the Word is not only impeccably descriptive; it is also prescriptive of the world. God is infinite and omnipotent, and in the Calvinist tradition His autocratic monopoly on causality and will becomes His defining characteristic – "For from him, by him, through him all things bee;"¹¹ yet it remains possible to make specific propositions about God, because His revelation of Himself in the text of the Bible is sufficient to envelope Him.

(1) The characteristics of Protestant inspiration

And the v[i]sion of all is become vnto you, as the wordes of a booke that is sealed, which men deliuer to one that is learned, saying, reade this, I pray thee: and hee saith, I cannot, for it is sealed.

And the booke is deliuered to him that is not learned, saying, Reade this, I praye thee: And he saith, I am not learned.

Isaiah, xxix, 11-12 (KJV).¹²

Protestants of this period, when they speak of inspired writing, have two models of the word to deal with. One is the classical *cliché* of the poet as the mouthpiece of the muse; the commonest source for this is the tag from the *Ion*, about the poet being unable to write "until he has become inspired, and is beside himself, and reason is no longer in him."¹³

¹¹NT, 762.

¹²In GB, this paradox is further developed: the book ("Or letter") is given first to "one that can read", who cannot read it, then to an illiterate.

¹³*Ion*, 534b. *The collected dialogues of Plato: including the letters*, ed. Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns (Princeton, 1961), p. 220; the *Ion* did not appear in English until the

Sometimes the convention of the Muse is merely polite or pretty; but this does not necessarily draw its ability to sting a Protestant conscience.¹⁴

The other is the dogmatic claim for the inspiration of the Bible; and this is overweening. First generation Reformers, including Calvin, held that God inspired the Biblical tradition, which was committed to writing by the authors themselves; God is the source of all the ideas in the Bible, but not the author of the text.¹⁵ But the Protestant imagination is not content with something so vague, and became more extravagant: English Protestantism especially tends toward an almost Koranic extremity of biblicism, in which the literary merit of the text alone is "the intire perfection" of writing.¹⁶ God is unambiguously the author of the work, in the simple sense that He chose the words; the text must be perceived as perfect because its authorship is the most explicit of the divine attributes. Inspiration is not a theological proposition, but a hermeneutical procedure. It is not the guarantor of Biblical authority, for inspirational authority is an oxymoron; it is a way of asserting faith in authority. But to ask whether God's breath is merely a metaphor for something else is idle; for the word itself matters, the word without further analysis: God is simply in the text, and this concept is so fundamental that analysis of it is beyond our perspective. Paul – "even Paul" – spoke only of the Scriptures.¹⁷

The problem for the Protestants is that, inspite of the theological case for the inspiration of the Biblical text, which is to say the procedure of referring all arguments and practices back to Scripture, there is no lucid philosophical expression of what the doctrine amounts to theoretically. Hooker, Andrewes and Laud can show that it is philosophically confused.¹⁸ But that observation does not in itself abolish it from the

complete Plato of 1701.

¹⁴ Heppe, ii, 11-13, 20b (pp. 26-30, 38-9). Henoeh Clapham, *A briefe of the Bible, drawne first into English Poesy, and then illustrated with apt Annotations* (London, 1603), sig. A3^r.

¹⁵ *Institutes*, I, vi, 1-2; I, vii, 4; Calvin, *Commentaries on the book of Isaiah*, vi, 7; Clapham, sig. A3^r. Heppe, ii, 6 (pp. 16-17).

¹⁶ WC, I, v (pp. 4-5). Fotherby, *Fovre sermons*, sig. E2^r-E3^r. Jewel, 'A treatise', *Works*, II, 1167. *Institutes*, IV, x, 28-29. Whitaker, *Disputation*, p. 405.

¹⁷ Whitaker, *Disputation*, p. 23. Cranmer, *Works*, I, 41. Rogers, *The catholic doctrine of the Church of England*, p. 36. Nowell, p. 113. Bale, 'The image of bothe churches', *Select works*, pp. 261, 263.

centre of the Reformed imagination: the idea that God is somehow in, uniquely, sufficiently and perceptibly in, the text of the Bible is the awful and tenuous mystery that causes Protestantism sometimes to lash out at literature as inherently corrupting, sometimes to take it extraordinarily seriously. Theodore Beza, Calvin's heir at Geneva, in his youth let his fervour take the form of a poem of Calvinist theodicy; in middle age, although reprinting it, the predominant note of his preface is apology: "euen of nature I haue delighted in poetrie, & I can not yet repent me of it".¹⁹ Beza is cited by Sidney as one of the "famous Preachers & Teachers" "of our neerer times", whose *kudos* as Protestant heroes is such that they justify poetry merely by their use of it; it is an insecure recommendation.²⁰ Or again: the greatest Protestant epic before Milton, the rather fulsome *The divine weeks and works* of Guillaume du Bartas, is optimistic enough in the original; du Bartas is sure that sacred poetry can vindicate Protestant truth in the face of the Counter-Reformation's sceptical disparagement of reason. Sylvester, an English Protestant, is anxious about "the tension between joy in art and mistrust of its lying pleasures".²¹ That note of apology is common to most of the pieces I shall speak about in Part III. The humanists could speak of Genesis, for instance, as "a high and holy fiction",²² but the Protestant stress on the text of the Bible, and the Reformation stress on authority in controversy, had made thinkers far more sensitive. The Protestant imagination is not entirely happy with poetry, even when it is strictly Protestant, and even when it is itself producing it: that is the dilemma that concerns this investigation throughout this chapter.

¹⁸ *Lawes*, Preface, iii, 2, 6-10; II, vii, 4-5, 10; III, vii, 11. Laud, *The conference*, p. 70. Andrewes, *Ninety-six sermons*, III, 275. Also: Heppe, ii, 10 (p. 26).

¹⁹ *A tragedie of Abrahams sacrifice, Written in french by Theodore Beza, and translated into Inglish, by A[rthur] G[olding] . . . 1575* (London, 1577), sig. 3^r.

²⁰ *Apologie*, sig. I2^v.

²¹ It partly translated by James himself, in the King's unhappy *The essays of a prentise, in the divine art of poesie* (Edinburgh, 1584). Susan Snyder's intr. to her ed. of *The divine weeks and works of Guillaume de Saluste: sieur du Bartas: translated by Josuah Sylvester* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 5, 60, 74-5. The complete III vol. ed. of du Bartas by U.T. Holmes, J.C. Lyons and R.W. Linker (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1935-40) is still standard. I have also consulted Sylvester's first fragment of the epic, *The first day of the worldes creation* (London, 1595), and the first edition of the whole, finished a decade later, *Bartas: His Deuine Weekes & Werkes* (London, 1605); both have suggestive introductions.

²² Colet, quoted by C.A. Patrides, *Milton and the Christian tradition* (Oxford, 1966), p. 27.

For, so long as the category *inspired* has not been defined with precision, it is hard to see how secular poetry, tainted with that *cliché*, the claim to inspiration, can be differentiated from the Bible, with its claimed inspiration; so that every piece of literature is potentially unfaithful to Protestant belief. I discuss why *inspired* cannot be adequately defined in section three. For the moment it is necessary to note that, however strange this seems to us, the problem is acute enough for radical English Protestants, including such proper humanists as Sidney and Greville. Thus, the only important modern attempt to make sense of the English Bible as inspired literature, Northrop Frye's *The great code: The Bible and Literature*,²³ misses the point. It is altogether too sanguine about the Bible, understood as inspired utterance, and literature, understood as territory that borders on the Biblical text; the question of their common border is, in the tradition of the English Reformation, necessarily a problem.

I want to answer Frye at some length partly because Frye's talmud is a clever revival of the critical technique of Protestant Reformation exegesis; partly because he is aware of this affinity –

certain forms of Reformation commentary . . . were more congenial to me because they accepted the unity of the Bible as a postulate. They do tell us how the Bible can be intelligible to poets;²⁴

and partly because, in reviving the Reformation tradition, Frye takes us closer to the heart of the matter than the sixteenth and seventeenth century writers themselves. This seems paradoxical only if we forget how invidious the Calvinist apologist's task was: "Borne under one law, to another bound:"²⁵ he has to derive all his propositions from the text while denying the Bible needs any special exegesis, and claim them as the obvious consequence of the text while denying a thousand years of commentary upon it. One great awkwardness for the English Reformers is that their account of reading the Bible is clearly untrue. The vagaries and peculiarities I discuss in this study are in the main functions of this

²³ London, 1982.

²⁴ Frye, *The Great Code*, xvii.

²⁵ Greville, 'Mustapha', ch. vi, 2.

dialectic difficulty. But Frye, in recreating an inspirational account of readership, can be more candid in describing his programme: by reading the Bible he means decoding it.

Decoding a text means reducing it to propositions that are substantial – that is, not themselves contained within the exegetical method. But what sort of propositions are we looking for? What do we imagine by a decoding of the Bible – that is, by what authority do we interrogate the authority postulated within it? What is the authority of inspired criticism? that is, what is "the share that a student of the human imagination may reasonably claim" in questions about the meaning of, for instance, death?²⁶ Frye does not hesitate unduly over the epistemology of his work, but then he understands religious systems – "the great doctrinal structures of the past, the ones that we identify as Catholic or Protestant or the like" – as types of which the Biblical text is the prototype; so his own contribution, *The great code*, a self-conscious type, is perhaps as "impressive and useful" as any other.²⁷ But to speak like this is not to create any new myth of how dogmatic truth arises from the text of the Bible. It is only to modulate one particular such myth, that of the Protestants, and especially of the inspirational, radical tradition of Milton and, eminently, of Frye's master Blake. To say that faith is a type or copy of the text is almost to offer a definition of Protestantism, or even of Protestant's own self-definition and contra-definition from Catholicism.

If we take the Bible as a key to mythology, instead of taking mythology in general as a key to the Bible, we should at least have a definite starting point²⁸

This is true enough; but this definite starting point is itself "mythological". The authority of *The great code* as an explanation of the Bible depends upon a definite Protestant myth: which is that a well-informed and well-intentioned reader will find the book opening up its secrets, not to his intellect or imagination, but to a mysterious voice that speaks personally to his moral sense; and that this moral sense is authoritative.²⁹ Frye's

²⁶ Frye, *The Great Code*, p. 123.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 212, 227.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 224-33. Cf. Jewel, II, 1099; III, 62; Hooper, *Works*, II, 90.

Preface – which testifies how his "own personal encounter with the Bible" transformed him, and let him escape from his personality³⁰ – is like a travesty of a Puritan spiritual journal ("every syllable pertaineth to *thine own self*");³¹ nonetheless, it is a faithfully Protestant travesty, and the assumption is that the critical process is a species of pilgrimage.

In English Reformation writing the Bible is not a key to contemporary religious "myths"; the myths are what form and order the Bible, even in the fundamental sense of forcing it into new languages, peculiar expressions, sectarian forms, shapes and titles. The Protestant doctrine of inspiration is, in essence, the assertion that something exterior to the Biblical text goes into it (and comes out of it); we can discuss that something without regarding it as an emanation of the text, over which it is "The pre-eminent and supreme authority".³² The Biblical text is itself the type of Milton's "internal scripture".³³

This is the crux of the Protestant Bible: inspiration is ascribed to the writer, but is practically a matter of reading. By it the reader escapes the "bare woordes" – that is, the text that sits on the page.³⁴ Frye misses the point; he only glances at inspiration, and for a definition, is happy with a straw man –

"inspiration" . . . , that is, a semi-trancelike state in which an author is a kind of sanctified tape recorder writing from the immediate dictation of what appears to be an external source.³⁵

This is a bizarre doctrine, and Frye refutes it easily enough:

Editing and compiling . . . are conscious and deliberate activities, and if the conception of "inspiration" is going to be stretched far enough to include them, it cannot add much to the argument.³⁶

But this is trivial, and Protestant writers have already annihilated such quibbles. Compilation is ascribed to the Spirit;³⁷ Providence has seen that

³⁰ Frye, *The Great Code*, xi.

³¹ Tyndale, *Works*, ed. Henry Walter, III vols. (Cambridge, 1848-50), I, 400: italics mine.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 205. Tyndale, *Works*, I, 360.

³³ *Doct. Chr.*, I, xxx (p. 587).

³⁴ Jewel, *Certaine Sermons* (London, 1583), p. 72; Tyndale, *Doctrinal treatises*, p. 360.

³⁵ Frye, *The Great Code*, pp. 202-3.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

³⁷ Papist exegetes regard the historicity of the canon as contingent; the text is liable to

no books have been lost from the canon,³⁸ and indeed miraculously kept the Hebrew and Greek of the Bible textually incorrupt;³⁹ God's amanuenses do not even make stylistic contributions to the text, for "the Spirit of God hath concealed . . . the holy Ghost his Pen-man";⁴⁰ and Protestant translations claim or imply divine inspiration for their vernacular text.⁴¹ Frye realises that "it does not matter . . . [who] uttered it";⁴² but only because, even if we knew, the utterer would not have anything to do with the text. Frye seriously misrepresents Milton as wondering why God should have committed His truth to such "wayward and uncertain guardians" as the scribes and editors of the New Testament, for he omits Milton's next words:

alteration and even destruction in the accidents of history. "Certain also of ours [the Reformed faith], like . . . *Whitaker*, following *Chrysostom*, make the . . . assertion [that some books of the Old Testament have perished]" (Rissen, quoted by *Heppe*, ii, 13 (p. 29)). But this view did not prevail in European Protestantism, and the authoritative *Leiden Synopsis* teaches (*ibid.*): "The . . . collection or digest of [the books of the canon] . . . was actually also made divinely, and that partly directly".

³⁸ *WC*, i, 2, 4, 7; *Whitaker, Works*, pp. 294-6; *Corpus Reformatorum (Opera Calvinii)*, xxxix, cols. 673-5 (Potter and Greengrass, pp. 100-1); *Reventlow*, pp. 70-2; *Heppe*, ii, 3-5 (pp. 12-16); *Kümmel*, pp. 351-5.

³⁹ Protestant divinity even asserted that the authors must have thought in Greek, even if Syriac was their native language, as they wrote in Greek (*Heppe*, ii, 10 (p. 19)).

⁴⁰ *Clapham*, sig. I3^v: again, this is confuted by Milton, *Doct. Chr.*, I, v (p. 241) and I, x (p. 353, and *Carey's n.*).

⁴¹ *GB*, translators' preface, sig. .̄. 4^r: "we vndertoke this great and wonderfyl worke . . . which . . . God according to his diuine prouidence and mercie hath directed" (sig. .̄. 4^{r-v}). *RM*, I, 29 (p. 29); *Broughton, Advertisement*, sig. C4^r; *Steiner*, pp. 348-9.

This is the doctrine of advanced Protestantism; the first Reformers, including Calvin, held that God inspired the Biblical tradition, which was committed to writing by the authors themselves; God is the source of all the ideas in the Bible, but not the author of the text (*Institutes*, I, vi, 1-2; I, vii, 4; *Heppe*, ii, 10 (pp. 22-6)). Frye notices the Preface to the Authorised Version in his own Introduction (*The Great Code*, p. xiii), but only to admire it for its honesty, and does not reflect on its extraordinary claims.

The other side of course felt constrained to claim authority for their own translation, the "Ancient Vulgar Edition" (Trent, session IV (8 April 1546), p. 13), but this is a declaration of intent by the Church's magisterial power: the Vulgate is to "be held as Authentick in publick lectures, Disputations, Preachings and expositions": there is no claim about a divine perfection inherent in the text.

⁴² *Frye, The Great Code*, p. 203. Cf. *Richard Popkin, Isaac La Peyrère (1596-1676): his life, work and influence* (Leiden, 1987), p. 72. *GB*, 'Argument to the Gospels', sig. 2A2^r: "In this historie written by Mattheue, Marke, Luke, and Iohn, the Spirit of God ſo gouerned their hearts, that although they were foure in nôber, yet in effect and purpoſe they ſo conſent, as thogh the whole had bene compoſed by any one of them." Again, Catholics and moderate Protestants are obliged to maintain, against all reason, that Hebrews is by Paul, and has his authority. The rigid Protestant is insouciant: "ſeing the Spirit of God is the autor thereof, it diminiſheth nothing the autoritie, although we knowe not with what penne he wrote it": *GB*, Introduction to 'The Epistle to the Ebrewes', sig. 3C2^r; *Greenslade*, p. 161.

unless it was so that this very fact might convince us that the Spirit which is given to us is a more certain guide than scripture, and that we ought to follow it.⁴³

The transmission of the text, as much as its composition, is a direct and impeccable act of the divine will.⁴⁴

The text is thus enclosed in Protestant theory: all the possible entry points for human influence have been plugged. We are therefore missing the point if we imagine the Protestant doctrine is meant as a historical claim, an assertion about the mental histories of the men who held the pens when the books of the Bible came into existence; for inspiration is innately atemporal, and cannot be merely a historical event. If it were a historical, it would be bounded in its influence on and authority over us by the limit of all historical events, our ability to know about it. But the Protestant imagines a single action of revelation, piercing through the conception, dictation, transmission, editing, compilation, translation, reading and comprehension of the divine book, from God, who by His predestination orders all these processes to His immediate end, to himself, the Elect reader, predestined from before the foundation of the world to receive his salvation through that book. Diversity of time, personality and intention are all compacted into something like Saul's bolt of light outside Damascus.⁴⁵ The Word shines on us as pure miracle, and the temporal processes of composition, transmission, translation and publication are imagined transparent. There are no circumstances with the Bible: the text has no history and no second causes.

Sir Thomas More sees at once that atemporal generation of Scripture is a cornerstone of the Protestant case: "yf they veynquysh this one poynt, all theyr heresyesh fully be burned vppe" – "the chyrche was byfore the gospell wryten"; and this "Tyndale, wyth all the helpe he hath had of all the heretyques in Almayne . . . hym selfe can not denye".⁴⁶ Again, God is ontologically preeminent above the Bible:

the trouth of god dependeth not vppon goddes owne

⁴³ Frye, *The Great Code*, pp. 137-8; *Doct. Chr.*, DMW, VI, 589.

⁴⁴ Heppe, ii, 12-3 (pp. 28-30).

⁴⁵ Nowell, p. 117. Rogers, *The catholic doctrine of the Church of England*, pp. 35-6.

⁴⁶ More, vol. VIII, part i, p. 227.

worde neyther / but is absolutely trew in yt self
without any dependance vppon hys word at all.⁴⁷

But if the impulse of Catholic humanism was toward Biblical criticism, which would have been a considerable intellectual advance, the conservative caution of Reformation and Counter-Reformation theology put an end to it.

Because the Bible is divine it is outside the processes of time; because it is efficacious for salvation, it is in some sense outside space. Salvation in the Protestant view occurs outside the material world, by God's eternal whim, and no object within the world can help, hinder or serve the ineluctable process of damning and redeeming. No worldly thing or event, neither the visible Church nor the tangible sacraments, can be a soteriological agent. At most, such things can be the shadowy twins of the actual spiritual processes. The Protestant mind finds all potency ascribed to the material things in themselves incredible, and particularly, finds devotions involving objects incomprehensible, mere idolatry – worship of a finite, physical artifice – and so obviously silly as to be consciously evil. The "adoration [of] . . . any particular thing"⁴⁸ is a nonsense; particular things can have no *rôle* except inasmuch as they signify to us entities efficacious, and therefore outside the material world. The spiritual and the material are substances that cannot be mixed, and can only awkwardly and dangerously stand in for each other; an image of a spirit would be "an absurdity and undecent thing",⁴⁹ and the only acceptable symbols for the spiritual are the very few actually commanded by the Bible.

Evidently, a folio volume labelled *Holy Bible* is itself an object; but the Protestant imagination can manage hardly ever to think of it as an object. For the physical volume exists as a necessity for our reading. No objective experience of the text is possible; the subject is always present, and, in the subjective experience of readership, text and reader are, for the moment, indivisible. The writing can be imagined as a process in the reader's mind. The usual model of apprehension fades away; no longer do

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

⁴⁸ Perkins, 'The Idolatrie of the laſt time', *The workes*, II, 662.

⁴⁹ Hooper, *Later Writings*, p. 317.

things which we regard as exterior fall through sensory portals into the interior primary imagination for transmission to the higher levels of his mind; things pop into his head from the inside.⁵⁰ When he reads with concentration, he disregards the only continuing empirical reality, which is the process of reading. When he starts to consider that he is sitting, holding a printed sheaf of papers bound with a spine, he has ceased to read. There is a large gap between the two levels of consciousness necessary to read a book, and to regard it as a book.⁵¹ If we were to reduce Protestant hermeneutics *ad absurdum*, we might say that this mental gap is the ambiguity Protestantism exploits as the supernatural gap between human and divine knowledge, between material and spiritual substance. Certainly the descriptions of reading the Bible in Protestant divinity dwell on images of escape from normal sensory experience: being dazed by light strong as a sunbeam, hearing a voice from heaven.⁵²

Solar imagery for the Bible, which is habitual to the Protestant imagination, suggests the detachment of the sacred text from the usual human parameters of materiality, contingency and temporality.

As the sun will not cease to shine although men should be blind, so the divine word will never take harm, whether it be approved of men or not⁵³

In section three I want to show how this image is strangely reversed, so that, instead of illustrating the externality of the text, the sun becomes an image of inwardness; thus its light does indeed "depend upon the testimony of man",⁵⁴ and is created by the comprehending ego.

⁵⁰ Frye, *The Great Code*, p. 92. NT, 1084. Huarte Navarro, *Examen de Ingenios*, p. 31. *Adv.*, I, iv, 3.

⁵¹ Roland Barthes develops this idea with admirable scholasticism in 'From Work to Text', pp. 155-64 of *Image Music Text*, sel. and tr. by Stephen Heath (London, 1977), p. 157: my thanks to Dr Catherine Maxwell for this allusion.

⁵² *Institutes*, I, xiii, 3; III, v, 1; and IV, xviii, 3; Rogers, pp. 35-6; Whitaker, *Disputation*, pp. 415-62; Nowell, p. 117; Jewel, I, 448; Perkins, *Works*, I, 72;

⁵³ Heppe, ii, 10 (p. 24), quoting Virellius.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

(2) Bacon and the miracle of inspiration

In . . . poesy, I can report no deficiency. For being as a plant that cometh of the lust of the earth, without a formal seed, it hath sprung up and spread abroad more than any other kind.

Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, II, iv, 5.

This atemporal quality of Protestant inspiration is indulged as vividly in Bacon's unfinished novella, the 'New Atlantis', as anywhere else. Atlantis is like an England ruled by and for the Royal Society; and the "End of [that] . . . Foundation is the knowledge of Causes . . . and the enlarging of the bounds of Human Empire".⁵⁵ But there is one exception to the hunt for causes, and the power that comes from observing and replicating causes: the Bible. For no natural reason, some twenty years after Christ's Ascension, a "great pillar of light" appears off the coast with a "large cross of light" on top of it; and bobbing in the middle of the pillar is an ark, containing

a Book and a Letter The Book contained all the canonical books of the Old and New Testament . . . and the Apocalypse itself, and some other books of the New Testament which were not at that time written, were nevertheless in the Book.⁵⁶

The Letter, from the apostle Bartholomew, explains that a vision has commanded him to launch this ark on "the floods of the sea."⁵⁷ It is, therefore, a gift to the Atlantans from God of the direct sort: God is author, compiler, and even publisher; and thereafter translator, for He arranges a miracle whereby all the Atlantans can read the Bible in their various languages.⁵⁸ Bartholomew is necessary to supply the physical kernel for the work, for the Reformed imagination does not like the idea of anything from heaven appearing on earth in physical form: that would savour of transubstantiation. The divine body is wholly removed from the earth: but the disembodied word is immediately and miraculously given. God has not even troubled to wait to inspire St. John to write the Apocalypse,

⁵⁵ NA, p. 239.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ On Protestantism and the diversity of languages, see below, chapter vii.

but supplies a preview of the text He will later dictate on Patmos.⁵⁹

This biblicist mythopœia is striking because Bacon, even more than Sidney, perpetuates the Renaissance tradition of secular knowledge into the English Protestant tradition, which is by no means easy. Although it is true that Protestantism as a European phenomenon discarded the claims of *ratio recta*,⁶⁰ in England the radical wing of the Reformation revived right reading as the ubiquitous guardian of thought: Cartwright asserts that "the argument of authority of man is good neither in human nor divine sciences".⁶¹ Man's authority is nothing both because it is a small thing bobbing in the torrent of ineluctable predestination, and because the "small force [of] . . . human sciences" is overwhelmed by the solar glare of the Bible. Bacon has to confess the causeless thrust of light from heaven before he can have his perspective-houses and "artificial rainbows, haloes and circles about light."⁶² The difficulty is in defending empirical learning from Cartwright, once the direct operation of the divine will in the world is admitted.

Bacon's model of man therefore accepts a fairly strict epistemological dualism. Man has a sensible soul, which he shares with the animals, and which is liable to empirical research; but his human or higher soul is essentially evident only to itself. Although "knowledge [of the soul] may be more really and soundly enquired, even in nature, than it hath been",⁶³ there is in the end an irreducible divine spark.

For the substance of the soul in the creation was not extended out of the Mass of heaven and earth . . . but . . . immediately inspired from God.⁶⁴

Knowledge of this higher soul must also "come by the same inspiration".⁶⁵ Only inspired understanding can tell us about our faculty for inspiration; and only that faculty informs us of God. Only that inner

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 223-4.

⁶⁰ Hoopes, pp. 1-3, 7-21, 97. Heller, pp. 86-9. On Jewel and *ratio recta*, see Booty, pp. 126-47; and below, chapter ix, section (1), p. 302.

⁶¹ This is confuted by Hooker: *Laws*, Preface, iii, 2; II, vii, 4; III, vii, 11.

⁶² *The second replie of Thomas Cartwright: aginſt Miſter Doctor Whitgiftes ſecond answer* (London, 1575), p. 55; NA, p. 243.

⁶³ *Adv.*, II, xi, 1.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Adv.*, II, xi, 1-3.

spark lets us know we have souls to be saved, and only the inner spark detects in the soteriological scheme of Protestantism the means of salvation. When the Atlantans are confronted with the Bible swimming in its ark, they find themselves "bound . . . as in theatre"⁶⁶ and unable to approach it until the knowledge within has acknowledged the knowledge without. Then one of the magi of the Atlantan academy prays:

Lord God . . . thou hast vouchsafed of thy grace . . . [for us] to discern . . . between divine miracles, works of nature, works of art, and impostures and illusions of all sorts. I do here acknowledge and testify . . . that the thing which we now see before our eyes is thy Finger and a true Miracle; and forasmuch as . . . thou never workest miracles but to a divine and excellent end, (for the laws of nature are thine own laws . . .) . . . prosper this great sign . . .⁶⁷

With this his boat becomes "moveable", and can approach the boat and seize the Bible.

There is therefore a closed field of knowledge concerned with theology, inspiration, and what we might call the higher anthropology: a field that is non-inductive, non-empirical, and essentially non-rational. There is every sign that Bacon regards this as a serious problem: certainly the only question in theology that he does not think has been overwritten is the question of the boundary between the two.⁶⁸

Imagination, therefore, has itself to compose a divine picture of itself: on the one hand it has to show itself as a natural faculty that often impedes natural reason; on the other hand, it has to show us that what we are moved and struck by the Biblical text is not merely a human rhetorical or poetic power, a substance *Empiricall*, but a miracle coming from beyond the world, a substance *Dogmaticall*.⁶⁹ Protestant dogma tells us that

the scriptures, being given by inspiration and not by human reason, do differ from all other books in the author:⁷⁰

⁶⁶ NA, p. 222.

⁶⁷ NA, p. 222-3.

⁶⁸ *Adv.*, II, xxv, 4-6.

⁶⁹ 'Prometheus, or the state of man', allegory xvi of *The wisdom of the ancients*, sig. F6^v - F7^r. *Adv.*, II, xviii, 2. This is of course a significant proposition, not merely the commonplace Renaissance distinction between *scientia* and *sapientia* (Lewalski, pp. 291-5).

but that dogma is ultimately based upon Scripture, and our faith in Scripture upon our inspired apprehension of God in the Word; the imagination has to present us with plausible images that this apprehension is not external and literary, but the "inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the Word, in our hearts."⁷¹ Protestantism rests on this inner spiral, therefore: Protestant dogma is guaranteed true by its force on the imagination, which is so strong because inspired, and we know it to be inspired because we have such a forceful picture in our imagination of God speaking to us through inspiration.

Imagination in this scheme has to be bisected, on the one hand into the ground of inspiration, in which we see ourselves as God's creatures and hear the Bible as His voice; and on the other, into the mental faculty, which, for instance, rhetoric manipulates, and which (perhaps) can influence material events.⁷² The trouble with this division is that the imagination is not self-evidently divided. Rhetorical persuasion which makes the invisible future seem as real to the imagination as the present,⁷³ appeals to us in the same way as the self-evident, and therefore 'inspired', truths of divinity; theological poetry in particular uses the poetic appeal to the imagination as a deputy for the divine appeal. And, although rhetoric is desirable enough, the mental faculty is usually a *problem* for secular thought. God must make our minds clean of fancy for empirical thought to work properly; Mind and Nature are to be married in the new organon, not to bring forth "monsters of the imagination", but heroes to slay the imagination's monsters.⁷⁴ These monsters are the idols of the mind, which delude us and impede clear-

⁷⁰ *Adv.*, II, xxv, 14. John Hull similarly maintains that, although the Bible is indeed better literature than any other book, our unique response to it is not merely literary: *Saint Peters prophesie of these last daies. Discovering the iniquity of the time, and atheisme of the age. Prouing the Burning of the world, manifesting, the Iudgement to come, and confirming the Resurrection of the dead, &c.* (London, 1610), sig. 3Z2^v.

⁷¹ WC, I, v (pp. 4-5).

⁷² *Adv.*, II, xviii, 2; II, v, 1. Cf. Sp. III, 300-1, 119-24.

⁷³ *Adv.*, II, xviii, 2, 4.

⁷⁴ Bacon's 'Redargutio Philosophiarum', p. 131 in Benjamin Farrington's tr., which I use throughout: 'The Refutation of Philosophies', pp. 103-33 of his *The Philosophy of Francis Bacon: An essay on its development from 1603 to 1609 with new translations of fundamental texts* (Chicago, 1964). Cf. PL, V, 102-15; VIII, 183-203.

headed perception: they are persistent images, and by calling them idols, Bacon is invoking one of the liveliest activities of the Protestant imagination: the iconophobic purging of itself.⁷⁵ Bacon, praying for "the intellect made clean and pure from all vain fancies", receptive to the "greater light" of the new knowledge,⁷⁶ is praying for a cleansed imagination.

Imagination is in Bacon the firmament of thought, but it is a contended and impure ground. Part of the endeavour of reformed learning must be to purify and strengthen it:

To fortify imagination, there be three ways: the authority whence the belief is derived; means to quicken and corroborate the imagination; and means to repeat it and refresh it.⁷⁷

But authority is controverted; and the imagination, the field in which God's voice is comprehended, was not closed to other, discordant voices also claiming authoritative inspiration.⁷⁸ Bacon observes that even magicians (inasmuch as their miracles are not effected by evil spirits) can exploit language, including the Bible, to compel the imagination.

There are used . . . Scripture words; for that the belief that religious texts and words have power, may strengthen the imagination.⁷⁹

Indeed, magicians can entice merely with words of gibberish:

there have been ever used either barbarous words, of no sense, lest they should disturb the imagination; or words of similitude, that may second and feed the imagination.⁸⁰

Because of the religious schism, it is always possible for the alternative pictures of truth to suggest themselves, and in any case the

⁷⁵ See below, part II, chapter vii. Bacon knows that idols are inevitably laid in our imagination by language and by society, so hopes only to erect new, more enlightened ones (*Adv.*, II, xvi, 2-7; Farrington, pp. 39-41).

⁷⁶ Dedication to God of 'The Masculine Birth of Time, or the Great Instauration of the Dominion of Man over the Universe', p. 59 in Farrington's tr., pp. 59-72 of *The Philosophy of Francis Bacon*.

⁷⁷ *Sylva sylvarum*, x, 900 (Sp. ii, 640-1).

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, x, 957 (Sp. ii, 660).

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, x, 947 (Sp. ii, 656).

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, x, 948 (Sp. ii, 657).

weapons of the debate are essentially contending and contradictory images of the mind's perception. Exterior authority cannot order the imagination. Its purification must be by refreshment and repetition, that is to say by the enticements of art:

. . . do you suppose, when all the approaches and entrances to men's minds are beset and blocked by the most obscure idols . . . that any clean and polished surface remains in the mirror of the mind on which the . . . light of things can fall? A new method must be found for quiet entry into minds so choked and overgrown. Frenzied men are exacerbated by violent opposition but may be beguiled by art.⁸¹

One is reminded of *An apologie for Poetrie*. That is not to say that Bacon is particularly concerned with the fragility of the imagination, nor with its *rôle* of art in the new organon.⁸² For Bacon is concerned with investigative method more than with system-building: "those two faculties *Dogmaticall* and *Empiricall* , are not yet well ioyned and coupled together"; they are forced together awkwardly because of mere "philosophicall abstractions."⁸³ Knowledge of the material world depends upon a sound metaphysical knowledge, and knowledge of this sort pertains not to the reason but to the imagination; the essential remedy for error is the strict distinction of the two. Philosophical abstractions resolve themselves properly when indirect, empirical data, and the direct apprehensions of truth of the imagination, are separated and balanced. Bacon's epistemology is to this extent unlike later British Empiricism,

⁸¹ 'The Masculine Birth of Time', i, Farrington, p. 62.

⁸² *Adv.*, I, iv, 3.

⁸³ 'Prometheus', *The wisdom of the ancients*, sig. F6^v - F7^r. In any case, Bacon was too much a man of the institution – his idea of a revolution in education is to have Eton and Magdalen designated wings of a technical college (Farrington, p. 47; I follow the text of R.S.'s ed. of *Letters of Sir Francis Bacon* (London, 1702; cf. Sp. XI, 63-73) – and his ideas of the Church are exuberantly erastian. His actual churchmanship was very moderate, and his explicit notion of Biblical exegesis would scarcely have discomfited a Laudian: Bacon imagines the Church, although it cannot command anything contrary to the Scriptures, possesses the custody of them, and therefore may interpret them ('Confession', Sp. VII, 224-5; Rawley, Bacon's cautious editor, insists on adding "but such only as is conceived from themselves", preserving the strict Protestant notion that the text itself contains its own exegetical machinery). In any case, Bacon was an eirenic proto-latitudinarian: "it is a thing of great use well to define . . . what latitude those points are" which require persecution, and which differences can be tolerated with one communion (*Adv.*, II, xxv, 9). Bacon is a Protestant philosopher who applies some of the extreme implications of Protestantism to philosophy, without himself being dogmatically extreme.

whatever paternity that claimed.⁸⁴

Imagination in Bacon is a faculty of inspiration and expiration: it is the power of the mind that has direct connections beyond the mind. So, curiously, he is earnestly concerned with the potency of the imagination to affect matter directly, and his grand experimental scheme includes a programme on psychosomatic healing and telekinesis:

There would be trial also made of holding a ring by a thread in a glass, and telling him that holdeth it, before, that it shall strike so many times against the side of the glass, and no more⁸⁵,

and so forth. Bacon expressly rejects the doctrine of Pythagoras and the hopes of Paracelsus about the direct manipulation of the *spiritus mundi* by force of men's imaginations.⁸⁶ Paraclesian science, through identifying imagination with "miracle-working faith", may perhaps to some extent be efficacious;⁸⁷ but the world is not an organism, and our imaginings do not put us in touch with its mind. However, "light motions" at least may be within the potency of the imaginative power; for the same inspired imagination that brings us knowledge from heaven, through observing our own divine spark and through detecting it in Scripture, may be capable of effecting changes in matter at a distance.

The knowledge of man is as the waters, some descending from above, and some springing from beneath; the one informed by the light of nature, the other inspired by divine revelation.⁸⁸

The problem is that waters flow together; this is why Bacon must spend so much space in *Of the proficiencie and advancement of Learning, diuine and humane* distinguishing one from the other. The goal is a system in which knowledge of oneself, of God, and of the Bible are in their own

⁸⁴ Harold Fisch, *Jerusalem and Albion: The Hebraic Factor in English Literature* (London, 1964), p. 4.

⁸⁵ *Sylva sylvarum*, x, 957 (Sp. II, 660). Bacon's word for this function of the imagination is *fascination*: *Adv.*, II, xi, 3.

⁸⁶ *Sylva sylvarum*, x, 900 (Sp. II, 640-1).

⁸⁷ It is illegal, not because it colludes with evil spirits in "sacramental contract", or because it uses idols as Catholicism does; but because it is too easy: *Adv.*, II, xi, 2; Sp. III, 381; IV, 400.

⁸⁸ *Adv.*, II, iv, 5. It follows that, in secular learning, the usual Protestant imagery is reversed: upwards is bad, and our mind should come away from the sky and down to the grass: 'The Refutation of Philosophies', Farrington, p. 113.

inviolable cistern, and empirical knowledge of the world, including philosophy,⁸⁹ is in its own. Such a system would exclude natural theology from any critical *rôle*, and would thus be theologically biblicist: to that extent it is an extension of the serious Renaissance revolt against Aristotle (Bacon's "Prince of imposture, the Anti-Christ"):⁹⁰ the limited authority of the Bible replaces the unbounded authority of scholastic reason. If such a revolution were accomplished, the sceptical threat would be rebuffed: because earthly knowledge could not be impugned by theological pessimism; while theological doctrine would be free from the entanglements of the new learning, and the need to explain its connection with secular philosophy, historiography, and criticism.

'New Atlantis' is inevitably unfinished, because Bacon naturally gets bogged down in a scientific fantasy of Xanadu: artificial metals, artificial rainbows, perfected worms grown from putrefaction, towers half a mile high,

drinks of extreme thin parts, to insinuate into the body
. . . . new mixtures and compositions of gun-powder,
wildfires burning in water, and unquenchable.⁹¹

This is splendid; but with the description of the House of Salomon, we have reached an empiricist's New Jerusalem: no further drama is possible, and a regression from Atlantis would be very lame. Bacon has bogged himself down and cannot retrieve his narrative. What is suggestive is that Bacon has to get the problem of the inspired text out of the way before he can lose himself with riotous extrapolation of sense and cause. The Protestant myth of the Bible is part of the husk: one has to explain the peculiar excitement and certainty that comes to a Protestant reading his Bible *before* one can decide what can be made of the material world through observation and induction.

⁸⁹ *Adv.*, II, v, 2-3; II, vii, 1.

⁹⁰ 'The Refutation of Philosophies', Farrington, p. 113.

⁹¹ *NA*, p. 239.

(3) The Promethean spark and the Pauline bolt

he who receives
Light from above, from the fountain of light,
No other doctrine needs, though granted true.
Milton, *PR*, IV, 288-90.

If inspiration for the Protestant, rather than a quality detected or supposed in the exterior world, is a habit of mind exercised by the imagination, we need to ask what its own images of that exercise might be.

These images of the inspired imagination are naturally stereotyped. Ignoring numerous burning bushes, falls of manna, rain showers, sermons and audible voices from the sky, I consider two, which seem, numerically, to be dominant in sixteenth and early seventeenth century Protestant literature, and which besides indicate some of the contradictions and tensions in the Protestants' imaginative currency. One is inner light, the Promethean spark; the other a fall of rain or thrust of light from without, typified by Saul's conversion (imitable because it is internal, authoritative because external and sufficiently caused from without). The central oddity of Protestant light imagery is that these two sets of images amount to the same thing.

The image of wind is not common, despite the etymology of the word *inspiration*. *Θεόπνευστος* is too overpowering a metaphor, for its dualism inhibits any idea of human free will, and any notion of particularity. It implies an invisible force, blowing where it lists through the world, which compels visible reality to act and appear as it does. If God's breath runs through the world, who can resist it? If God breathes on history, what other causality can there be? If God breathes through the text, how can it be other than His immaculate and self-sufficient Word? Such questions are close to the core of the Protestant mind: for God is autocratically sovereign, and altogether irresistible. Light, and not wind, is used by Protestantism to describe divine inspiration, because light has no force and light can be focussed. After 1660 English enthusiast Dissent returns to wind as the metaphor for the Spirit, because it feels itself compelled by a exterior force.⁹² But for radical Protestants within the Church before the Civil

Wars, light lies focussed within the Bible, which we choose to read. By reading the Bible, we discover ourselves; by obeying the precept *Nosce te ipsum*, we can know God. As Bacon says, there is a "light of nature" which, metaphorically, "springeth from beneath", and "consisteth in the notions of the mind and the reports of the senses"; so there is a supernatural inner light, metaphorically "descending from above",⁹³ which informs the dogmatic imagination. *Inward*, toward the inner light, means also *upward*, to the descending light.

This mysterious identification of the beam with the source is common with the best of Continental Protestant thought:

As Scripture itself, as if radiating an outward principle by its own light . . . so the H[oly] Spirit is the inward, supreme, first, independent principle, actually opening and illuminating the eyes of our mind⁹⁴

Here again, the ambiguity of the light metaphor (beam and sun) means that the precise question of the text's dependence on interpretation, that is, on the interpretative Spirit, is evaded or confused. God is, essentially, the ubiquitous Spirit, the Spirit is the Scriptures, the Scriptures are the word speaking in the heart of the believer; the heart therefore is the entire theatre of the deity.

The ideal descent of supernatural light is the bolt that falls on Saul outside Jerusalem. In the light is a voice, which his companions cannot hear;⁹⁵ and the voice identifies itself as Jesus'. By this speaking light Saul is instantly converted, and blinded; he is subsequently cured of his blindness by another, human, agent of God.⁹⁶ He goes on to found the gentile Church and write (or rather take the Spirit's dictation for) most of the New Testament on the authority of that bolt.

This incident is, for the Protestant, the perfect conversion,⁹⁷ the

⁹² Shaftesbury, I, 28.

⁹³ *Adv.*, II, v, 1.

⁹⁴ Heppe, quoting Voetius; ii, 10 (pp. 25-6).

⁹⁵ Acts, ix, 3-6; or perhaps they "lawe in dede a light and were afraid: but they heard not the voyce of him that spake vnto me" (Acts, xxii, 9, *GB*): for S. Luke changes his mind.

⁹⁶ "[Saul] was three dayes without sight" (ix, 9) is allegorised in the *GB* marginal gloss – quite against its convictions: "He as so rauished with the vision that he did meditate nothing, but heauenlie things".

⁹⁷ Jewel ('A treatise of holie scripture', *Works*, IV, 1169) points to Augustine's conversion

perfect example of authority, and the perfection of the word of God. To begin with, it annihilates the indirect and human conduit by which grace reaches the individual in the Catholic scheme. Cranmer rejoiced on his conversion, to Protestantism and from belief in transubstantiation, at a replication of Saul on the Damascus Road: "the living God . . . hath wiped away these Saulish scales from mine eyes".⁹⁸ The blinding beam of light from God (which is, from the text; which means, from within) annihilates the exterior sacramental presence.

In the second place, such immediate action by God is the unanswerable answer of the Protestant imagination to rational scepticism: the direct revelation of God through the imagination, the inner eye, is for the most radical Protestants the only hope and conclusion to the Reformation controversy. The typical climax to the long debates is not didactic at all, but inspirational: an appeal to Jesus to "graunt vnto . . . [the Jesuits] that calling & correction which he gaue to Paul".⁹⁹

Reiterating Saul's vision outside Damascus is the model of all proper readership and all proper conviction: and this reiteration amounts to an identification, an imaginative fusion of personhood. "You will never be able to enter into Paul's meaning, unless you imbibe Paul's spirit."¹⁰⁰ A Protestant reader has to be David before he read the Psalms, and Paul before he read the Pauline epistles.¹⁰¹ He then stands in their position. But there is a specific point about Paul's authority, for his revelation is different: it is not from the incarnate Jesus at all, but comes direct to the apparently reprobate enemy of the Church, in a blaze of miraculous light. Paul is particularly important to Protestants not only because of the particular Protestant reading of Paul's soteriology, but because he stands in

for our imitation: it came from a single sentence of Romans, and is as instant as Paul's: "all the darkness of doubtfulness vanished away, as if some clear light of security were poured into my heart". Pilkington also argues that as the Apostles were inspired "suddenly", so we must, for all our study, expect an instantaneous revelation in our exegesis (*Works*, p. 329; Hughes, pp. 24-5). The Laudians rejected instantaneous conversion: there must be a least a tiny chronological interval between repentance and regeneration (Forbes, I, 59).

⁹⁸ Cranmer, *Works*, I, 241. Hughes, p. 216.

⁹⁹ Carlile, sig. * 6^r. Cf. Jewel, IV, 1167, and Whitaker, *Disputation*, p. 447: "unless that inward persuasion of the Holy Spirit be superinduced, the mind can never seriously and resolutely acquiesce in any interpretation [of Scripture]."

¹⁰⁰ Whitaker, *Disputation*, p. 450 (creatively misquoting S. Bernard).

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 451.

opposition to Peter. Peter receives the keys of authority from Jesus, incarnate and visible as man; Saul, invisibly, individually, out of due season, from Jesus, after His Ascension and invisible to Saul's travellers on the Damascus Road. Saul revolts against the order of the Jewish 'Church'; but his revolt is also against the Petrine order of visible authority, descending through human beings from the human Christ. Thus, not only is the Damascus Road vision a type of the new gospel, born out of due season in the sixteenth century, but a model for its continued existence. One must not only be Paul in the imagination, to enter into the moment of his revelation; one must be the recipient of that same gift of light, because against the visible human chain of the Catholic Church, one must assert a continuous invisible chain of conviction by the Spirit.¹⁰²

The paradox here is that because the process of inspiration is continuous, it is also timeless, and the reader is meant to transcend Paul, rather as the Spirit transcends him in the process of writing. One is meant to hear, even in the Damascus Road narrative, not Paul's voice reporting Jesus', but God's voice directly revealing Himself, "as it were face to face". One becomes "both the judgement and the judge, the interpreter and the rule."¹⁰³ Paul's conversion is not approached through history. The reader may transcend as he reads, not because of his ability, but because he and the text are eternally predestined, the text to say what it does and the Elect reader to see and hear in reading it the voice of God announcing his salvation.¹⁰⁴ This can be put another way by saying that with the flood of light Saul escapes from darkness and anxiety into perfect freedom, and hears his election to salvation proclaimed by Christ; and yet, with the bolt of lightning that throws him from his horse, he experiences the determinist compulsion of God's predestinarian will. The elect reader experiences this same paradox: Saul's compelling light is both liberating and prescriptive.

In the third place, the direct revelation to Saul is a type of ideal exegesis: for we get on the Damascus Road what we get almost nowhere

¹⁰²Cranmer, *Works*, I, 41; Whitaker, *Disputation*, p. 467

¹⁰³ Whitaker, *Disputation*, p. 450. Hughes, p. 90.

¹⁰⁴ Babington, sig. A2v; Whitaker, *Disputation*, pp. 415-62; Rogers, pp. 35-6; Nowell, p. 11; Perkins, *Works*, I, 72; Jewel, I, 448; *Institutes*, III, v, 1. Tyacke, pp. 10, 18.

else in the Bible, an explicit voice from heaven saying "I am Ieſuſ of Nazaret",¹⁰⁵ or in other words a direct claim to inspirational utterance. One of the problems with the inspirational exegesis of Protestantism is that it has to be imposed on the Bible from without, for the text does identify itself with the divine voice. Paul's letters, for instance, describe their authority as a function of Paul's own, as an apostle and perhaps as a prophet. The text is only sometimes self-consciously inspired: Paul's Damascene vision has its own mandate, for it is avowedly an utterance of God's; but what of Paul's letters, which are avowedly his own? What they prescribe is malleable, and no one in the great controversies of the English Reformation admits to be in simple contravention of Paul; the rest of the Bible is even less obviously a self-sufficient code of imperatives. This is not an unreal problem for Protestantism. It is necessary for the claim of inspiration to be a process located within the Biblical text. Protestant apologetic quotes no sentences from the Bible as fervently as the self-referential ones, and it always over-reads them: amplifying the passages within the canon that extol the authority of 'Scripture', and assuming that they are extolling also themselves.¹⁰⁶ One passage, II Timothy iii, 16, very nearly does make some sort of claim for God's voice in inspired writing, and, as I have noted, uses the word *θεόπνευστος*; it is therefore probably the most flamboyantly mistranslated passage in the English Bible.¹⁰⁷ A passage

¹⁰⁵ Acts, ix, 5 (GB).

¹⁰⁶ Christ's enjoinder to "Search the ſcriptures, for in them ye thinke ye haue eternal lyfe" (John, v, 39) is the burden of the Bishops' Bible cover, and Parker's theme in his preface.

¹⁰⁷ "All ſcripture, geuen by inſpiration of GOD, is profitable" ſays the Henrician Great Bible, improving on Paul's notorious ambiguity with some careful punctuation. Subsequent editions repair this fault, most of all the Geneva Bible, so that last phrase becomes prescriptive, not conditional:

for the whole Scripture *is* giuen by inſpiration of God, and *is* profitable to teach, to improue, to correct and to inſtructe in righteouſnes,

That the man of God [*marginal gloss*: Which is content to be gouerned by Gods worde.] may be abſolute, being made perfite [The onlie Scripture]ufficeth to lead vs to perfection.] vnto all good workes.

The Bishops' Bible (as later the King James') follows Whittingham into this heavy-handed amplification: "All Scripture is given by inspiration of GOD and is profitable." Subsequent English Protestant translations have usually relented. Cf. Milton, 'The likeliest means', DMW, VII, 574-5; A.T. Hanson's discussion of 'Inspired Scripture: 2 Timothy 3.14-17', in his *Studies in the Pastoral Epistles* (London, 1968), pp. 42-55). In his heated exchange withover II Timothy, iii, 16, More stresses the problem of canonical self-definition: "the very bokes of the scripture it ſelfe, can nat make men beleue ye scripture, nor very ſurely knowe whyche were the very true ſcriptures of god": 'The Confutation of Tyndale's Answer', following the

in the letter of James that seems to lean against biblicism is also overtranslated.¹⁰⁸ These infidelities to the Greek vindicate themselves in the translators' minds because Protestantism's case is nearly won if the text itself would rebuke the mind that doubts Protestant truth by declaiming: "I am Ieſuſ of Nazaret whome thou perſecuteſt: it is harde for thee to kicke againſt prickes".¹⁰⁹

Fourthly, the Damascus road offers an image of escape *from* exegetical theology. One of the paradoxes of Protestant doctrine is that the reader is most faithful to the text at the moment he departs from its inspiration into his own. When he is filled with the Spirit's revelation, he is most able to read aright the inspiration granted to His prophets. In George Wither's metaphor, the substance of the text remains unmarked; the golden truth within it melts at the beam of inspiration from God, which "paſſeth through a purſe, . . . and there meltis the Coyne, without leauing any . . . ſigne upon the leather".¹¹⁰ Creative imagination allows us

text of *The Yale Edition of The Complete Works of St. Thomas More*, ed. Louis A. Schuster *et al.* (New Haven, 1973), hereafter cit. as More, vol. VII, part i, p. 362; VIII, i, 501.

¹⁰⁸ This other notorious crux (James, iv, 5-6) apparently contrasts the authority and grace of the Spirit dwelling in the Church with the Spirit in the text. Earlier Protestant versions (Tyndale and the Great Bible) preserve the ambiguity, but *GB* improves James' doctrine for him (the italics acknowledge interpolation):

Do ye thinke that the ſcripture ſaith in vain, The ſpirit that dwelleth in vs, luſteth after envie? But *the Scripture* offereth more grace & therefore faith.

The Catholic translation of Gregory Martin denounces "The boldnes of the Hæretikes adding here the vvord *Scripture* to the text", and follows the Vulgate (II, 1862: "*spiritus qui inhabitat in nobis maiorem autem dat gartiam propter quod dicit*") in explicitly identifying the Spirit within the Church, rather than within the text, as the source of grace:

Or do you thinke that the Scripture ſaieth in vaine: *To enuie doth the ſpirit couet vvhich dwelleth in you?* And giueth greater grace

Martin and William Fulke's debate over this passage is an illuminating example of how far a fixed imagination can manacle exegesis: *A discoverie of the manifold corruptions of the holy ſcriptures*, sig. C3^v; Preface to Rheims (sig. C3^v; Pollard, *Records*, p. 309); *A defense of the sincere and true Translations*, pp. 552-3. *KJV* tacitly accepts Martin's point:

Doe ye thinke that the ſcripture ſaith in vaine, the ſpirit that dwelleth in vs luſteth to enuy? But he giueth more grace.

¹⁰⁹ Whitaker admits that "scripture hath no audible voice," and, for a moment or two, regrets that we cannot entreat Christ and His apostles to explain their words: "they have departed and left us only their books". But almost immediately it seems we can interrogate the textual oracle – "we must use certain means to investigate what is the sense and what the mind of the scriptures" – and Whitaker asserts that God "would [not] . . . speak otherwise . . . of he were now to utter a voice from heaven." Whitaker, *Disputation*, pp. 450, 446; cf. Bale, 'The image of both churches', *Works*, pp. 261-3. Whitaker represents the older tradition in Reformation thought, which has yet definitively to identify God's word with the text of the Bible, and distinguish revelation from inspiration (Heppe, ii, 13 (p. 29)).

¹¹⁰ Wither, *A preparation*, X, ii, reading (as above, p. 35) *purſe* for *purſue*.

to perceive the melted coin even without accurate and critical attention to the leather. God's Word's is not coded, and is the literal sense of the text. "The Scripture hath but one core meaning, which is its literal sense",¹¹¹ one "true and simple meaning", which even the simplest may attain;¹¹² the text's author "is a benigne and liberal spirit to lead us into al the wayes of Truth":¹¹³

The literal sense [however] . . . is not that which the words immediatly suggest . . . but rather that which arises from the words themselves.¹¹⁴

Reading of the Bible with a sunbeam, or lightning, fixed in the reader's head as the image of reading, transforms the process of reading. This image of external, forcefully imposed light, is in obvious contrast to the image, typical of Bacon's philosophy, of the divine spark *within*, mixed with the mortal clay.¹¹⁵ Bacon identifies this spark with the Promethean fire, as is conventional; but his legend of Prometheus, an informing notion throughout his philosophy, depends upon this authoritative source of light within man, verifying and complimenting the "natural light of things" without.¹¹⁶

'Prometheus, or the State of man', the twenty-sixth and longest of the allegories in *The wisdom of the ancients*, tells how Prometheus stole divine fire from the chariot of the sun. Fire is a divine attribute, but it, now and from the beginning of time, resides within us. Various catastrophes subsequently overtake Prometheus, but the spark is immovable. It exists within even the atheist, and troubles him greatly, for he cannot explain why it is there if God did not plant it there; he denies its presence,¹¹⁷ but it exists by an act of will on the part of man, and cannot be

¹¹¹ Tyndale, quoted in A.C. Partridge, *English Bible translation* (London, 1973), p. 69. Partridge, who is full of logical positivism, misrepresents and trivialises Tyndale's literalism (pp. 45-59: Tyndale "was too good a textual scholar to believe in . . . immutable verbal inspiration", p. 45).

¹¹² GB, translators' preface, sig. .•. 4^v.

¹¹³ Parker, Preface, *BpsB*, sig. R1^v.

¹¹⁴ Wither, *A preparation*, x, 2. Bale, 'The image of bothe churches', *Select works*, p. 261: The more figurative speech aboundeth here [in the Bible's text], the more let [the faithful believer] . . . confer it with other scripture without all honied colours of rhetoric".

¹¹⁵ Prometheus', *The wisdom of the ancients*, sig. F3^v.

¹¹⁶ 'The Masculine Birth of Time', i, Farrington, p. 62.

¹¹⁷ *Meditationes sacræ*, Sp. VII, 239-40 (Latin original), 251-2 (Spedding's tr.).

shrugged off.

The divine spark is the sacred space within, and it is therefore free of the mechanical causality of the material world. In the Baconian legend, Prometheus' fire is not merely the font of inspiration, but of causality: man, because of that spark, shares the divine freedom and the divine attribute of mentality, and is (therefore) the centre of providence:

it woulde seeme strange and incredible that the reason and minde should so proceed and flowe from dumbe and deafe principles, as that it should necessarily be concluded, the soule of man to be indued with prouidence¹¹⁸

Although Bacon allows this spark of providence is "not without the . . . stamp of a greater prouidence", that is, within God's sovereign providential sway, it frees man to exist in a causal network of his own:

this . . . is chiefly propounded, that man is as it were, the center of the world, in respect of finall causes¹¹⁹

Man is raised up to a sort of divinity. His divine spark frees him from his mortality, because it (like the inspired text of the Bible) allows him direct access to the truth of nature, and (like predestination) makes his affairs the focus and cause of events. The divine and human natures share this sacred space.

Thus, one of the more important oddnesses of 'Prometheus, or the State of man' is the christianisation of the myth – which Bacon refuses. Prometheus, that is, man, is chained to a rock; Hercules, the heroic son of God, comes to free him and destroy the persecuting eagle. The identification of Hercules and Christ is heavily hinted at, but not admitted:

I haue interdicted my penne all liberty in this kinde, lest I should vse strange fire at the altar of the Lord.¹²⁰

Bacon is interdicting his pen from divine poetry, that is to say from letting the divine spark go beyond its proper *rôle* into the creation of inspired narrative. Such narrative is the sole domain of the Bible; the Bible's monopoly on divine light is protected, despite our own divine spark, by

¹¹⁸ Prometheus', *The wisdom of the ancients*, sig. F2^v-F3^r.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, sig. F3^r.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, sig. F8^v.

an inhibiting act of will. In Part III, I shall discuss variations and inversions of this inhibition about strange fire.

Those who attempt to conflate empirical and dogmatic, inductive and imaginary truths, are maddened, as Pentheus and Actæon were maddened when they spied on the mysteries of the gods:

Seeing the light of nature is one thing, and of grace
another, it happens so to them as if they saw two
sunnes . . . ¹²¹

But in Bacon's system there are in fact two suns: the light within and the light without, Prometheus' spark and Paul's bolt of lightning. Pentheus' sin is in trying to see both at once, and the penalty is madness (especially the scholastic madness).¹²² The alternative to madness is blindness: the bolt from the biblical text blinds us, at least for a while, from the sun of nature. For as long as we read the Bible, the Bible and not nature is our sun: "Take away the light of the sun; and what remains but darkness?"¹²³ Without the Bible, "the sacraments were no sacraments, our faith were no faith, our conscience no conscience",¹²⁴ and the mind is dark; such absence

blindeth our eyes We are blind ourselves; and the
place wherein we are is nothing else but darkness.¹²⁵

But (as in Davies' *Nosce teipsum*)¹²⁶ to admit the blindness of natural man is at once to imagine the preternatural enlightenment of man through inspiration; and to imagine it is to discover it. Blindness for the Protestant is controlled; for he can choose the moment at which the light of reading overwhelms him, and he can choose to turn from the light of natural learning to the light of revelation. His will is native to both sources of illumination.

There is thus no contradiction between the outward light from

¹²¹ 'Actæon, and Penthevs, or a Curious Man', allegory x of *The wisdom of the ancients*, sig. C3^r.

¹²² *Ibid. Adv.*, I, iv, 5-6; II, xxv, 10-11. 'The Maculine Birth of Time', ii, Farrington, pp. 63-4.

¹²³ Jewel, 'A treatise of holie scripture', *Works*, IV, 1178. The Bible is the sun, our only light; and is miraculously hidden from the reprobate: Whitaker, *Works*, pp. 289-90. Booty, pp. 141-5; Hughes, pp. 26-7.

¹²⁴ Whitaker, *Disputation*, p. 466. Milton, *Of Reformation in England*, p. 23.

¹²⁵ Jewel, 'A treatise of holie scripture', *Works*, IV, 1164.

¹²⁶ *NT*, 749-56.

heaven that strikes down Paul, and the inward light Prometheus stole from heaven. Paul's inspiring light is not *outward*, and Prometheus' *inward*. Paul is the Protestant Prometheus, who discovers the light within himself when he chooses to hear the divine voice in Scripture; and Paul is the type of all the elect. Man's Promethean mixture combines the two worlds: man, or rather the human soul, is the mystery. Milton explains away a passage in Colossians which pictures God as bodily present in Christ, but from the same passage argues that God is bodily present in humanity.¹²⁷ Protestant imagination, for all its apparent pessimism, reproduces the egoism and practical atheism of the Renaissance picture of man.¹²⁸

¹²⁷ *Doct. Chr.*, I, xiv (p. 419) and I, vii (p. 310).

¹²⁸ Heller, pp. 84-6; Reventlow, 58-60, 123-5. Anne Ferry's *The "Inward" Language: Sonnets of Wyatt, Sidney, Shakespeare, Donne* (Chicago, 1984) argues for a new conception of the mental *inner*, deduced (rather daringly) from a small sample of poems; she proposes Ramus as source of this evolution, but barely considers the Reformation.

CHAPTER THREE

SOME
IMPLICATIONS

Nearly all the wisdom we possess . . . consists of two parts: the knowledge of God and of ourselves. . . . [So] man never achieves a clear knowledge of himself unless he has first looked upon God's face, and then descends from contemplating him

Calvin, *Institutes*, I, i, 1.

ADAM DREAMS of Eve. Waking, he apprehends her, for God has made the outward reality in parallel with Adam's own inward imagination.¹ This offspring of his imagination is the centre of all Adam's desire: "Authority and Reason on her wait";² Eve is entirely his, and had he waken and not found her, he would, he says, have felt cheated of the beautiful creature he had found within himself. Adam's unfallen imagination is the "spiritual repetition", as Keats says, of sensory experience.

The unfallen Adam, unlike his descendents, is capable of being fully awake and fully rational; his uncorrupted reason can enjoy unchallenged monarchy over his faculties, and only in sleep is his fancy free to imitate the putting asunder and pulling together of reason.³ But with Adam's Fall, the pure light of reason is lost; and even when the Gospel has been revealed to Adam's degenerate seed, they willfully distort and neuter it. Indeed there

PL, VIII, 460-90.

PL, V, 554. "The Imagination may be compared to Adam's dream – he awoke and found it truth Adam's dream . . . seems to be a conviction that Imagination and its empyreal reflection is the same as human Life and its spiritual repetition." Keats to Benjamin Bailey, 2 November, 1817, in *The letters of John Keats 1814-1821*, ed. Hyder Edward Rollins, II ols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), letter 43, I, 185.

PL, V, 100-13.

remain, as a protection against man's perverse reason, the Scriptures, "those written Records pure"; but they are only "by the Spirit understood";⁴ so that the only reliable source of knowledge is the Spirit himself, who renews the image of God within man. When that occurs, Adam's unsullied imagination, although not his uncrippled reason, is restored, and that which the faithful flock sees by inspiration is true, because God is creating it without, in parallel.⁵ The difference is that now our daylight and rational faculties remain broken, so that we, as it were, dream of Eve, but whenever we wake, wake blind: the stress on inspirational authority is a way of insisting that Eve is there, despite our blindness, *because we dreamt of her*.

Important knowledge, that is, knowledge of God, is not obtained by looking outward from the soul. Knowledge of the outer world, gained through experience or authority, is shadowy, and true knowing comes from direct apprehension: the Spirit (in Whitaker's phrase) "speaking plainly in the scriptures as also secretly confirming the same in our hearts".⁶ Whitaker distinguishes these two things, textual inspiration, which is general, and prophetic inner persuasion, for which we must also be specially "illuminated by the Holy Spirit", but which "concerns only ourselves".⁷ It is possible to distinguish between public and private belief, the creeds of the Church and the spiritual experience of the individual, the public sphere and the inner life. But Milton is aware of the extreme freedom in reading "those written Records pure"; the inspired faculty of reading is itself an "internal scripture . . . engraved upon the hearts of believers".⁸ The consequences of this for Christian authority and faith, that is, for the nature and degree of religious belief, I discuss in sections two and four of this chapter. In sections one and three I deal more generally with secular understanding, of objects and events, that is, of matter and cause; for the the inner eye is authoritative even in these things, inasmuch as they concern faith; and and granted the ubiquity of providence, predestination, and perhaps supernatural prodigies, that is a wide scope.

PL, XII, 513-4.

Ibid., ll. 485-551.

Whitaker, *A disputation*, p. 446.

Ibid., p. 415.

Doct. Chr., I, xxx (p. 587); cf. Tyndale's reading "but ghostly and spiritually", *Works*, I, 88.

(1) Protestant dualism

Is the garnisher of the heavens, maker of the world . . . no
substance, but a phantasy, an imagination?
Roger Hutchinson, 'The Image of God, or Layman's
Book', *The Works*, p. 137.

Strict causal determinism is natural in well-rounded Protestant thought. It should be clear from the first chapter that the tendency of the Reformed imagination is also towards an absolute substantial dualism (though unlike Cartesian dualism). God, with all His functions (creative, incarnational, inspirational, judicial), is a different sort of thing from the world, and there can of course never be real mixture of the divine and the mundane substances. All mundane events occur as part of a matrix of cause and effect that is "anti-sacramental";⁹ bread in the communion service is hardly less, but also no more, empty of divine substance than is every other thing.

The Protestant God is ultimately the God of Genesis, and particularly the God of the human problem: God builds the world in chapters i and ii, and despatches it into finitude and confusion in ii and iv. The God of these passages 'saves the data' of the discomfort of human existence. He is demonstrated as the author of the situation – the author, then, even of the problem – without being an agent in the subsequent action. His incarnational, inspirational, and judicial attributes are minimised or mechanised. Incarnation is never central to the imagination of Protestantism, which tends, as its opponents sometimes observe, to Socinianism;¹⁰ this process ends with Milton, according to whom Christ is created by decree.¹¹ Bacon's private 'Confession' emphasises Christ's death as a timeless event, a prerequisite of creation, all material substance being inherently incapable of satisfying the divine substance:

therefore . . . before him with whom all things are
present, the Lamb of God was slain before all worlds¹²;

⁹ Grant, pp. 25-6, 35, 133.

¹⁰ Chillingworth, *The religion of Protestants*, sig. 2§3^v- 2§4^v.

¹¹ *Doct. Chr.*, I, iii (pp. 166-7).

¹² 'Confession', Sp. VII, 219. Cf. Cranmer, *Works*, II, 138; Latimer, *Works*, I, 74, 378; Carlile, *A discourse*, sig. C2^r; Forbes, II, 314-5, 324-5.

and although Bacon's holds a Catholic view of the incarnation itself,¹³ the function of the historical Jesus' natural death is as a reenactment of this eternal act.

Inspiration, particularly the inspiration of the reader of Scripture, is not external, but works from a mental faculty, the secondary imagination, which is the Promethean fire within. Even the Last Judgment in Protestant imaginations almost always figures as a moral post-mortem, without soteriological function, or even suspense (for the sentence was determined before the defendant was made).¹⁴

This being so, God's creative function is for Protestantism virtually the final connection between the world of the senses and human authority, and the spiritual realm. And even that is only historical: God's Sabbath rest since the sixth day almost removes Him from the world. The imaginative tension innate within dualism, the difficulty in imaging how two substances can touch each other, is most tense in the doctrine of creation; the Protestant imagination balks at the unambiguous notion that God made matter. The material world is the theatre of evil, and natural man is predisposed to badness; matter stands in opposition to the world of spirit. The Catholic doctrine, that God made the world *ex nihilo*, was formulated (by Augustine) to contradict the dualism of the Manichees; but Protestant imagination, contemplating the world, dwells on its material cause, nothingness, rather than its final cause, God, and so slurs off into a dualism of its own.¹⁵ Matter is very nearly nothing, and inclines towards non-existence. Spiritual events, which occur within the material world, but are quite separate from it, alone keep it in existence.

¹³ ". . . the Word did not only take flesh, or was joined flesh, but was made flesh . . . one person: so one, as the blessed Virgin may be truly and catholicly called *Deipara*, the Mother of God" ('Confession', Sp. VII, 223).

¹⁴ Bacon, interestingly, cannot imagine how those "constant and everlasting laws, which we call *Nature*" are to be modified to allow the divine intervention in history at the end of time: this is a mystery "the manner whereof is not yet revealed"; it is even more interesting that Rawley, who edited Bacon's literary remains, dilutes this to "fully revealed" ('Confession', Sp. VII, 220-1).

¹⁵ Lutheran thought in particular tended to insist that the existence of matter, although God's doing, was separate work from the ordering of the Six Days: so there was an initial Chaos before creation proper began. Heppes, ix, 17 (p. 197). Subsequent Protestant thought was more loyal to the Catholic doctrine of *ex nihilo*: Heppes ix, 4, 10, 15-16 (pp. 190-1, 193, 196-8).

Goodness is a spiritual quality and matter is too trivial to possess it; the good work of the Six Days of Creation involves the Spirit of God breathing tolerable order into a Chaos that already exists.¹⁶

Bacon is thus true to the 'living idea' of the Protestant mind, if not to the letter of Protestant dogma, in feeling his way towards a parallel account of creation; most adventurously in *The wisdom of the ancients*, his allegorisation of Ovid's myths.¹⁷ Mercury – herald or word of God, and therefore symbol of Scripture – is the cause of the world:

[so] the holy Scriptures without all controuersie affirme, & such of the Philosophers as had any smacke of diuinity assented¹⁸;

Pan, or Nature, must be the offspring of Mercury –

or el] . . . [of] the confused seedes of things . . . For they that would haue materiate beginning;¹⁹

and it is apparent that we are meant to hold both paternities in our imaginations. For, because the Word of God is equivalent with the Bible, and because, as I have observed, the Protestant imagination internalises the sacred text by identifying it with the inward motions of inspired reading, the literal doctrine of creation is scarcely a problem for the Protestant imagination. The Protestant mind can view the mundane substance as if it were self-existent and self-ordering (and God, as formal cause, can be bracketed away). Instead of the divine *fiat* of Genesis i, there is a universal order governing matter, the uncaused cause of all – "(as for God, we alwaies except him)" – exterior to matter, moving the passive atoms, itself unconscious, blind, unprovidential and ineluctable.²⁰ Bacon

¹⁶ Mornay's account of the frightfulness of matter unmoulded by God, for instance, comes very close to implying that matter is inherently ungodly: *Trunesse of Christian Religion*, pp. 23-5; A.S.P. Woodhouse, 'Notes on Milton's views on the creation: the initial phases', *PQ*, XXVIII (1949), 211-36.

¹⁷ *The wisdom of the ancients* is serious philosophy, despite its history of critical neglect (Farrington, pp. 49-50); and it is in accordance with Bacon's theories of propagating learning that art, including this odd, exuberant allegory, should be used as a medium for the reformation of mind: cf. 'The Masculine Birth of Time', i, Farrington, p. 62.

¹⁸ 'Pan', *The wisdom of the ancients*, sig. A11^v.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, sig. A11^v-12^r. 'Cupid, or an Atome', *The wisdom of the ancients*, pp. 76-84. Of course, in imagining thus, Protestantism was only coming home from a patristic construction to the creation doctrine of Aristotelianism. Heppe, ix, 4, 10, 15-16 (pp. 190-1, 193, 196-8).

allegorises this, "the first Matter (which next to God is the auncientest thing)", as Proteus, for it keeps changing its shape but has the integrity and independence of a being.²¹ Although it may, like God's providence, be inscrutable –

perchance there is no likelyhood, that the manner of it may bee conteined or comprehended within the narrow compasse of human search²²

– it is clearly distinct in origin and explanation from the truths of revelation, that is, from the text of Scripture. The Cabbalistic desire to find all human sciences hidden in the Bible, and explaining "the divinely-inspired Scriptures . . . in the same way as human writings",²³ are equal and opposite errors.

God is inward: even His *rôle* as creator depends upon our imagination's capacity to reconcile the abstract doctrine of His creation with the perceived existence of matter. God's creation is an internal matter, a function of the divine spark within. Thus, the Edwardian Reformer Hutchinson, in his book attacking the Popish use of images as a means to worship, finds English Protestantism already sliding into the opposite error, that the creative Spirit is Himself nothing but a "godly inspiration", "no substance, but a phantasy, an imagination".²⁴ If we are to make no substantial "similitude" of God, "either of gold, silver, stone, wood, or in thought and mind",²⁵ then we are in the odd position of forbidding our imagination to grant substance to the Spirit, while commanding our reason to argue the Spirit's substantiality. Hutchinson proposes three tentative routes out of this dilemma: first, that when the Protestant imagination does (semi-licitly) use images for the Spirit, they are themselves substantial; secondly, that the imagination cannot invoke itself ("No man prayeth unto an inspiration; no man crieth to an affection");²⁶ thirdly, that if we deny the Spirit substance, we are dangerously close to thinking He can be imagined in any object, displacing

²¹ 'Protevs, or Matter ', allegory xiii of *The wisdom of the ancients*, sig. C10^r.

²² 'Cupid, or an Atome ', *The wisdom of the ancients*, p. 78.

²³ *Adv.*, II, xxv, 16.

²⁴ Hutchinson, 'Image of God', *Works*, pp. 134, 137.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 135-6.

the natural substance: "Methinketh this assertion hath affinity with the doating opinion of transubstantiation."²⁷ Clearly, all this is feeble going. Hutchinson has no real answer to what he calls Sadducceeism except the hoary empirical threat of "the Devil, (as Gods hang-man)":

I think our Sadducees will be edified more by a conjuror, than by the words of godliness. Wherefore I send them to conjurers, sorcerers, enchanter, charmers, witches; which will learn them and persuade them that there be devils, . . . spiritual substances and spirits created for vengeance . . .²⁸

This is also, of course, Bacon's argument, but Bacon stands it on its head: if conjurors can excite our imaginations from within, with words (and particularly the words of Scripture), we are no nearer an escape from the trap of imaginative subjectivism.²⁹ The seed God puts in men's souls is His greatest gift, and allows all the others;³⁰ what Hutchinson does not admit is that it therefore contains all the others, and that there is no independent knowledge possible beyond that divine seed.

English Protestant writing about inspiration has an air of resistance to it. Protestant imagination is exercising a special tact about its dualism. To isolate the precise nature of any religious mystery is contrary to the decorum of faith, and the Protestant mind avoids a precise definition of textual inspiration, as Counter-Reformation apologists shy from a definite declaration of the moment and mode of the prodigy of the Mass³¹ (or perhaps a Cartesian from imagining too closely the mysterious working of the pineal gland), although sometimes driven towards definition by controversy. This reluctance is not merely mystification. When a system

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 139-40. King James disbelieved in witches flying on broomsticks for the same reason (*Daemonologie*, sig. F4^v):

I thinke it is so contrarie to the qualitie of a naturall bodie, and so like to the little tranſubſtantiat god in the *Papistes Maſſe*, that I can neuer beleuee it.

There is a Protestant phobia about any mingling of bodies and spirits, in any place of co-mixture other than the text of Scripture: and this is true even of the King, who is so far from anything post-Cartesians would recognise as dualism that he thinks Spirits are very very thin gas: "anie place where the aire may come in at, is large inough an entrie or them" (sig. I2^r).

²⁸ James VI and I, *Daemonologie*, sig. A3^r; Hutchinson, 'Image of God', *Works*, p. 142.

²⁹ *Sylva sylvarum*, x, 947-8 (Sp. ii, 656-7).

³⁰ Hutchinson, Epistle Dedicatory to Archbishop Grindal, 'Image of God', *Works*, pp. 1-2.

³¹ Laud, *The Conference with Dr Fisher*, p. 287; Harding, *An answer*, sig. Q8^v, R1^v-R2^r, S3^v-S8^r.

explains how the invisible and the visible realms are united, it faces a particular rhetorical conundrum (language differentiates concrete and abstract terms, so there is no easy third category to describe the meeting of the two) and a particular imaginative conundrum (because it is hard to imagine how one substance can have to do with another. Cartesians, for instance, reputedly have to imagine a ghost manipulating a machine). The divine substance is imagined as connected with the mundane by inspiration, and inspiration is therefore described with a firm discretion that almost amounts to evasion. This discretion is evidence for the importance of inspiration in the system, as the only real conduit for divine authority into human thought and action.

Discretion ends with Milton, or at least in his private, carefully unpublished, *Summa, De Doctrina Christiana*.³² Here we can see English Protestantism stripped almost of her last ambivalent image. Milton thought to a conclusion (not merely proposing topics, as Bacon did); and *De Doctrina Christiana* often shows the consummation of English Protestantism, or at least of the traits we have been discussing. Protestant thought surmounts and orders Protestant imagination, and in working through the implications of Milton's radical propositions, many of the radical images we have noted disappear from view.

Milton can follow a conservative and even a Catholic line on many points, rather than following Protestantism in its more extreme developments, because of his central radicalism about the light of the Spirit. Broadly speaking, his extreme doctrine of private inspiration and inspired readership makes much of the content of Protestant rhetoric, and indeed of Christian orthodoxy, redundant. The sacred space is overtly swallowed up by the ego,³³ and the pictures with which the Reformed imagination bolstered its imagination of the nearness and immediacy of the sacred are no longer required.

We have, particularly under the gospel, a double scripture. There is the external scripture of the written word and the internal scripture of the Holy Spirit

³² Tr. John Carey, ed. Maurice Kelly, volume VI of DMW; cited throughout as *Doct. Chr.*, with Milton's book and chapter divisions, and pagination from Carey's translation.

³³ *Lawes*, II, vii, 1; II, vii, 1; 3; 6; 8-9.

which he, according to God's promise, has engraved upon the hearts of believers³⁴

The inner scripture is enough. It follows that the outer scripture need not be so sacrosanct; corruption and omission are possible.³⁵

Milton follows Calvin and the early Reformers in their doctrine that God inspired the men who wrote the Bible, rather than the radical one that He dictated it to them.³⁶ He can even speak of the "authority of the visible church" guaranteeing the essential reliability of the text "in a good and overall way".³⁷ The substantial dualism of which I spoke falls to pieces in Milton: God is within, so there is no scandal in supposing that God created Himself – and even from Himself: matter is a sort of spirit.

[For] spirit, being the more excellent substance . . . eminently contains within itself what is clearly the inferior substance [that is, matter] [since] not even God's efficiency could have produced bodies out of nothing.³⁸

Milton demolishes the Protestant (and Baconian) image of a pre-existent Chaos, but his peculiar view of material causes will not let him return to the Catholic doctrine, creation *ex nihilo*, and he has to go even further by positing this heterodox notion of creation *ex Deo*.³⁹

However, the old Protestant image of the self-existent "confused feedes of things"⁴⁰ creeps back into *Paradise Lost*. In the creation narrative, it certainly sounds as if God is working on primal matter that has hitherto lain beyond His ken;⁴¹ and when Satan creeps to the throne

³⁴ *Doct. Chr.*, I, xxx (p. 587). Cf. *PL*, XII, 513-14; Tyndale's idea of reading "but ghostly and spiritually", *Works*, I, 88.

³⁵ *Doct. Chr.*, I, v (p. 241); I, x (p. 353); I, xxx (pp. 586, 588-90).

³⁶ Heppe, ii, 6 (pp. 16-17). Calvin teaches that God is the author, not of the text, but of its dogmatic content (*Institutes*, I, vii, 4); inspiration is a claim about a putative historical event (I, vi, 1-2; cf. I, xxi, 5).

³⁷ *Doct. Chr.*, I, xxx (pp. 588-90).

³⁸ *Doct. Chr.*, I, vii (p. 309).

³⁹ "Notes on Milton's Views on the creation: Initial Phases", *PQ* (1949), 211-36. Patrides, *Milton and the Christian tradition*, pp. 29, 45-6. Heppe, pp. 190-202. Carey's essay in *DMW*, VI, 87-90. To be fair, Genesis really is dualist, and the idea of *ex nihilo* creation has to be read into it (or read against it: see *The sermons of John Donne*, ed. George R. Potter and Evelyn M. Simpson, X vols. (Berkeley, 1953-62), V, 316). Milton's heterodoxy on creation, as on the Trinity, is merely a function of his taking seriously the Protestant catch-cry of the Bible as the sole font of doctrine.

⁴⁰ 'Pan', *The wisdome of the ancients*, sig. A11v-12r.

⁴¹ *PL*, VII, 210-17; though, as John Carey points out, at V, 471-4 there is a hint of Milton's

of Chaos, "old Anarch", "eldest of things", we seem to be meeting an entity self-assuredly independent of the almost local "king of heaven".⁴² This scene is a better representation of the English Protestant dualist vision than Milton's reductionist speculation in *De Doctrina Christiana*. The material world sits enthroned, gloomy, vast, incomprehensible and unencumbered, in agoraphobic space, while the spiritual activities of God and His adversary, pursuing their spiritual, inward war, pass by beneath his feet, from the enclosed sacred space called heaven to the small, enclosed sacred space of humanity's Eden.⁴³

(2) Inspiration and authority

Yet when each of us, in his owne heart lookes,
He findes the God there, farre vnlike his Bookes.
Greville, 'Mustapha', chorus vi, ll.23-4.

This axiom of inspirational presence does not necessarily tend towards pantheism or spiritualism, because it implies a limited field within which the divine activity is specially discernible. The divine substance is not mixed with the world; it is narrowly isolated in a sacred space, and I want to devote some time to identifying what and where that space may be.

The sacred space for native English radical Protestantism is the textual space of the English Bible; this is not thought of as external space (that would be idolatry), because the English radical Protestant

heterodox doctrine – God, after decreeing the Son but before proceeding to anything else, ends forth, apparently from himself, the matter for further work.

² *PL*, II, 958-1009; 988, 962.

³ *Doct. Chr.*, I, vii (p. 309). Woodhouse ('Milton's view of Creation', p. 220) draws attention to du Bartas' cosmological poem, the *Deuine Weekes & Werkes*, tr. Josuah sylvester (London, 1605), pp. 1-2; but du Bartas seems to me only to be picturing the forms of the created world latent in *potentio* within God, not the world's substance. Woodhouse wants to make Milton faithful to the orthodox *ex Deo* doctrine in *PL*: God indicates that, while He chooses to abscond from formless matter, which therefore dissolves into Chaos, He is its author (*PL*, VII, 168-73). But this is Miltonic prevarication. Even Woodhouse admits p. 229, n. 30) that the description of the Abyss in Book II makes it appear positively evil.

imagination imagines the text within itself. "Our imaginations are idle, our thoughts are vain: there is no idleness, no vanity in the word of God",⁴⁴ and yet it is our imaginations and our thoughts that we must use to read it. Now this an extraordinary thing, and the defining characteristic of the English Protestant imagination. Frye wants us to us think of this as a natural readerly response:

the Bible deliberately blocks off the sense of the referential from itself: it is not a book pointing to a historical presence outside it, but a book that identifies itself with that presence. At the end the reader, also, is invited to identify himself with the book.⁴⁵

But I do not think this would occur to the reader if he were not already deep within the English Protestant tradition, and if he had not read Milton and Blake, the poets of that tradition, as prophets and as serious theologians. The strange ontological mood we fall into while reading is made, in England's radical Protestant tradition, the measure of reality.⁴⁶ English Protestants are perhaps the first Europeans to privilege as ontologically primary the systematic shared daydreaming of reading.

For the Protestant, reading the Bible seems to straddle the divide between carnality and spirituality: the Bible is not wholly a physical thing, reading it is not unambiguously a temporal activity. Indeed, the process of reading is identified with the whole scheme of miracle, whereby the spiritual effects the material; sacraments are called ways of reading Christ's body.⁴⁷ The very possibility of contact between the human and divine spheres is plastered over in the imagery of Bible-reading; and conversely, any ritual that seems to compromise uniqueness of the Bible as a bridge, such as the sign of the cross in the prescribed baptism rite, becomes a grievance to the radical wing of the Church. How can a material symbol, made by a human hand in the material air, be efficacious, or even decent,

⁴⁴ Jewel, 'A treatise of holie scripture', *Works*, IV, 1175.

⁴⁵ Frye, *The Great Code*, pp. 137-8. 'Civil Power', DMW, p. 9.

⁴⁶ Barthes, 'From Work to Text', *Image Music Text*, pp. 157-9.

⁴⁷ *A Commentarie of John Caluine, vpon the first booke of Moses called Genesis: Translated ut of Latine into English, by Thomas Tymme* (London, 1578), p. 83; Cartwright, *The second eplie*, pp. 55,57; Cranmer, *Works*, I, 241-2; Jewel, *Certaine Sermons* (London, 1583), p. 72; *Vorks*, IV, 193-4, 1102; Rogers, *The faith, doctrine, and religion professed* (Cambridge, 607), p. 35-6; Tyndale, *Doctrinal treatises*, I, 360; WC, I, vi (p. 5); Whitaker, *Disputation*, p. 298. Hughes, pp. 92, 192, 199.

in spiritual worship?⁴⁸ The only tolerable answer is the claim that the Cross is not a symbol or image, but a letter to be read: a version of the Greek *Tau*, a piece of language read from the Bible.⁴⁹

When Bacon imagines the Scriptures appearing from heaven, without any human agency, bobbing on the waves in a pillar of light,⁵⁰ he is making the usual Protestant claim in a different, mythical mode. The Bible fills a sacred space, half way between the human and divine spheres.

Because it is an axiom of Protestant imagination, this space is not given specific definition in Protestant apologetic. Nor is it adequately defined in Frye's great decoding: to him, the concept of sacred space seems typical of Judaism, not of Christianity. In the course of Jewish history, sacred space shrinks from Eden to the Promised Land, from the Promised Land to Judah, from Judah to Jerusalem, to the Temple, and to the Holy of Holies, which is definitively violated by Titus' legions when Jerusalem falls. Christianity has no fixed space, and in the New Testament spatial imagery disappears, or at least is projected into the eschaton; the Christian sacred space is the future New Jerusalem.⁵¹ But "sacred space" in the Christian imagination means space that specifically contains God, and this is possible because God is imagined entering time and space in the body of Christ. The Christian sacred space is 'the body of Christ': which is not a single thing, but an expression used to hold disparate things together in the imagination: Jesus; the Church; the Host. In Catholic thought, the Host is identified with Christ's *flesh*, which is available to all recipients in the Church's Mass. Protestantism denies the identification of Host and Flesh, and the term 'body of Christ' is not much used. But what remains controversial within Protestantism is the connection between Christ's Church and His flesh. The Zwinglian tradition pictures the Eucharist as a mnemonic for Christ's presence, a matter merely of the Church members'

⁴⁸ Haaguard, pp. 123-4. Calhill, *An avnswere*, pp. 37-47. *Miscellaneous writings and letters of Thomas Cranmer*, ed. John Edmund Cox (Cambridge, 1846), p. 217. *Institutes*, IV, x, 18-29. Fotherby, *Fovre sermons*, sig. 2A4^r. Fulke, *Stapleton's fortress*, p. 193. Edmund Grindal, Archbishop of Canterbury, *The Remains*, ed. William Nicholson (Cambridge, 1853), pp. 134, 154, 158.

⁴⁹ Fotherby, *Fovre sermons*, sig. E3^r.

⁵⁰ NA, p. 222.

⁵¹ Frye, *The Great Code*, pp. 227-31.

imagination.⁵² But Calvin's position is that the recipient in the Eucharist – if he is of the Elect, and if not, not – is carried up to heaven and there tastes physically of the body of Christ.⁵³ The sacred space exists, but outside the earthly Church and beyond the world; the issue in Calvinism is not the space itself, but the invisible passage to it, which is a function of the individual's predestined state. This view remains the norm within the Church of England until the time of Laud: while the tendency of the radical wing of English Protestantism is towards something more like Zwingli's doctrine. In the first years of James' reign, a moderate bishop can thus quote Calvin against the English radicals:

How these men agree with Cartwright, or he with Calvin, I leave for [those] . . . who have found in their consciences the incôuience, of following [Cartwright's] . . . vngroûded fantasies . . .⁵⁴

For in Calvin's theology, sacraments are "not onely shaddowes, but also eminencies too: hee calleth them, imagines", because they enable us to imagine our entry into the sacred space of Christ which is, in fact, occurring, though invisibly and 'spiritually'. For Calvin, and Calvinists in Calvin's own mould, the sacramental imagination is, as we have noted, the means by which the outward, heavenly, sacred space, ours by eternal predestination, is perceived: the "Eleuation of the heart vnto God" in eucharistic worship is one of the duties of redeemed imagination.⁵⁵

[Thus] we ought to believe that the truth must never be separated from the signs, though it ought to be distinguished from them⁵⁶:

the imaginary runs parallel with the actual.

The tendency of radical English Protestantism is to deny this parallel:

⁵² Huldrych Zwingli, 'An exposition of the faith' [1531], pp. 239-79 of *The Library of Christian Classics, Volume XXIV: Zwingli and Bullinger*, sel. and tr. G.W. Bromiley. W.P. Stephens, *The Theology of Huldrych Zwingli* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 59-64.

⁵³ Calvin, *Commentaries on the book of the Prophet Isaiah*, vi, 7; *Treatise*, sig. I2 r-v. *Institutes*, III, v, 1; *Corpus Reformatorum (Opera Calvini)*, xxxix, cols. 673-5 (Potter and Greengrass, pp. 100-1)

⁵⁴ Fotherby, *Fovre sermons*, sig. 2G3r-v.

⁵⁵ Bale, 'The image of bothe churches', pp. 260-1; *Institutes*, I, xiii, 3; III, v, 1; and IV, xviii, 3; Hooper, *Works*, II, 90; Jewel, *Defense*, p. 73; *Works*, II, 874, 1099, 1102; III, 62; Laud, *The conference*, p. 70; Tyndale, *Works*, I, 360; Whitaker, *Disputation*, p. 466. Hughes, pp. 199-202; Fisch, pp. 4-5.

⁵⁶ Calvin, *Commentaries on the book of the Prophet Isaiah*, vi, 7.

the imagined, which is to say internal, union with God is actual, and the external parallel is superfluous: "all corporeal resemblances of inward holinesse and beauty are now past".⁵⁷ Usually this incites radicals to a profound distaste for any physical or spatial terms whatsoever –

it is a practise very idolatrous, to bind adoration to any particular thing, or to any particular place⁵⁸

– and there is often, as I shall discuss in Part II, an objection even to the imagination's forming physical or spatial images of the divine. But Milton's definition of the final authority for every rational Christian is spatial:

the word of God before him, the promised holy Spirit, and the minde of Christ within him:⁵⁹

it takes no acumen to perceive the difference between these three things to be merely verbal. No objects, even imaginary ones, can incorporate God, except the imagined self.⁶⁰

Once this identification is accepted as natural, it follows that the Biblical narrative unfolds truth "the apocalypse is the way the world looks after the ego has disappeared".⁶¹ But once this axiom of fusion is made explicitly, one realises that it might equally be reversed; so we should say that, rather than disappearing, the ego has swallowed up text, world and God. The sense of personal illumination from the text is also the guarantee that illumination remains personal. For humanity at large is excluded from the sacred space by the Reformation. The immediate physical contact, and the temporary, temporally specific, union of mortal and immortal, at the Mass is denied. Christendom, or the tangible sacred space of the Church, is broken, and Christ's presence recedes; for the Protestant, as for the Jew of late Temple Judaism, it is significant that the Holy of Holies is empty. Even an English Calvinist, in a detached mood, can regret this triumphalist "Selfe-humor" of the Reformation schism,

⁵⁷ *Doct. Chr.*, I, ii.

⁵⁸ Perkins, 'The Idolatrie of the last time', *The workes*, II, 662.

⁵⁹ Frye, *The Great Code*, pp. 137-8. Civil Power', DMW, p. 9. *Doct. Chri.*, I, xxx (p. 587).

⁶⁰ Whitaker, *Disputation*, pp. 415-62; Rogers, pp. 35-6; Nowell, p. 117; cf. *Institutes*, I, iii, 3.

⁶¹ Frye, *The Great Code*, p. 138.

and the victory of the inner world over the outer:

A play of Sunne-motes, from mans small Worlde came,
Vpon the great World to worke heauy doome.⁶²

This image seems less banal only at first glance: for man, the μικροκοσμος of the universe, contains within himself the sun itself, the source of light as well as the things lit by it, grand doctrine or subversive quibbles, planets or motes of dust. Internal light is an oxymoronic image: vision is naturally outward, and public; a light within a man could not be seen even by himself. But the Promethean spark from the sun is the sun itself, and the ego does not need to be lit by any external light. The inner eye does not look outward.⁶³

(3) Inspiration and causality

. . . the nature of the Sea . . . in ebbing and flowing seemes to
obserue fo iust a daunce, and yet vnderstands no musicke . . .
Sidney's *Arcadia* , fol. 282^v.

The Protestant imagination is inherently dualist, and like all dualist systems, its problem is showing how the two substances can possibly affect one another. The Biblical text is their most important meeting point; it is the sacred space in which the celestial substance is engulfed by the mundane, the divine text being engulfed by the mortal ego in the act of reading. Scripture is divine in its authority and authorship, but it is materially (and legally) accessible in its English translation to everyone in the kingdom. No independent point of contact is permissible: God speaks to the believer through the word, in the context of reading; the actions and claims of the Church are valid only inasmuch as they reproduce the pronouncements of the text; God's actions occur only in a fashion that

² Greville, 'Mustapha', chorus ii, 67, 175-6.

³ Cf. Fisch, pp. 4-5, on Calvin's understanding of the excitement of the imagination in religious faith.

replicates that prescribed in the text.⁶⁴

For the Puritan understanding of second causes is, as Patrick Grant says, "anti-sacramental"; Bacon in particular excludes God's specific and special presence from any part of nature. We can go further, and say that the logical consequences of this stress are pantheism or, what practically follows from pantheism, deism.⁶⁵ And we may follow further the implications of thus picturing the causality of things. God's will and the actions of nature are identical ("Theres special Prouidence in the fall of a Sparrowe"):⁶⁶ that is, integral to the radical Protestant vision of His utter sovereignty. Only a small imaginative extension is needed to identify God with nature, or the visible order of things.⁶⁷ The Renaissance, the discovery of printing and of America, are actions determined by divine providence to speed the promulgation of the pure gospel.⁶⁸ The Westminster Confession presses the doctrine of providence virtually to the point of determinism: all degrees of natural causality being immediate emanations of the divine will.

Although in relation to the fore-knowledge and decree of God, the first Cause, all things come to passe immutably, and infallibly: yet, by the same Providence he ordereth them to fall out, according to the nature of second causes, either necessarily, freely, or contingently.⁶⁹

This is, to be sure, formally modified by the insistence that God may, at will, step beyond His own Natural laws; but the tenor of Protestant imagining, if not of explicit intellectual doctrine, is all against any present

⁶⁴ Whitaker, pp. 415, 447-50, 467-8; Nowell, p. 117; *Adv.*, I, iv, 3.

⁶⁵ Grant, pp. 35-6, 133. Cf. Reventlow, pp. 120-5.

⁶⁶ *Hamlet*, V, i.

⁶⁷ Reventlow, pp. 152-210.

⁶⁸ *Adv.*, I, iv, 2. Frith, *Works* (1573), sig. 2^r; George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, *A briefe description of the whole worlde. Wherein are particularly described al the Monarchies, empires, and kingdomes of the same* (London, 1600), sig. *G4^r: "God . . . intending to free the [American] people, or at least some of them, from the bondage of Sathan . . . did raise vp the spirit of a man worthie of perpetuall memorie (one *Christophorus Columbus*, borne at *Genoa* in *Italie*) . . ."

⁶⁹ WC, V, ii (p. 13): even Satan's fall occurred because it was willed by God. James VI and I believes in "God as the first cause, and the Devill as his instrument and second cause [h]ootes a in all these actiones [of witchcraft]" (*Daemonologie*, sig. [A4]^r; cf. *Doct. Chr.*, I, iii (p. (66)). Tridentine Catholicism explicitly reacts against the determinism of Protestant thought (Trent, Session VI, 13 January, 1547, ch. i, p. 20).

miracles. God's will, being the final cause of everything, is the material cause of nothing. Extreme hostility to the possibility of anything in the *Golden Legend* being true is a mark of a genuine Reformer; on the other hand, it is possible to hold a lively belief in providence because the judgements of providence are formally events within the bounds of natural law. The miracles of the Catholic saints are inherently ridiculous and implausible, but the tangible government of the world is as apparent now as in the Biblical narratives:

the Scripture is full, & books haue abundance. . . . There [you may read] of *Pharoah* punished by God: here of *Iulian* [the Apostate] smitten from heauen. *Smith* the Apostate Lawyer hanged himselfe. *Burton* Bailiffe of *Crowland* was poisoned with the excrements of a Crow.⁷⁰

They are, then, often invisible as miracles, except to the Elect, and only the inwardly wise recognise them as such, by the grace of God's Spirit, but also by an act of will of their own. In them

shineth out the wonderfull and incomprehensible wisdom of God, when by the divine ordering of things so different and so manie, he commeth still to one and the same marke which he hath prescribed, to wit, the punishment of the world according to their demerits.⁷¹

For even moral freedom is abolished, for the Elect for whom God chooses the fruits of good works; and for the damned, whom He thrusts into sin they would not choose to commit.⁷² By faith we see the fulfilment of faith, and only by faith – there is no further revelation beyond ourselves. This is the typical counter-sceptical paradox of Protestantism: as God is identified more and more with the secular – the text of the Bible, the everyday workings of fate – so He becomes simultaneously more and less certain: more because, once granted the insight, He is visible in all; less, because His specific presence, and the specific turns of mind that sanction belief, are cauterised. Protestantism's most striking teaching, on soteriology and exegesis, are about the points where the divine presence

⁰ Hull, *Saint Peters prophesie*, sig. 3T1^v.

¹ Beard, sig. [A5]^v.

² WC, IV, iii (p. 13).

becomes most immediate, and most difficult to describe: through predestination, and biblicism.

The first of these aspects is easier to escape than the second. I have already noted the tendency of the autocracy of Calvin's God to be mechanised in England, so that it disappears altogether: the laws of God and the laws of nature become one. In section four I shall return to the question of second causes and inspiration. The point here is that Bacon cannot (and will not) effectively exclude the authority of the Bible from his new organon of knowledge, nor exclude a direct and miraculous intrusion of God into history to allow their composition. For the causally miraculous nature of the text is the libation Bacon must make to orthodoxy (Hobbes, as I shall argue shortly, does not make it). This is not a small price, for it is not possible altogether to bound its effects. Predestination is

the great mystery and perfite Centre of all God's ways with his creatures, and unto which all his other works and wonders do but serve and refer.⁷³

The only limit Bacon can impose on it is temporal: the Bible "is shut and closed, so as to receive any new addition",⁷⁴ and the Atlantan Academy works on, confident that with the miraculous grant of the Scriptures, God's direct dealings with Atlantis are fully consummated. Pan, or Nature, is as much God's messenger as Mercury, who is allegorised as "the word of God"; Pan's horns reach up to heaven, because the universal ideas of natural philosophy pertain to the divine; and he is even in some sense the uncaused cause of all;⁷⁵ and although, as I have noted, he may be inscrutable as God's providence, he is distinct from it.

Predestination is necessary, central and "comfortable"⁷⁶ to English Protestant radicals, not only because it renders the gradual grace-dissipation of the sacraments and purgatory redundant, but because it makes Church history redundant.⁷⁷ Because God has compacted into a

³ 'Confession', Sp. VII, 220.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 225. WC, I, v (pp. 4-5).

⁵ 'Pan', *The wisdom of the ancients*, sig. A11^v-12^r.

⁶ XXXIX articles, xviii.

⁷ Church history is essentially passive: Bacon's idea is that it is a record of what God has done to the Church, written in the light of what he declared he will do to it in prophecy. It is about that coincidence of text and event – "that excellent correspondence which is between

single instant of decision all the choices and acts of will that create the invisible Church of the elect, that invisible Church can and should defy the human certainty of the visible Church. Predestination overthrows human and temporal authority, by imposing God's immediate sovereignty.⁷⁸ Catholicity merges the diversity of person and temporal expanse into a unity by a doctrine of history – the divinely authoritative tradition. But time, to the radical Protestant, seems a stream flowing from the instant of revelation, through greater and greater pollution, until it touches "that salt sea of corruption which environeth all human actions".⁷⁹ Protestantism denies the possibility of a chronology of inspiration. It collapses the boundaries of person and time into an instant of certainty: such an instant is probably textual, such certainty depends upon inspirational reading of the text.

Other than in the sacred text, divine government of the world is mechanised by Bacon to an extent that effectively eliminates the loophole of miracle. Bacon urges that by working through natural second causes, providence makes the world an expression of the divine will "as fully and exactly" as if everything were worked by direct intervention; and the only *rôle* of miracles is to work the supernatural machinery of redemption within the larger, automatic machine of the world.

[God] doth accomplish . . . his divine will in all things great and small, singular and general, . . . [but] his working be not immediate and direct, but by compass; not violating Nature, which is his own law whenever God doth break the law of Nature by miracles . . . he never cometh to that point or pass, but in regard of the work of redemption . . . whereto all God's signs and miracles do refer.⁸⁰

God's revealed will and his secret will" – not about what the Church does. Events not prefigured in the text are comparatively trifling, good only for polemic (*Adv.*, II, iii, 1-3).

⁷⁸ Beard, sig. [A5]^r, fol. 69^r-70^v.

⁷⁹ Bacon, 'Of the Pacification of the Church', Sp. VII, 144.

⁸⁰ Bacon is bringing to an obvious conclusion the trend of Protestant thought about causality, but he is compromising the usual, conservative line, which means to maintain the specificity of God's will in Providence, and the immediacy of God's will in natural phenomena. God is the world's soul, and, whatever Genesis says, cannot rest (Hutchinson, 'Image of God', *Works*, p. 88; Beard, sig. [A5]^r, [A7]^r, fol. 4^r-5^v). This passage, 'Confession', Sp. VII, 221, is too forthright for Bacon's chaplain and editor, Rawley, who tones down "break" to "transcend" in the *Resuscitatio* text.

This dualism divides all events in history into redemptive and carnal; and the first is a very small class. Predestination exiles the effective acts of redemption beyond time: "the Lamb of God was slain before all worlds", and the efficacy of that death is limited to a portion of men only, before history begins.⁸¹ Within history, redemption follows that invisible and preconceived template. The philosophical difficulty is not redemption itself, but our knowledge of redemption; since that cannot fit into any system of second causes. Divine knowledge, which is to say knowledge of the Biblical text, is a miracle outside the usual processes of the world.

Protestant claims about the Biblical text as sacred space are thus essentially in parallel with the claims of Catholicism for the Mass. In the Thomist scheme,

Faith, our outward sense befriending,
Makes the inward vision clear,⁸²

so that proper piety of imagination for the Catholic witness at the miracle is not (as for the Calvinist communicant) outward at all, but centres on the mind. The Catholic imagination aims at a level of perception which is angelic, for from it one perceives as the angels are said to, by intelligence and not by sense. For an angel, that is to say for an intelligence without sense, there is no contrariness between bread and flesh, blood and wine. By the rhetorical imagination, the mind raises itself to this super-sensory lucidity. Although there is a significant distinction between the outwardness of late medieval and early modern Catholicism, and the profound inwardness of Protestantism, both systems rely upon the creative or secondary imagination to make the inner vision clear: that is, to render visible the invisible sacredness of the sacred space. "Let this suffice," says Calvin, rather briskly:

that the Lorde, by the ſecret illumination of his holy
ſpirite, ſupplied all the want of plaineneſſe in externall
wordes⁸³

⁸¹ 'Confession', Sp. VII, 219-20, 223.

⁸² S. Thomas Aquinas's hymn 'Tantum ergo'; tr. J.M. Neale, *et al.*, from *Hymns Ancient & Modern*, no. 326. It is important that even Catholic piety in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries concentrated on viewing the redemptive death of Christ, particularly in *visible* devotion to the Sacrament. Reardon, pp. 20-42; Collinson, *From iconoclasm to iconophobia*, pp. 28-9; Frye, *The Great Code*, 116-7; Barthes, 'Loyola', *Sade Fourier Loyola*, pp. 65-6.

⁸³ *A Commentarie of John Caluine, vpon . . . Genesis*, p. 83. Bale, 'The image of bothe

The external words, like the elements in the Catholic Mass, are transformed by invocation of the Spirit; the imagination, in parallel with the Spirit, shows us the divine voice in the text,⁸⁴ or the divine body in the bread.

The difficulty for the Protestant is the parallel between work of the imagination and the work of the Holy Spirit, when these are considered causally. What causes us to imagine the divine voice in the text? What put that imagination there? Presumably, the ineluctable will of the Spirit. But then the process of inspirational writing or reading dissolves back into God's general predestinarian management of things. If God's direct, miraculous determining will causes the text to be authoritatively inspired, then presumably it His will that makes us imagine it inspired. But equally, we can ascribe our imagination to the perceptive realm which normally provokes its images⁸⁵ – for our common experience of the world comes through second causes. How, then, can we know there is this parallel causality of direct divine will operates in the text itself? The imagination is not altogether reliable in the face of second causes. How can we be certain that "the truth of being and the truth of knowing are one, differing no more than the direct beam and the beam reflected"?⁸⁶ It is profoundly uncomfortable for a Protestant to consider the historical process by which the divinely inspired canon comes into existence – the circumstantial effects of second causes on a certain number of "penmen" at certain points;⁸⁷ so it is difficult for him to contemplate from without the historical fact of his response to the text. Thus, the only telling exception to this "anti-sacramental" view of circumstance is the text of the Bible itself: that sacred space must be the field of God's direct, miraculous and unmechanical operation. Second causes cannot obtain, either to the composition and preservation of its text, nor to its reception. Hobbes

churches', *Select works*, pp. 261, 263.

⁸⁴ Hutchinson, 'The Image of God', *Works*, pp. 11-12. *Adv.*, II, xxv, 10, 14.

⁸⁵ *NT*, 1084. *Adv.*, I, iv, 3; II, iv, 1.

⁸⁶ *Adv.*, I, iv, 8.

⁸⁷ *WC*, i, 5 (pp. 4-5); *GB*, 'Argument to the Gospels', sig. 2A2^r; Introduction to 'The Epistle to the Ebrewes', sig. 3C2^r. Greenslade, p. 161; Frye, *The Great Code*, p. 203. Popkin, *Isaac La Peyrère*, p. 72.

seriously compromises the Protestant image of the authority of "spirituall Inspiration, or infusion" when he places the process of inspiration within the ordinary flow of material and temporal reality.

Faith comes by hearing, and hearing by those accidents, which guide us into the presence of them that speak to us; which accidents are all contrived by God Almighty; and yet are not supernaturall, but merely, for the great number of them that concurre to every effect, unobservable.⁸⁸

This does not in itself vitiate the possibility of inspiration, but it does abolish inspired reading as the final authority, for our insights depend upon circumstance, our circumstances on the sovereign and Providential will, and thus they have the same claim to guidance as do all other events.⁸⁹ There is nothing more direct in them.

If Hobbes were right, there would be no particular reason to call our readerly response to the Bible supernatural; the imaginative evidence of our reading could be accounted for merely in terms of natural second causes, that is, of the normal course of nature or history. The miracle of God's book would be swallowed up in the wholly abstract and intangible process of predestination. In accounting for the unique authority of the Biblical text, the Westminster Confession goes to extraordinary trouble to resist this subtle tug towards deism. The reader's "full perſwaſion" of the text's divinity is inspired and supernatural, and therefore evidence of the parallel process of the writer's inspiration.

Wee may be moved and induced by the Teſtimonie of the Church to an high and reverend eſteem of the holy Scripture. And the heavenlineſſe of the Matter, the efficacie of the Doctrine, the majeſty of the Stile, the conſent of all the Parts, the Scope of the whole (which is, to give all glory to God,) the full diſcovery of mans ſalvation, the many other incomparable Excellencies, and the intire perfection thereof, are Arguments whereby it doth abundantly evidence it ſelf to be the Word of God; yet not withſtanding, our full perſwaſion and aſſurance of the infallible truth, and Divine

⁸⁸ *Leviathan*, II, xxix; Hobbes, p. 250.

⁸⁹ Protestant apologetics asserts that "godly individuals with the quick and sure feelings of their hearts have experience" of the *absence* of normal causality when they respond to the text; "the assent or certainty regarding doctrine and the lively consolation which springs from it, depend not on any" worldly circumstance, but on a direct intervention of the Spirit in the world (Ursin, quoted by Heppe ii, 10 (p. 24)).

authority thereof, is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the Word, in our hearts.⁹⁰

The literary qualities of the Biblical text are superlative, and should be apparent even to the reprobate; but the movement of the heart to acknowledge the text as divine in origin is itself divine, and quite separate from critical appreciation. The critical reaction is canonised by being distinguished from the outer world, and identified with the innermost and most essential act of will. This movement is not circumstantial, not part of the mechanical causality of creation, but explicitly decreed by God, as a function of His predestinarian dispensation.

It follows that the Protestant escapes the cage of predestined second causes only in reading the text of the Bible. The strained enthusiasm about Scripture-reading that characterises Reformation writing is partly the enthusiasm of relief. Hence in the *New Atlantis*, while God takes His Sabbath rest, the only remaining miracle is the delivery of the Bible in its little bobbing ark.⁹¹ Otherwise the people of New Atlantis are left undisturbed; which means that instead of speaking to them directly, God manipulates them indirectly and absolutely through nature, and their only consolation in nature is to pursue the shapes of His second causes. But at the moment of reading the Bible, the reader steps beyond God's revelation of Himself in events into God – or at least into God's most explicit voice.

⁹⁰ WC, i, 5 (pp. 4-5). Continental Protestant thought also acknowledges the "clarity of feeling" (Crocus, quoted by Heppe, ii, 9 (p. 21); Piscator, ii, 10 (p. 25)), but also dismisses the possibility of criticism as evidence (*ibid.*, p. 22):

the sole evidence which with absolute certainty assures the Christian of the divineness and authority of H[oly] Scripture is . . . the evidence which Scripture bears to itself or which God bears to it in the conscience

John Hull puts the doctrine with admirable succinctness in 1610 (*Saint Peters prophesie*, sig. 3Z2^v):

the Scriptures were pēned by holy & blessed men, & the penmen inspired of God, wrote as they were moued by the holy Ghost. Their antiquity, concord, reuelatiō, truth, simplicitie, power, knowledge, purity, perfection, efficacy, predictions, mysteries, miracles, and maieſty, do ſufficiently proue.

Again, the holiness of the authors and critical response of the reader are sufficient proofs; but these proofs do not in fact move us, for the Spirit causes us to be convinced by a separate and miraculous chain of events.

⁹¹ NA, pp. 221-6.

(4) Inspiration and fideism

Those sceptics who do not know this internal witness of the Spirit as a truth of their own experience should earnestly question within themselves whether they are in fact qualified to pronounce against the Reformed doctrine of Holy Scripture
 Philip Edgcumbe Hughes, *Theology of the English Reformers*, p. 42.

What is being claimed when it is said that the Bible is inspired by God? This is more complicated a question than it looks. At first, the Reformed faith meant it as a historical claim: God had revealed Himself to the prophets and apostles, and they had recorded the burden of His self-revelation in the books of the canon. These were authoritative because they recorded true epiphanies: they were miraculous, but empirical.⁹² But the living idea of Protestantism is of a miraculous text, not a natural record of miraculous events; and in due course, even in the Lutheran Church, the image of miraculous textuality became the dogma. God's authoritative presence was not in the moment of revelation, but in the timeless inspiration of the text. Revelation and inspiration are quite separate, and the latter is a perpetual process by which the Spirit speaks indubitably to the Elect.⁹³

It follows that the authoritative utterance has no necessary connection with the critical perception. Inspiration is in the text, but it is not a phenomenon, so the meaning of the text is supernaturally detected and supernaturally certain. Exegesis is a sort of magic. The scope and grandeur of the text are assurances to the Elect, but no proof; there is no

⁹² Heppe, ii, 4-6 (pp. 14-19). The consequence was that the earliest Protestants took a reductionist look at the collection of Biblical writings: eyeing the Song of Solomon in the OT, and the pseudonymous non-Pauline letters in the NT, with particular coldness; Calvin's prompt closure of the question of the canon (and subsequent Protestant writers' diabolisation of the earlier Protestants' opening of it), did not end controversy and imaginative tension: of which *The canticles or Balades of Salomon, phraselyke declared in Englysh Metres*, by William Baldwin (London, 1549), is one consequence. See below, part III, chapter x, section (1). Whitaker's conservatism on the question of inspiration is unusual in England, where thought gravitated either to plenary biblicism, or to the catholicism of Hooker and Laud. Potter and Greengrass, pp. 100-1; WC, i, 2, 4, 7; Kümmel, pp. 351-2, 354-5; Reventlow, pp. 70-2.

⁹³ Heppe, ii, 10 (p. 25), quotes Voetius (V, 14):

As there is no objective certainty about the authority of Scripture, save as infused and imbued by God the author of Scripture, so we have no subjective certainty of it, no formal concept of the authority of Scripture, except from God illuminating and convincing inwardly through the Holy Spirit.

evidence that is not natural except the wholly inward evidence of the Spirit.⁹⁴ "Inspiration", as used by Tudor and early Stuart Protestants of the text, is not a descriptive or critical term: the word itself performs the action of validating the content of Protestant dogma, and is thus what Austin would call a speech act – a performative rather than a referential, or 'constative', term. It does not refer to a state of things: its use is an act by which a group defines itself and its belief.

Where, as often, the procedure is designed for use by persons having certain thoughts or feelings, or for the inauguration of certain consequential conduct on the part of any participant, then a person participating in and so invoking the procedure must in fact have those thoughts or feelings, and the participants must intend so to conduct themselves, and further . . . must actually so conduct themselves subsequently.⁹⁵

Whether such speech-acts are in any sense descriptive (of a state of mind in the speaker), rather than 'explicitly performatives' (authoritative verdicts or pronouncements), depends only on context.⁹⁶

In Protestant writing, the distinction is effectively invisible. Protestant dogma is asserted, not demonstrated, and the assertion is made, not by means of the text itself, but by asserting the text as the experiential sacred space.⁹⁷ That claim authorises any subsequent dogmatic claim, which can always be derived from the text by the same assertive process. Even contradictions in logic are possible, because the process relies upon the secondary imagination, which can perform "unlawful matches and divorces" of things incompatible in nature.⁹⁸ Protestant thought moves its foundations from intellect to imagination, and from the reasoned synthesis of secular learning and revelation to the imagined, because imaginable, presence of the plenitude of truth in the text of Scripture.

Protestant theology's technical word for verdictive interpretation is

αὐτοπιστος:

⁹⁴ Barr, p. 44; WC, i, 5 (pp. 4-5).

⁹⁵ J.L. Austin, *How to do things with words: the William James Lectures delivered at Harvard University in 1955* (Oxford, 1962), p. 15.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 83, 86-91.

⁹⁷ He who denies the literal divinity of the text is beyond the pale of argument, and need only be ejected, not refuted: Heppe, ii, 5 (p. 15).

⁹⁸ *Adv.*, I, iv, 1.

The sum of our opinion is, that the Scripture is *αὐτοπιστος*, that is, hath all its authority and vertue from itself.⁹⁹

Calvin teaches that this virtue excludes the prerogatives of reasons

[All] those who are inwardly taught by the Holy Spirit acquiesce implicitly in Scripture; that scripture, carrying its own evidence along with it, deigns not to submit to proofs and arguments . . . ¹⁰⁰,

and the Geneva Bible's Preface concludes that

there is no degre or office which may haue that authoritie and priueledge to decise [*sic*] concerning Gods worde, except withall he hath the spirit¹⁰¹.

A more popular work, such as the little manual, first printed in the later part of James' reign but destined to twelve more editions, *A helpe to discovrse. Or A Miscelany of Merriment. Consisting of wittie, Philosophical and Astronomical Questions*, takes the naked supernaturalism of Protestant reading as a given:

- Q. *Wherein doth [God] . . . most manifest himselfe?*
 A. In the Scripture
 Q. *Wherefore are the holy Scriptures folded vp by God in such obscuritie and darkenes . . . ?*
 A. The holy Scriptures . . . vnlesse they bee read with that Spirit, by which it is beleued to be written by the inpiration of Gods Spirit, and desire to know and be gouerned by it, cannot be vnderstood, but remaine as a dead letter¹⁰²

This myth of the inspired imagination is thus the informing, controlling axiom of Bible reading.

This principle is, however, controversial and controverted in the Reformation debates. Hooker, in his hostile and perceptive description of radical Protestant exegesis, understands that

it is the special illumination of the Holy Ghost

⁹⁹ Whitaker, *Disputation*, p. 279-80. Heppe, ii, 10 (p. 220). Hughes, p. 34.

¹⁰⁰ *Institutes*, I, vii, 5. Cf. I, vii, 4; Milton: *Doct. Chr.*, I, xxx; Heppe, ii, 6 (pp. 17-19, 21, 22-5). Booty, pp. 145-7.

¹⁰¹ GB, translators' preface, sig. .°. 3r. Read *decide* for *decise*.

¹⁰² W.B. and E.P., probably William Basse collaborating with E. Philomathen, *A helpe to discovrse* (London, 1619), sig. B1v; the book remained in print until the 1640s (STC 1547-69). Frye, *The Great Code*, p. 227. Cf. Milton, 'Areopogitica', pp. 158-9.

whereby they discern those things in the word, which others reading yet discern not.¹⁰³

True Protestant biblicism is already defunct in Hooker: the sacred space is by no means the "bare and naked Scripture".¹⁰⁴ Laud detects this contradiction in this radical Protestant programme:

Now this Inbred Light of Scripture is a thing coincident with Scripture it selfe : and so, the Principles, and the Conclusion, in this kinde of prooffe should be entirely the same, which cannot be¹⁰⁵

The text must either be "coincident" with its decoded core, in which case no miraculous light is necessary to read it; or it must be distinct, in which case the principle of reading it by the inner light of inspiration is itself imposing the dogmatic conclusions at the end of the process of reading.

Lancelot Andrewes was more expansive on the impossibility of the Puritan model when he preached on the Holy Ghost before the King on Whitsunday, 1616. Andrewes' definition of the Spirit: the Spirit is not the flesh or mind or soul of man, nor is He a practice or mode gained by labour; nor the atmosphere of hysteria amongst religious zealots.¹⁰⁶ He is not the letter of the Bible, or its "soul". And He is not the private spirit *dæmon* – that is, the inspirational spirit within men. Those "that make their breasts the sanctuary" are puffed up, not with the Third Person, but with some other force – with "wind", for the habitation of the Spirit cannot be in the individual imagination, but in the corporate assembly of Christians, the Church.¹⁰⁷ What, then, is He? The answer seems to be that He is what is left over in the Church after the human qualities and conditions have been described. He is in fact the invisible extra which we have identified as the truest definition of literary inspiration.¹⁰⁸ And, as with literary inspiration, the inspiration of the individual and the guidance of the Church is, by definition, ineffable, unidentifiable, the last

¹⁰³ *Lawes*, Preface, iii, 10, pp. 101-2.

¹⁰⁴ *Lawes*, II, vii, 1; Hooker accounts for the radicals' psychological rigidities (Preface, iii, 6-9, and II, vii, 5). Cf. Jewel, *A defence of the Apologie of the Churche of Englande, an answeare to a certain booke by M. Hardinge* (London, 1567), p. 73. Booty, pp. 138-9.

¹⁰⁵ Laud, *The conference*, p. 70. Cf. Jewel, 'A treatise of holie scripture', *Works*, II, 1167.

¹⁰⁶ Andrewes, *Ninety-six sermons*, III, 273-6; the Spirit is not therefore unlike the Muses.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, V, 58.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 275.

thing left after all describable things have been listed; it is a matter of will, not of perception, to assert that it exists. To say that the Church has the Spirit and is therefore authoritative, is in Andrewes' view no more than to say that the Church is undeluded in its belief and organisation, and therefore authoritative. The special assertion of the presence of the Holy Spirit does not imply any other qualities or perquisites than one would expect from a valid Church. It is not meaningful in Andrewes' scheme to say that the English Church is founded on the Spirit speaking from the Biblical text; for Andrewes, the voice of the Spirit is not textual but exegetical, and therefore ecclesial.

On the contrary, a bishop contemporary with Andrewes but, further to the religious Left, Fotherby of Salisbury, teaches:

The Scriptures haue not onely a liuely voyce in them, as birds and beaſts haue, but alſo a ſpeaking voyce too, as men vnto vs.¹⁰⁹

The Bible is its own language, and does not need authoritative exegesis or expansion; in it, God speaks to us "a] plainely . . . as euer hee ſpake vnto Moſes" when we read it, and He would not say anything further if He did miraculously speak from heaven.¹¹⁰

Yet Fotherby is trying to clear this strict biblicism, not against the Right, but against what he understands as the crypto-spiritualists even further Left, the Anabaptist and Puritan dissenters or "Schifmatikes",¹¹¹ who read the Bible as they feel prompted by their own, extra-biblical conviction. God's speech to them out of heaven disciplines and orders their understanding of the text; the Bible is only one province of their sacred space.

Radical Protestantism has to fight a battle on two fronts when it discusses inspiration and belief. On one side, it has to defend the coherence of inspired reading against the Catholic charges of presumption and delusion. But on the other side, if general inspiration – inspired

¹⁰⁹ Fotherby, *Foure sermons*, sig. E8^v-F1^r; repeated almost verbatim, Whitaker, *Disputation*, p. 450.

¹¹⁰ Fotherby, *Foure sermons*, sig. 2B2^r, 2B1^r.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, sig. E4^r; Fotherby, however, acknowledges his large debt to Hooker (sig. L2^v). Cf. Whitaker, *Disputation*, p. 466; Hughes, p. 90.

readership, for instance – is true, then it would seem that this is the ordinary mode of God's action in the world; and the Incarnation, physical Jesus as the sacred space, must become peripheral. Such divine action must be potentially promiscuous; despite the tendency of Protestantism to mechanise God, He remains by definition a universal and active, and therefore unpredictable, Spirit.¹¹² Belief in the efficacy of the performative process of reading can hardly be reconciled with belief in the constative, that is, credal, or even merely rational, propositions.

Thus secondary imagination counting itself as inspired, cannot, as English Protestantism hopes, find propositions both explicit and certain by inspired reading of the Bible. Even when it attempts to express its belief through literature, the imagination's initial assumption of divinity means that its convictions cannot go beyond convictions about itself. Plenary, exegetical inspiration is the route out of uncertainty about doctrine into an even more fundamental and insoluble species of doubt, uncertainty about the boundaries of the self:

when each of us, in his owne heart lookes,
He findes the God there¹¹³

The "Inbred Light . . . is a thing coincident with Scripture it selfe",¹¹⁴ and by enveloping God in light, it makes even God disappear into the self. Therefore "God deliver me from my selfe, is . . . the first voice of my retired imaginations".¹¹⁵ In Part II, I shall discuss the most obvious symptom of this dilemma, the difficulties of the imagination both in picturing God and in not picturing God, in literature and elsewhere.

¹¹² Reventlow, pp. 123-4. Chillingworth, *The religion of Protestants*, sig. 2 § 3^v-2 § 4^v; *Adv.*, I, vi, 7-9; II, x, 10; *Sp.* III, 379, 484, 486; IV, 397-8.

¹¹³ Greville, 'Mustapha', *Poems and dramas*, chorus vi, ll.23-4.

¹¹⁴ Laud, *The conference*, p. 70. Cf. Jewel, 'A treatise of holie scripture', *Works*, II, 1167.

¹¹⁵ *RM*, ii, 11 (p. 69).

PART TWO

Protestant pictures

. . . the grandest efforts of poetry [are] where the imagination is called forth, not to produce a distinct form, but a strong working of the mind.

Coleridge, *Shakespearean Criticism*, II, 138.

CHAPTER FOUR

DEFINING THE SACRED TEXT

We are neither above nor under the rest [of the beasts; for if] . . . we hath this liberty of imagination and this license of thoughts . . . it is an advantage bought at a very high rate

Montaigne, 'An Apologie',
Essays, p. 151.

IN PART I, I discussed the way the Protestant imagination constructs its account of the inspired text of the Bible. The paradoxical structure that results cannot be entirely stable, and in this and the next three chapters, I shall discuss the tensions and disorders as it unravels. The goal of this discussion is an understanding of the uncertainty and uncertain enthusiasm Protestantism feels for poetry, by putting that tension in the context of the anxious and defensive tension that, in the Protestant view, surrounds the Bible on every side.

It is not the Bible itself that matters to the Protestant mind, but the periphery of the text, or the means by which the secret, variable and unknowable motions of the Spirit within His inspired words are mediated into the world. So long as we ignore this periphery, we are not students of, but merely participants in, the Protestant myth of direct and inspired reading. It is not the text that concerns us when we read the text. The preface to the King James version claims that "good translation breaketh

the shell, that we may eat the kernel",¹ but the process is really the reverse. Frye obscures the point when he assumes that it is possible for exegesis to get behind the Reformation and Counter-Reformation versions of the Bible to the mere text:

differences between Protestant and Roman Catholic versions of the Bible . . . have been greatly exaggerated . . . and are of little importance for a book like this. I am not concerned with the true meaning of such words as *episcopos* or *ecclesia*²

English Bibles of the Reformation do not exist as texts in a vacuum, but as printed objects, presented to the reader by the overt actions of monarch, Parliament, or more covertly, as emblems of the authority of Geneva or Rome. The purchaser got, between the binding of his folio or quarto, the circumstance as well as the text itself, and the Biblical text cannot be innocent of circumstance and intent. The text, swathed in title-pages and prefaces, footnotes, marginal annotations, illustrations, glosses and indexes, is necessarily modified by the circumstance.

By the periphery of the text we could mean a great many modifying circumstances, but eight in particular seem significant: canonicity; textual criticism; exegesis; Biblical homiletics; translation; iconography; pictorial illustration; literary imitation. Of course, these are not all equally troublesome to the Protestant mind. The canon of Scripture begins to be altered from the beginning of James' reign, when radical Protestant editions of the Bible (quite illegally) begin to omit the Apocrypha: an extreme application of the tendency in Continental Protestantism to devalue the Apocrypha, as the distinction between the inspired word of God and the unauthoritative word of man becomes sharper: the Apocrypha is squeezed out in England.³ But the general question of the

¹ KJV, Preface, iii; Steiner, p. 348.

² Frye, *The Great Code*, xiii-xiv. To be fair, the Biblical scholar Henry Cotton makes the same invalid case: *Notes on The Preface to the Rhemish testament, (printed in Dublin, 1813.)* (Dublin, 1817), and *Editions of the Bible and parts thereof In English, From the year MDV. to MDCCCL*, second ed., II vols. (Oxford, 1852).

³ Heppe, II, iv (pp. 13-14). Patridge, pp. 13-14. In England, the use of the Apocrypha in the lectionary was one of the things that scandalised the radical wing of the Church: *Reasons of refusal of subscription to the book of Common praier* and Hutton's answer (p. 19) put the opposing cases conventiently.

Biblical canon, dormant in the West since the Dark Ages, was opened by Luther only to be closed by Calvin, and for the English it remained closed.

Instinctively, the thorough Protestant recoils from textual criticism of the Bible – "Thus we accuse the holy Ghost for giuing vs a corrupted New Testament" bawls Hugh Broughton, over some very mild textual emendations suggested by Parker.⁴ Conservative English Reformers such as Parker are in turn disturbed at the greater scepticism of the Rheims translation about the impeccability of the received text. Rheims seminarians, in their turn, are displeased by the English Protestants who will not acknowledge the doubts and obscurities thrown up throughout the Bible, and the chronic malleability of the text.

Our adversaries . . . by a certain deceptive adaptation and alteration [*composita fraude ac mutatione*] of the sacred words produce the effect of appearing to say nothing but what comes from the bible⁵.

Catholics can afford to be realists, or even pessimists, about the contents, fixity, ambiguity and transparency of the Biblical text, but Protestants have to assume the sovereignty of the text.⁶

These frontiers between the text and the world do require our critical attention in the next few chapters: translation, iconography, pictorial illustration within books, literary imitation. The most striking general point about them is the degree to which the conventions of tact change in each area. Woodcuts, which even the Geneva Bible had at first, can a few generations later be framed as a capital charge against the English Primate. Translation is practically resolved by the triumph of the King James Version in 1630. The inhibition on imposing human annotation and

⁴ Broughton, *Advertisement*, sig. A2^v; *WC*, i, 2, 4, 7; Kümmel, pp. 351-5; Heppe, ii, 3-5, 10 (pp. 12-16, 19); Reventlow, pp. 70-2. Heppe, II, iv (p. 14), and vi (p. 16). The most extreme textual critical theory in English is *Men before Adam* (London, 1656) and *A theological systeme Upon that Presvposition, That Men were before Adam* (London, 1656), English versions of the *Praeadamitae* of the heresiarch Isaac La Peyrère, who suggested that even the Hebrew and Greek originals are "a heap of Copie confusedly taken", and thus liable to emendation. Popkin, *Isaac La Peyrère*, p. 60; A. Williams, pp. 229-232.

⁵ Pollard, *Records*, pp. 298 (original) and 300 (Pollard's translation); Knox's *Letters of Allen* (London, 1882), p. 52.

⁶ Trent delegated the Church's authority to the Vulgate (session IV (8 April, 1546), p. 13).

amplification on God's text fades, until by the middle of the seventeenth century the Puritans are using a version of the Apocalypse, Tomson's New Testament, which contains more Tomson than God by volume.⁷

⁷ Tomson's New Testament was a redaction of GB that evolved more and more specific interpretation of the Apocalypse as a prophecy of the Roman Church: the most extravagant edition was published in London, 1637, and immediately hounded out of the country by Laud.

(1) The text interprets itself

View but the horrible impudencie wherewith we tosse divine reasons to and fro, and how irreligiously wee have both rejected and taken them againe, according as fortune hath in these publike stormes transported us from place to place.
Montaigne, 'An Apologie', *Essayes*, p. 131.

How, from so vast and complex text as the Bible, is it possible to extract a simple proposition, say, double predestination, without acknowledging the authority of some exegetical method? The authority of its interpretation depends on the authority of the exegetical method as much as on the text itself; it is often impossible to appeal from the doctrinal disputes of the Reformation to the text of the Bible, because Biblical exegesis interposes the very doctrine in question.

Orthodox Protestantism rests, as much as Catholicism, on exterior, traditional hermeneutics, whether its "certain laws or rules" are prescribed by the civil magistrate or not. This is apparent in William Whitaker's prescriptive manual for reading the inspired meaning from the inspired text, his *Disputatio de sacra scriptura* of 1610, one of the classics of English Protestant apologetic, and one of the few significant English contributions to European Protestant thought in our period.⁸ Whitaker insists on the necessity of both prayer (for he wants to insist upon the preternatural quality of reading) and linguistic competence;⁹ but the pivotal passage is the description of how signs can be distinguished from what they signify by collating passages beyond their context. Difficult passages should be explicated by collation, not only with similar, but with dissimilar passages. These exegetical procedures, aimed obviously enough at deflating the Petrine commission and the real presence in the Eucharist, imply that all the Bible speaks with one voice and at one level of authenticity. Whitaker insists that on the Bible as speaking, as having a mouth; and he understands *Word* to mean *discourse*.¹⁰ His hermeneutic is therefore

⁸ Whitaker, *Disputation*, pp. 466-70. *DNB*. Heppe, II, xiii (p. 29).

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 467.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 450: Protestantism calls the Bible the 'voice' of God, and one attraction of the ubiquitous synecdoche 'word' of God, for the Bible, is its ambiguity: a word may be something written or spoken. 'Word' does not preclude 'voice.'

synthetic rather than analytic. Analytic categories, such as allegory and anagogy, are rejected, but by constant self-reference of one passage to another, imposed by Protestant reading, the sting is taken out of the most trenchant passages. They are not allegories of something which orthodoxy must explicate or define, but "signs" of something expressed more literally elsewhere in the Biblical canon. They are hieroglyphics for something lucid. This hermeneutic of collation reads the Bible to a flatness or homogeneity that stresses most of all the simplest common denominator of the inspired text, which is the text itself and its implicit claim to authority, rather than the actual details of revelation: "Scripture is *αὐτοπιστος*, that is, hath all its authority and vertue from itself."¹¹ The motto *Only the Scripture may interpret the Scripture* declares that there is a conscious hermeneutic voice within the writing itself, and suggests that inspiration is message as well as medium.

Thus, while Whitaker's definitions purport to be corrective, warning the godly Bible reader away from particular errors, and letting through the light within, they are in fact universally negative to the extent that they could unsettle any concrete doctrinal proposition – even the existence of God. By the analogy of collation, any particular hillock of proposition can be demonstrated aberrant, compared with disparate passages and shown to be allegorical, and flattened. Thus the most significant of Whitaker's eight points is his seventh, the final defence of inspirational hermeneutics, the only positive point prescriptive of doctrine. It is fideism: against the analogy of collation he admits the "analogy of faith": All our expositions of the Word must accord with the clearest exposition of the burden of Scripture – "the Creed, and the contents of the Lord's Prayer, the Decalogue, and the whole Catechism".¹² Whitaker's edifice wipes the text virtually blank, and leaves it white for the imprint of the received faith.

Reading by the "analogy of faith" is in the first place genuinely negative, a means of voiding meaning. George Wither's account of reading the divine poetry of the Pslater would almost have done before the Reformation.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 279-80; cit. Hughes, p. 34.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 450.

I therefore intreate, that when you meet with any places in the *Pſalmes*, which in a bare literall ſenſe may be an occaſſion of offence, or draw you from the common receiued opinion of the Church, you would eyther ſearch further than the *letter*, vntill you finde how they may be anſwerable to the Analogie of Faith; or elſe, vſe the helpe of thoſe Diuines, who are able to reſolue you¹³

The text for Wither is passive beneath the knife of orthodox belief; he even goes on to rehearse the four-fold exegesis of scholasticism.

But the analogy of faith has a positive tendency as well; it disqualifies the Catholic view of sacraments: for if everything in the Bible is to be referred to other points in the Bible, the text is effectively about itself, and does not point beyond itself to any separate, non-textual epiphany. Whitaker has no trouble disposing of even such a troublesome passage as this from the Gospel of John:

Except ye eat the fleſh of the Sône of man, and drinke his blood, ye haue no life in you.¹⁴

The referent of this passage is not to anything in the outside world, but to another point in the text; eating is to be referred to the Pentateuchal dietary code, where killing, still less eating, men is forbidden: and so the eating meant must in fact be reading. Christ commands that unless one reads the Bible one cannot live. The object of radical Protestant belief is not, as the Laudians defined orthodoxy, "Christ as revealed in the Scriptures", but Scripture itself.¹⁵

This transformation of the usual focus of Christian thought, from sacrament to written word, is an act of the imagination for which one obvious analogy is the invocation placed at the beginning of a poem, requesting from Apollo or the Muse the gift of light; but that is not how it seems to the Protestant imagination. To the Protestant imagination, the assertion of the self-interpreting sacred text is almost the converse of an invocation, for it is not merely a request to the

Heav'nly Muse, that on the secret top
Of *Oreb*, or of *Sinai*, didst inspire¹⁶,

¹³ Wither, *A preparation*, XII, viii (sig. K2^v).

¹⁴ John, vi, 53 (GB).

¹⁵ Forbes, I, 18, 19.

but that Muse's own affirmative, assertive and self-fulfilling reply. Nor is it the divine reaction to the human request for enlightenment. Moses does not request the revelation on Sinai, for the predestinarian God is always the agent and elects that the will of man shall conform to enlightenment. The Biblical text begins by God saying to the inert vacuity "Let there be light, and there was light";¹⁷ on the Protestant view, that light is the writing itself. The light is simultaneous with the voice, just as Paul's voice is simultaneous with the light, and the fulfillment of the word is simultaneous with its utterance – for whether in Creation, on the Damascus Road, or inspiring the godly reader of the Bible, enlightenment works irresistibly on matter God has already elected to compliance. Scripture never "faith in vaine" since its prime proposition is the doctrine of inspiration, and it consummates that itself. Of all texts, only the Bible "internally compels the mind to assent".¹⁸ Protestant hermeneutics aims to make all the Bible one speech, as personal, efficacious and conscious an act of God's as the voice of Creation, of the giving of the old dispensation on Sinai, and of the miracle of the new dispensation outside Damascus. Protestantism's habit of possessive inspiration engulfs the text: so that the miracle of God's indubitable voice, if not apparent within the writing itself, can be reproduced and vindicated on the borders of the writing, where inspirational authority is transfused, and in the habit of reading itself, which transforms the words: but these processes seem to the Protestant forced on him from without.

¹⁶ PL, I, 6-7.

¹⁷ Genesis, i, 3 (GB).

¹⁸ Whitaker, *Disputation*, p. 446.

(2) The Word is more than the words

. . . when once men have cast a fancy towards it, any slight declaration of specialities will serve to lead forward men's inclinable and prepared minds. . . . From hence they proceed to a higher point . . . that it is the special illumination of the Holy Ghost, whereby they discern those things in the word, which others reading yet discern them not.

Hooker, *Lawes*, Preface, iii, 5, 10.

The matter of the Biblical text is transformed, and the act of transformation is less like a deliberate poetic invocation of the Spirit's presence than a passive acknowledgement that the Spirit is already within the text, and has transformed it. Thus the process of reading is clearly like the Catholic process of the transubstantiation in the liturgy of the Mass, where the repetition of divine words transforms the mortal elements into divine substance. The transformation of inspired reading replaces the transformation of the Mass in appeal and effect, and Protestant apologists sometimes exalt in that comparison.

For as the Word of God preached putteth Christ into our ears, so likewise these elements of water, bread and wine, joined to God's Word, do after a sacramental manner put Christ into our eyes, mouths, hands, and all our senses.¹⁹

Sometimes this juxtaposition of eating and reading is little more than a flat, polemical contrasting of means – rather a noisome one: "Reading does, as it were, set the solid food at the lips; meditation breaks and chews it; prayer gains a relish".²⁰ But Protestantism finds the opposition between text and sacrament fundamental, so much so that it reads it back into the Bible and in the Fathers. Whitaker finds it in Augustine's commentary on the First Epistle of S. John.

Behold a mighty mystery, brethren. The sound of my words strikes on thy ears; the master is within As far as is my concern, I have spoken to all; but they to

¹⁹Cranmer, *Works*, I, 41-2; quoted by Hughes, p. 199. Cf. Whitaker, *Disputation*, pp. 450-5; Tyndale, *Doctrinal treatises and Introductions to different portions of The Holy Scriptures*. ed. H. Walter (PS., 1848), p. 360; Jewel, II, 1099, 1102; Hooper, II, 88. Hughes, pp. 194-7.

²⁰Whitaker, *Disputation*, p. 467, quoting Augustine or pseudo-Augustine.

whom the inward unction doth not speak, they whom the Holy Spirit within doth not teach, these return unled.²¹

Augustine is actually speaking, not of the text of I John, but of his own homiletic exposition of it; and the point of his term *sacramentum* seems to be that his exegesis, which is in literal contradiction of itself, speaks a deep truth – a mystery – which only those whom the Spirit fills may understand. However, to Whitaker Augustine's account seems paradigmatic of the process of all divinely inspired writing and reading, and therefore an account in the first place of the Bible. Whitaker applies Augustine's metaphor to assert that the process of reading the Bible is a sacrament. It is a sacrament because it efficaciously communicates God's grace to men, and makes the Holy Ghost an internal master. Textual inspiration is a Mystery in the technical sense that it is beyond the power of man's reason to deduce it, and beyond his power to apprehend even when it has been revealed. Grace enters the sacramental text through grace, and passes to men through faith, not reason.

The meaning of the Word of God, although innate in the words, is not merely to do with the words of the text, but with some other entity within the text. This is the Protestant *paradox of substance*. A text is a collection of words, and Protestantism claims that the Bible exists independently, in the public domain, as a collection of words. Words are the text's substance, and therefore it is available in its entirety to the literate, and not merely to the doctors of the infallible Church. Its word is efficacious to salvation. However, it speaks efficaciously only to the elect Christian, for whom it is *substantially* different; another substance, as it were, appears when he reads it, and he hears an indubitable voice.²² The

²¹Whitaker, *Disputatio*, p. 338: "Videte magnum sacramentum, fratres. Sonus verborum nostrorum aures percutit: magister intus est. . . . Quantum ad me pertinet, omnibus loquutus sum; sed quibus vnctio illa intus non loquitur, quos Spiritus sanctus intus non docet, inducti redeunt." This translation is mine: I have not used the translation of the *Disputatio* by the Revd. William Fitzgerald, the Parker Society's placeman (*Disputation*, p. 453), because Fitzgerald's Whitaker's Augustine is tame, and perhaps evasive – *magnum sacramentum* becomes "great mystery", *magister* "the teacher", and *Spiritus Sanctus intus non docet* "the Holy Ghost does not teach internally". An alternative English text of Augustine's book is H. Browne's translation, *Homilies on the Gospel according to S. John, and his First Epistle*, II vols. (Oxford, 1848-9), II, 1136-7. Fitzgerald quotes this passage in Latin in a footnote (p. 453, n.4), but makes a number of mistakes (cf. Browne's gloss, II, 1137).

²²Broughton, *An advertisement*, sig. O2^r. Cf. Nowell, p. 117; Fulke, *A Defence*, p. 37;

"the bare woordes",²³ the actual substance of the text, no longer concern the elect reader. The accidents of the carnal object – the book carnally available from the printer – have vanished: the Bible is transubstantiated. The technique of Protestant exegesis is therefore not elaboration but replacement.

Authority does not stand in the words, not even in the bulk of the words (for one can "grounde doctrines vpon . . . a few syllables in one sentence"), but in the the "generall rules of the Scripture", it "is concerned not with words, but with the true sense; which sense we may properly call Scripture's true life and soul."²⁴ To extract the soul from the body is not an image of adding to the text. The Word matters because the soul of meaning would be discarnate without this body; but the meaning of the words is, Whitaker admits, disputable as often as not.²⁵ What is indisputable is that meaning has become incarnate in the text, and thus any godly exposition of the text, however tendentious its argument, is in communion with incarnate truth. The form of Scripture is heavier than its substance.

As I observed in the first chapter, thing and sign are typically distinguished in Protestant theology, often by arguing from the symbolism of written language. Zwingli in his public letter to François I of France, asks:

who is so ignorant as to try to maintain that the sign is the thing which it signifies? If that were the case I need only to write the word "ape" and your majesty would have before him a real ape. But the sacraments are signs of real things: things which once took place

Institutes, I, vii, 5; *Doct. Chr.*, I, xxx (p. 259); and Whitaker, *Disputation*, 403-10, 445-6. Booty, p. 145.

²³ This phrase is common to Tyndale (*Doctrinal treatises*, p. 360) and Jewel (*Certaine Sermons* (London, 1583), p. 72).

²⁴ Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, *An Anfwere in defence of the truth. againste the Apologie of priuate Masse* [by John Rastell] (London, 1562), fol. K5^r; PS. ed., by William Goode (Cambridge, 1850), p. 57. Cartwright, followed by WC, thinks that there are "generall Rules of the Word" not "expressly set down", into knowledge of which we must be led by the Spirit (I, vi: p. 5). Whitaker, *Disputatio*, p. 298; my translation (Fitzgerald's translation is on p. 402 of his ed.): "Scriptura enim non in nudis verbis. . . . [et] non in verbis, sed in vero verborum sensu versetur, quem veré ipsam Scripturæ animam ac vitam appellare possumus . . ." Cf. "The literal sense . . . is not that which the words immediately suggest . . . but rather that which arises from the words", where *arises* is like a suspiration (*ibid.*, p. 405). Booty, pp. 138-9. Jewel, *Certaine Sermons*, p. 72.

²⁵ Whitaker, *Disputation*, p. 452.

really, literally and naturally they now (as I say) represent and recall and set before our eyes.²⁶

Such an image tends to work backwards towards written language, the favourite example and precedent of this strict distinction between sign and thing, so that writing seems ontologically closer to the object than any unwritten sign. The word "ape" in a printed book begins to seem a more direct, and certainly more undeceptive, representation of an ape than any plastic representation. Eventually the distinction between "ape" on the printed page and consequently in the imagination, is barely distinguished from the ape itself: at least if the ape is a spiritual being, otherwise never apparent, like the Protestant God.

Zwinglian nominalism works both ways, therefore: it inclines the radical Protestant mind both toward a spiritual, non-substantial doctrine of the sacraments (which are natural phenomena, reminding us of the supernatural activity of God) and to a substantial, miraculous doctrine of the Bible (which is a supernatural effect of God's activity). The Protestant dichotomy between the imagining of sacraments as seals on the explicitly verbal, and the imagination of sacrament as the reality which the verbal represents, is vital; it is not merely a didactic question whether verbal or sacramental has primacy.²⁷ Jewel asserts that

the Substance of the Scriptures standeth in the right Sense, and Meaning, and not onely in the naked, and bare woordes²⁸;

but a few pages later he is denying the possibility of the distinction between substance and outward form about Christ, using the same term, *substance*. Christ's form, his human body, is the "Substance of his Manhoode",²⁹ and thus as man he cannot be present at more places than one in the Mass. The Incarnation does not merge the two natures: but they are merged in the Bible, where the Substance is divine under the text's finite Form.³⁰

²⁶ Zwingli, 'An exposition of the faith', p. 248. Stephens, pp. 59-64.

²⁷ Tyacke, pp. 30-1. François Wendel, *Calvin: the origins and development of his religious thought*, tr. Philip Mairet (London, 1963), pp. 263-6.

²⁸ Jewel, *Certaine Sermons*, p. 72.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 87 (misnumbered 88) -88. The degree to which the Elizabethan Reformers were

The Reformers call the sacraments "prints, copies", that is, new printings of the text; "the sacrament doth much more *print* lively and full . . . than do bare words", and is thus but an improvement in degree on the text.³¹ The metaphor is that sacraments are reprintings of the text; or (very commonly) "seals unto the writings", "as princes' seals [which] confirm and warrant their deeds".³² Royal seals are physical emblems on the edge of writing, both part of the document, with which they are in visual unity, and physical entities in the 'real' world outside the writing. They are signs of the authority of the text that mediate between the realms of things and words.

Augustine, the favourite Protestant Father, is never more favoured by quotation and appreciative mistranslation than on the cleansing word discussed in the Fourth Gospel:

Withdraw the word, and what is water but water? The word is added to the element, and maketh the sacrament – indeed, we may say it becomes itself the visible word.³³

When Augustine calls preaching a *magnum sacramentum*, Whitaker, as we have noted, understands the term to mean reading the Bible. Here, conversely, the cleansing word cannot but sound like preaching, not baptism, and so the Reformers read Augustine's final phrase with the stress on tentative *tanquam* ('so to speak'), rather than *ipsum* ('itself, in person'): sacrament and visible word are *metaphorically* equated. Tyndale is typically Protestant in his translation of this passage: "there results the sacrament, as if itself a kind of visible word",³⁴ which suggests the

Zwinglian or Calvinist in their sacramental theology is moot; on Jewel, who is surely as Zwinglian as, say, Cranmer (at his most lucid), see Booty, pp. 59-64, 138-40.

³¹ Jewel, III, 62; Tyndale, *Doctrinal treatises*, p. 360. Italics mine.

³² Hooper, II, 88; Jewel, II, 1099. Hughes discusses 'The sacraments as pledges and seals', pp. 197-202.

³³ I use Migne's edition of Augustine's *Opera Omnia*, XI vols. (Paris, 1861), III, 1840:

Detrahe verbum, et quid est aqua nisi aqua? Accedit verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum etiam ipsum tanquam visibile verbum.

Augustine cites the passage from John (xxv, 3): "Jam vos mundi estis propter sermonem quem locutus sum vobis" (*Tractates on John*, LXXX, 3).

Hughes discusses Augustine's comment and the English Reformers' relish for it, but not very carefully (pp. 192-6): "sacrament is indissolubly linked to the *word* of promise" (p. 194, italics mine), not merely to the promise itself.

³⁴ Tyndale, *Doctrinal treatises*, p. 360. Hughes, p. 192.

Sacrament is a physical sign for the word, a symbol of verbal reality, a metaphor for Scripture. Gregory Martin protests that Augustine is being willfully misused –

S. Auguſtine expoundeth it of the Sacramêtal Word of Baptiſme, and not as the Heretikes do, of preaching onely³⁵.

But if the sacraments are a metaphorical seal on the word, to extrapolate Augustine thus is not merely chicanery. Protestantism understands the word as applying only to the annunciation of the preacher. The sacrament is a visible sign of or seal on the verbal reality: the reception of the sacrament is a concrete metaphor for the reception of the word; it works out Scripture in a more tangible form. Augustine's *visibile verbum* is only paradoxical if we imagine the word to be naturally invisible, so that its visibility is a miraculous incarnation.

This stress on the text's substance, rather than its content or intent, cuts against the possibility of efficacious sacraments in the Protestant imagination, for sacraments are thought of as a peculiar use of language and signification; and it cuts against an analytic approach to the text, for the text, on the analogy of the sacraments, is understood primarily as a single phenomenon, an indication of God's attention to, and care for, humanity. For the properly reformed imagination, therefore, the central question of the Reformation controversy, the interpretation of *hoc est corpus meum*, is hardly a question.³⁶ It cannot be literally true: the substance of the text, not the sacrament, changes into something divine. This, however, is meant as literary analysis of the words: Protestant commentary is consistently hostile to allegory in the Fathers,³⁷ and

³⁵ Rheims, gloss on John xv, 3.

³⁶ The Vulgate text of Matthew, xxvi, 26, Mark, xiv, 22, Luke, xxii, 19, and I Corinthians, xi, 24, with trivial variations. Tyndale, *Doctrinal treatises*, p. 303.

³⁷ "I . . . warn you, that figures of Hyperbole and Metonymia be often in the Fathers' writings": Calhill, *An avnsweare to the treatise of the Crosse*, p. 77; this passage is significantly misquoted by Professor Greenslade in *The English Reformers and the Fathers* (Oxford, 1960), p. 2. Calhill, *An avnsweare*, p. 75 (but cf. fol. 29^v in the first ed. of 1565), holds it is a fault of the Fathers to "haue borrowed of the common cuſtome, impropere phraſes" of metaphor, and admonishingly compares the Father s' language to that of the poets; indeed, metaphor in religious writing is inimical to its subject – "the Fathers in many things haue thought better, than they haue written" – and a vanity, like the sign of the cross: "it is . . . faith . . . which the finger cannot impreſſe on the forehead: but grace can

incredulous about allegory in the Bible.³⁸ Even if allegory, anagogy and tropology exist in the Bible, they must be merely "various collections from one sense", which is the "literal" one.³⁹ *Literal* in Protestant hermeneutics does not mean *à la lettre*, but of the *anima* of the text; or, according to the Spirit; or, before the intrusion of the literary critical machinery of exegesis. The fact of inspiration preempts the effects of rhetoric.

In this *literal* sense, it is possible to say not Christ but the Bible "is the bread which came down from heaven", that "we must embrace it as the truth of God descended from Heaven", that the Comforter that Christ "hath left unto us" is not the Spirit but "his holy word."⁴⁰ In the Westminster Confession, the presbyterian divines confess that the Bible depends on God, "who is Truth it self"; but they have defined Scripture by asserting that God ordains that "Truth" should be a thing of writing.⁴¹ What is the relationship between these two substances, these two uses of the word "Truth"? God does not cause but virtually *is* the Bible, since the Bible is His most obvious effect, and as "the right way to conceiue God is not to conceiue of any forme: but to conceiue in mind his properties and proper effects".⁴²

engraffe in the minde of man", p. 76 (fol. 30^r). Keeble, pp. 240-1.

³⁸ Tyndale, *Doctrinal Treatises.*, p. 306: an allegory that cannot be proved from elsewhere with "an open text" is of no greater value than a fiction about Robin Hood.

³⁹ Whitaker, *Disputation*, p. 405; Hughes, pp. 27-9.

⁴⁰ Jewel, 'A treatise', *Works*, IV, 1164. Nowell, p. 117. Whitaker, *Disputation*, pp. 450, 461, 462.

⁴¹ WC, I, vi (p. 2); Augustine's *Tract. in Iohn.*, iii; quoted by Whitaker, *Disputatio*, p. 338; my translation. Heppe, II, xi.

⁴² Heppe, ii, 11; Perkins, 'A warning against The Idolatrie of the last times', *The works*, II, 670-1. H.P. Liddon, *The Divinity of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* (London, 1867), p. 69; Don Cupitt, 'The Christ of Christendom', pp. 133-47 of John Hick (ed.), *The Myth of God Incarnate* (London, 1977); p. 135.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE SACRED TEXT AND THE PUBLIC REALM

[Alas that] every man upon his own single bond is trusted to deliver the meaning of Scripture, which is many times naught else but his own imagination. This is the disease of our age.

Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester, *Ninety-six sermons*, V, 58.

THOMAS Rogers, the translator, attempted at the beginning of James' reign a full formal statement of the dogmatic content of the Church of England, in syllogisms, and then even in tree diagrams of atomic propositions. Although he achieves, on the whole, only a morbid and unrevealing precision, his method does occasionally involve invoking a sceptical voice that keeps answering back as the assumptions behind doctrinal claims are specified.¹ What is the basis of the XXXIX Articles when they are "Analised into Propositions"? The Bible, naturally enough; but because propositions are acts of intellect, the real ground of Protestant conviction, which is the act of will identifying God's voice with the reading of the text, disappears from the structure of Protestant belief as it is atomised. If the divinity of scripture is to be asserted against denial,

¹ *The English Creede, Consenting vwith the true, avncient catholique and apostolique Church* (London, 1585, 1587) first attempted the tabular analysis (Perkins later had a try at himself); Rogers reworked his material as *The faith, doctrine, and religion professed, & protected in the Realme of England . . . Expressed in the 39 articles . . . Analised into Propositions* (Cambridge, 1607). I use the PS ed. of Rogers, *The catholic doctrine of the Church of England, an exposition of the thirty-nine articles*, by J.J.S. Perowne (Cambridge, 1854).

Christian theology has to retreat towards natural theology, and particularly the ultimate verity of natural theology, the existence of God. Yet reason cannot be admitted to be altogether efficacious in theological debate, even when refuting rationalist scepticism, or the validity of universal, Catholic reasoning must also be admitted.² Rogers therefore prefers to reason the lesser and safer ecclesiastical authority of the Reformed settlements of religion. The existence of God is proved out of the Bible, and when this stop-gap is itself demolished by the analytic method, Rogers can only assert that belief in the existence of a divine being accord with

God's word . . . and God's people in their public
Confessions from Augsburg, Helvetia, Bohemia,
France, Flanders and Wittenberg³

– that is, with the Protestant civil authority of northern Europe.

In this chapter, I consider the way illuminationist exegesis is practically circumscribed and even prescribed, on the one hand, simply enough, by the Erastian state, and on the other, more controversially, by secular learning.

(1) Erastianism and inspirational authority

. . . there being joined in your Majesty the light of nature, the light of learning, and, above all, the light of God's Holy Spirit; it cannot be but your government must be as a happy constellation . . . [and] when your Majesty hath determined and ordered ["ecclesiastical jurisdiction"], . . . every good subject ought to rest satisfied . . .

Bacon, *Certaine Considerations*, pp. 63-4.

The Church, according to the radical Protestant, is governed by the exegetical Spirit, who reveals Himself through inspired reading of the inspired text. But His government is not visible. For the Church is identified with, and visibly governed by, the State. This is a practical

² Lawes, II, viii, 10-11.

³ Rogers, *The catholic doctrine*, p. 305.

dilemma whenever the monarchy actually thwarts radical reform of the Church. Why should the will of Elizabeth hold sway over the doubts of the godly about such contentious issues as vestments, preaching, the 'classical movement', and the episcopate?⁴ How can the rule of the Spirit in the English Church be made visible to the eye of faith, when the outward eye detects the expedient and compromising government of the secular power?

Imagination, if it is to make visible the governance of the Spirit in the process of reading, has to reconcile this power with the power of the civil authority. It therefore shows us a divine authority to run parallel with the practical power wielded over the Church by the monarch; for such a spiritual office may be merged, in the imagination, with the action of the Spirit. It is fundamental to Protestantism's imagery to introduce divine agents to act in the world (the Bible, the minister, providence, angels, the devil), for God is wholly invisible, and recedes even from godly activity in the world – from the sacraments, from the Church, from mystical experience.⁵

The exegetical office of the Spirit is performed in practice by the authoritative monarchy. Religious panegyrics on Elizabeth and James are meant to biblicise the lay Head of the English Church: that is, they proceed from an impulse that cannot be entirely satisfied, because Elizabeth and James' government of the Church must represent God's will, not only to be just, but to be valid, for if they are not his representatives, they are interlopers.⁶ This cannot be shown, so must be imagined. I shall discuss only two examples of this imagining, one a picture from the periphery of Henry VIII's text of the Bible; and the other a seventeenth-century pattern of antique allusion, to Hermes Trismegistus. These examples are meant to

⁴ *Certaine Considerations touching the better pacification and Edification of the Church of England: Dedicatied to his most Excellent Maiestie* (London, 1604 [sic]), pp. 63-4 (this book (STC 1118) is usually dated 1605, but I use a copy, from the library of Christ Church, of the unusual variant (STC 1118.5) with a colophon dated 1604).

⁵ WC, III, i (p. 7).

⁶ Even Tyndale, who put an unusual stress upon pneumatic guidance, is perplexed when he tries to distinguish between "free things besides the scripture, and altogether in the liberty of the Spirit", that is, the State, and "the open text", which cannot admit doubt (*Doctrinal treatises*, pp. 305-6); for as it appears that there are no open texts unencumbered with controversy and doubt.

show how disparately the chimerical image of the exegetical-erastian authority can be expressed; but I also want to suggest how common the image is throughout the period of Reformation; and to propose what some more specific features of the image are, in particular the 'third light' with which it shows the English monarchy blessed. This third light is divine inspiration, or if we like special power to read the inspired text; and this imagined gift is a bridge between the actual power of the sovereign and the naked autocracy of the text, which is the avowed Protestant ideal.

Probably the single most important printed icon of the English Reformation is that overt emblem of triumphalist Erastianism, the title page of the Great Bible (1539).⁷ It portrays Henry, heroically vast and immovably enthroned, handing down the Great Bible itself to Cranmer for the ecclesiastical establishment, and Cromwell for the civil; the Word trickles down both sides of the tablet with the Great Bible's title in it, to reach the English people at the bottom of the page, who cry *VIVAT REX*. But at the top of the page, at the spot which I have argued is analogous to the summit of the rood-screen in churches, and thus the focus of inspiration, a much smaller figure of Henry has laid his crown on the ground, and knelt. Above him God the Father, like an elderly Protestant Apollo, swathed in billowing cloud, gestures towards Henry, His receptacle, majestically and – this is the paradox of textual inspiration, the paradox of its human-and-divine substance – servilely, as if a *deus ex machina*, conjured up for the convenience of the title page's, and the King's, narrative needs. A scroll with words on it unfurls from His lips; God declares *Inueni virum iuxta co:[-r] meum qui faciet: omnes voluntates meas* (that is, "I haue found . . . a man after myne awne hert, which ſhall fulfyll all my wyll").⁸ *Verbum tuum lucerna pedib[is] meis* responds Henry ("Thy worde is a lanterne vnto my fete, and a lyght vnto my pathes").⁹ The king has thus been prophetically commissioned to be

⁷ Henry VIII's authorised version, *The Byble in Englyſhe, that is to ſaye the content of all the holy ſcripture . . . truly tranſlated* (London, 1539), known as the Great Bible because of its physical bulk, and cit. as *GtB*.

⁸I add the translation from the text of the *GtB*, Psalm cxix, part O (verse 105 in subsequent English translations. In the Great Bible, the chapters are divided, as in most classical texts, into lettered paragraphs: which is a clearer, more useful and more elegant system than the system of small, irregular verses. The verse divisions themselves naturally became canonised in the Dissenting tradition).

a vessel of light, or an aqueduct of inspiration, from God to Anglophones. This pictorial representation is straight-forward enough. Outward order, even in the pneumatically inspired Church, depends, as the order of Nature depends, on explicit "laws or rules". The letter killeth, but so, in all matters except our reading of the sacred letter, does the Spirit; which is why Bacon argues for outright war on any actual kingdom of the Spirit, civil or ecclesiastical.¹⁰

My second example is the pattern of allusion about 'Trismegistus', which means thrice-greatest or three-fold potent; in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the word can assume innocuous forms in European vernaculars – trimegist, *trismégiste*, *trèsgrand*.¹¹ However, its source and primary denotation is still apparent to alert sixteenth- and seventeenth-century readers as Ἑρμῆς τρισμέγιστος, the Egyptian god of mystery, prophetic and esoteric wisdom, and of alchemy. The Olympian Hermes, as slayer of Argus and heaven's messenger to men, can be thought to bear some parallel to S. Michael, or even to the incarnate Λόγος; and Hermes Trismegistus might be regarded a human manifestation of this god. Many Renaissance writers understand him as an historical character, and (or *therefore*) the Hermetic *corpus* as a seriously authoritative text.¹²

⁹ Acts, xiii, part D (GtB; verse 22).

¹⁰ *Certaines Considerations*, pp. 140-1; 'An advertisement touching a holy war', Sp. VII, 18. Reventlow, pp. 135-40.

¹¹ OED, sub. 'Trimegist', and 'Hermes 3'. The form *trèsgrand* (not in the OED) is Calvin's usage in the *Institutes*; Calvin, despite this lax Gallicism, is specifically referring to Hermes Trismegistus – "*Mercure, surnommé Souverainement trèsgrand*" (IV, xvi, 31; for the French text, Jean-Daniel Benoit's V vol. ed., *Institution de la religion chrestienne* (Paris, 1957-63), IV, 371).

¹² St. George Stock's article on 'Hermes Trismegistus', Hastings, VI, 626-9. The latest edition in English is *Hermetica: the ancient Greek and Latin writings which contain religious or philosophical teachings ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus*, ed. and tr. Walter Scott, IV vols (Oxford, 1924-36). English hermetists could read the *Hermetica* in various Latin editions from 1483, and in French translations from the mid-sixteenth century, without waiting for the English in 1650 (STC).

I am inevitably most indebted to Frances Yates' monumental work on Trismegistus: *Giordano Bruno and the hermetic tradition* (London, 1964); *Elizabethan Neoplatonism Reconsidered: Spenser and Francesco Giorgi* (London, 1977); *The occult philosophy in the Elizabethan age* (London, 1979); and various articles reprinted in *Lull and Bruno: Collected essays: Volume I* (London, 1982), and *Ideas and ideals in the north European Renaissance: Collected essays: Volume III* (London, 1984), especially 'Print culture: the Renaissance', pp. 185-92, 'The hermetic tradition in Renaissance science', pp. 227-46, and 'Science, salvation and the Cabala', pp. 247-61; also, W. P. Walker's 'Orpheus the Theologian and the

Hermes Trismegistus is an image for esoteric knowledge, beyond and perhaps above the highway of classical and Christian learning, Biblical revelation, and public literary culture. But such inspiration can imply different things. In the first place, the name can conjure up Renaissance excitement with the idea of a hidden, but universal, inspiration, and ubiquitous revelation, not in the Word but in the world itself, with which the controversies about interpreting Christian doctrine can be resolved, or avoided. Calvin detects this excitement in his heretical antagonist Servetus, who cites Trismegistus; and Calvin has a clearer idea than Servetus of how irreconcilable this crypto-pantheistic tradition is, if taken seriously, with Christianity –

Some persons . . . babble about a secret inspiration that gives life to the whole universe This is indeed making a shadow deity to drive away the true God¹³.

Milton invokes this same whiff of Paracelsus and Faustus when he drops the name 'Hermes' into the alchemical passage in Book III of *Paradise Lost*. *Hermes* is a nonce word for the metal mercury, but it also stirs the magical connotations of Hermes Trismegistus and esoteric, half-illicit, half-pagan philosophy:

by this powerful Art they binde
Volatil *Hermes*, and call up unbound
In various shapes old *Proteus* from the Sea¹⁴

However, in the second place 'Trismegistus' can imply a written inspiration outside the inspiration of the Bible, a 'second book' to complement the *verbum Dei*. Radical Protestantism has a perennial difficulty in making the concept *sola scriptura* do any work in the face of opposition and contradiction; for the text on its own is inert. Protestants commit themselves to the credal proposition that the Bible is solitarily authoritative, and thus throw off all human, traditional, rational and

Renaissance Platonists', *JWCI*, XVI (1953), 100-20.

¹³ *Institutes*, I, v, 5; Grant, p. 75; A. Williams, pp. 18-25. Calvin, unlike most of his contemporaries, is not deceived into thinking Hermes the contemporary of Moses; prejudice in favour of the primacy of the Word, and, especially, anxiety lest the Bible be thought to have any literary sources, saves him, and he perceives Trismegistus to be "*un disciple de Platon*" (*Institutes*, IV, xvi, 31; Benoit's ed., IV, 371).

¹⁴ *PL*, III, 601-3.

hierarchical power over their faith; they must then reintroduce other things, ideally other texts, to be associated with the text of the Bible, to supplement its meaning, and to make it useful, which is to say, use it. All manner of texts on the edge of Scripture – the vernacular translations, but also Luther's commentaries, and later Calvin's, the marginal glosses of the Geneva Bible, and the English *Homilies* – are employed by English Protestantism to sit beside the text of the Bible and discipline it. The *Hermetica* may strike us as a strange addition to this list, but, although eccentric, it has its attractions to English Protestantism, because of its application to the Erastian reality. For according to this second set of connotations, Hermes Trismegistus is an allusion to the inspired monarchy, and an image of the reconciliation of Erastian and Biblicist authorities.

Hermes' surname is usually understood to mean that he was Egypt's preeminent philosopher, her paramount priest, and King. Hermes was a King by virtue of the knowledge revealed to him by God, ruler of Egypt's civil and ecclesiastical orders, as well as of her prophets. This image is useful for Erastian propositions. The existence of inspired texts of hermetism, analogous with the text of Christianity, suggests how the inspired monarch's prophetic power might legitimately order the confused and disputed power of the English text.

Henry is paramount priest on his right hand, preeminent magistrate on his left; and, at the top third of the page, as prophet, receives his commission from the Godhead. Like Hermes, Henry rules because he transmits the sacred and secret text, through translation, through publication, and through government of the Church; but also through a mystic union with its word. As he is God's Mercury, his messenger to man, so the Great Bible is his, as the word of God in the *Hermetica* is Hermes Trismegistus'. Erastian and Scriptural authority are reconciled.

The first English translation of the reputed works of Trismegistus is the *Divine Pymander* (1650).¹⁵ It is the posthumously published work of

¹⁵ *The divine Pymander of Hermes Mercurius Trismegistus, In XVII. Books. Translated formerly out of the Arabick into Greek, and thence into Latine, and Dutch, and now out of the Original into English* (London, 1650).

John Everard, the Puritan mystic, trouble-maker, and devotee of Bacon. Everard's editor, J.F., makes the time-honoured radical Protestant connection between authority and inspiration, and therefore observes that the two texts are parallel:

In this Book, though so very old, is contained more true knowledg of God and Nature, then in all the Books in the World besides, I except onely Sacred Writ¹⁶.

Moreover, J.F. defers to the old radical Protestant instinct that equates great knowledge with divine inspiration:

If God ever appeared in any man, he appeared in him [Hermes], as it appears by this Book. . . . [Such knowledge] seems to be a thing more of God, then of Man.¹⁷

J.F. savours of that other Renaissance, Cabalistic and Neoplatonic.

The great *Elixir* of the Philosophers; which is the Receptacle of all Celestial and Terrestrial Vertues; which Secret, many ignorantly deny, many have changeably sought after, yet few, but some, yea, and *Englishmen*, have happily found. The Description of this great Treasure, is said to be found ingraved upon a *Smaragdine* Table, in the Valley of *Ebron*, after the Flood.¹⁸

It could be the speech of one of *The Alchemist's* sillier gulls. But J.F.'s marginal note identifies the Englishmen as "*Ripley, Bacon, Norton, &c.*",¹⁹ and to him it is clear that the tradition of Hermes Trismegistus is the secret tradition of dissenting and eclectic knowledge, and of disciplines repressed in the monkish darkness before the Renaissance, awaiting inclusion in a new organon of learning. The insoluble troubles of Biblical exegesis are ordered by the inclusion of that science in a new and saner family of all sciences.

Francis Bacon imagines his own new organon as a royal creature that is midwifed by the inspirational authority placed, rhetorically at least,

¹⁶ *The divine Pymander*, sig. A5^v.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, sig. A6^v.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, sig. A4^{r-v}.

¹⁹ J.F. means Ripley and Norton the fifteenth century alchemists, whom he thinks of as the same sort as Friar Bacon: *DNB*, sub. 'Thomas Norton' (although it is just possible that J.F. means Samuel Norton, an Elizabethan alchemist) and 'George Ripley'.

dependent on the inspirational authority placed about James' shoulders. J.F. has to go out of his way to explain 'Trismegistus' as no more than "The thrice greatest Intelligencer", and denies that he was "chief Philosopher, . . . chief of the Priesthood, and . . . chief in Government, or King":²⁰ for in 1650 the suggestion of a special royal inspiration to interpret mysteries is obviously *demodé*. It is interesting to note what strongly royal connotations J.F. has to assume the name Trismegistus will have for his readers. But that is hardly surprising, when we consider how ancient the connection between the Erastian English monarchy and Hermes of Egypt is by 1650. The word is used in an Erastian context as early as the 1550s, in William Baldwin's poetic prayer that Edward VI might be, like the Maccabean prince John Hycarnus, royal head of State and hieratic head of the Church by divine authority, but also, by direct inspiration, the authoriser of innovation in State and Church.²¹ Hycarnus ruled Church and State, justly and by right; and he exhibited such

holines in religion . . . that he deserued the name of Trismegyftus: For God gaue hym the spirit of prophecie²²

The boy Edward is also virtuous, but that excellence is something inward: "chiefly by your owne feling, (For euery man best knoweth hym selfe)". It is not by overt goodness that he comes to rule the Christian Church in England, but by "the gyft of prophecie", which, as we might have guessed, means "truly to vnderstand the holy scriptures . . . through the illuminyng of his holy spirit".²³ Is it improper for a secular prince to have a divine poem dedicated to him, and is it "muche unmete for any secular person" to use such material at all? Yes, because a man can, like Hycarnus, hold both human and divine offices, and be both king and priest.²⁴ Such language is no more extravagant than, for instance, Archbishop Cranmer's

²⁰*The divine Pymander*, sig. A3^v-A4^r, was master of lore about the three parts of the Universe, or else of the three kingdoms of knowledge ("Mineral, Vegetable, Animal").

²¹Baldwin, *Canticles*, sig. πA1^v. Hycarnus is mentioned briefly and eulogistically in the Apocrypha (I Maccabees, xvi, 1-10, 21-4) – which was of course far better known amongst the English in the sixteenth century, when it was always included in vernacular texts of the Bible, than subsequently – but owes his high reputation as a godly, Protestant king to the longer account in Josephus. Cf. Thomas, pp. 227-35, 241-4.

²²Baldwin, *Canticles*, sig. πA3^r.

²³*Ibid.*

²⁴*Ibid.*, sig. πA2^v-πA3^r.

at Edward's coronation;²⁵ and it is similar to the message of the Great Bible's title page, for that also stressed Edward's father's *rôle* as matrix of the Word rather than his personal grandeur. For the process of Trimegistan praise of the monarch is strategic blurring of categories, that is, a reconciliation of irreconcilables.

Bacon thus uses the Trismegistus allusion to acclaim James in, and for, *The Advancement of Learning*. There meets in the King, says Bacon,

a rare Coniunction, aſwell of diuine and ſacred literature, as of prophane and humane; So as your Maieſty ſtandeth inueſted of that triplicitie, which in great veneration, was aſcribed to the ancient *Hermes*; the power and fortune of a King; the knowledge and illumination of a Prieſt; and the learning and vniuerſality of a Philoſopher.²⁶

Again, Bacon seems to be alluding to Hermes when he speaks, in his report to James on *Certaine Conſiderations touching the better pacification and Edification of the Church of England*, of the three superior lights that meet in James (with the deft and faintly ironic addition that there is a lesser, fourth light, borrowed from Bacon and his political colleagues): "the light of Nature, the light of Learning, and, aboue all, the light of Gods holy ſpirit".²⁷ Because of this triple blaze of light, as well as the inherent loyalty due the monarchy and established Church, Bacon is prepared to submit his proposals for religious settlement to James, who alone can discern "golden mediocritie" between the derangements and excesses of partisans who are merely learned, and not inspired.²⁸

One need not read with innocence Bacon's eulogising of James at any

²⁵ Edward is "elected of God, and only commanded by him" through the Spirit. *Memorials of Thomas Cranmer*, III vols., ed. John Strype (Oxford, 1848-54), II, 205-7; Milton (in all probability) is going out of his way to refute this sermon in particular in his pamphlet of 1659, 'Pro populo anglicano: Defensio secunda' (tr. Helen North, DMW, IV (i), 550-1).

²⁶ *Adv.*, sig. A3^v; Grant, p. 75. In the expanded Latin version of *Adv.*, *De Dignitate & Augmentis Scientiarum* (London: 1623), this list of the classical analogues to James' learning is extended, but the allusion to Hermes the priest-philosopher-king is suppressed (II, 6): the Erastian implication of Trismegistus is apparently too strong to be tactful in a work meant for publication throughout Europe. In Watts' English translation of the Latin, *Of the advancement and proficiencie of learning*, Trismegistus is reintroduced in a more discreet form.

²⁷ *Certaine Conſiderations*, sig. A4^v.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, sig. A4^{r-v}.

point in Bacon's works. Here, Bacon goes on to say, in the first of our examples, that the splendour of the Jacobean monarchy calls forth "some solide worke, fixed memoriall, and immortall monument,"²⁹ identifying this with the *Advancement of Learning*, and thus with the advancement of learning in the *Hermetica*; our concentration on the font of inspiration twists from James' inspired knowledge to the book's, in all its esotericism and prophecy. And in the second example, James' three lights are specifically stars, of which

the Astronomers do wel obserue, that when three of the Superiour Lights doe meet in coniunction, it bringeth forth some admirable effects:³⁰

and hence James is like Christ as much as like Hermes Trismegistus – for the allusion now seems to be to the Gospel of Matthew and the astral light which summoned "Philosophers, Priests, or astronomers . . . [to be] the first frutes of the Gentiles".³¹ James, who is sometimes Augustus and sometimes Solomon, is sometimes also that greater Prince of Peace.³² To recognise the possibilities of his advent and of the season is one of the marks of Bacon's prophethood. Moreover, the very weight of James' authority over truth allows the blooming of speculation, for though Cato had to suppress philosophy in the state, lest it run towards atheism, Augustus need not.³³ There is a pronounced, if whimsical, Messianic flavour throughout the *Certaine Considerations*.

[For] our Sauour (speaking of the discerning of seasons) saith, when you see a cloud rising in the West, you say it wilbe showre: so your Maiestie, rising to this Monarchie in the West parts of the World, doth promise a sweet and fruitfull houre of many blessings vpon this Church and Common-wealth; a showre of that influence, as . . . [has] already layd the stormes and windes throughout Christendome.³⁴

James' accession is like the revelation of Christ, the moment when we

²⁹ *Ibid.*, sig. A4r.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ GB gloss on Matthew, ii, 1.

³² Indeed, within a few pages of the comparison with Hermes Trismegistus he has become both Augustus (*Certaine Considerations*, sig. A3r) and Solomon (sig. A2v).

³³ *Certaine Considerations*, sig. A3v.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

may move precipitately from one Church order to another without the same danger of chaos, schism and uncertainty, for the season of innovation is specially blessed with the inward guidance of the Spirit. But "this gracious season"³⁵ redounds less to the glory of messianic James than of his gossellers, such as Bacon; for, as with the gospel revelation itself, the subject of revelation and the form of the inspired text matters more than the object of revelation and the substance of the text.

Still, the illumination of the Holy Spirit – "aboue all"³⁶ – justifies the regiment of Christ's bride by the Crown. The imagery of inner light, as deployed in favour of Edward, Elizabeth and James, is potentially as important as the praise of their vaunted learning; for it is not the light of reason and knowledge, nor the natural light of kingship, that allows a man to channel the Word of God, but the third light of inspiration. Because they are each Trismegistus, not merely godly and learned, but inspired, the English monarchs may be allowed to determine how the Word is to be interpreted to the people – and, paradoxically enough, *by* the people. Or, to approach this idea from a different aspect, one might say that the quasi-magical aspect of the English monarchy obtains to inspired government of the Church as well as to healing powers,³⁷ and that, as the source of Church government to the Protestant mind must be exegetical, so the prophetic governors of the Church must be miraculous in this readership. Undoubted inspiration of all the English depends on the undoubted discipline of the monarchical State. Cranmer, his suffragans and clergy, Cromwell and his suffragan magistrates, bow in unison to Henry; the people's mouth produce the text, individually but in perfect uniformity, *VIVAT REX*.

The Great Bible is an early example of a continuous process of Bible illustration. The Bishops' Bible tells us on its title page to "Search the Scriptures", but opposite is the frontispiece of Elizabeth Regina, awful in

³⁵ *Cymbeline*, V, i, 402: since the point of this scene, the voluntary reunion of "Roman and British enjigns", after a schism over tribute and a long bloody war (ll.481, 484), must surely be James' vague, œcumenical hopes of an accommodation with Rome and "such a peace" (l.485, the last of the play): cf. the similar themes of the King's essay *Triplici nodo, triplex cuneu* (London, 1607), which went through eleven editions (STC).

³⁶ *Certaine Considerations*, sig. A4^v.

³⁷ Thomas, pp. 232-250.

majestic virginity, a type of Sophia, the divine wisdom, as much as of the Virgin and throughout its pages are the arms or portraits of Parker, Leicester, Burghley and Bedford, the officers of the establishment, standing watch over each section of the text to which they give sanction, just as the inspired text sends a preternatural authority running back to them.³⁸ It is through them that the book exists; thus they are causal factors of a miraculous artifact, makers of miracle, divinely sanctioned magistrates – divinely sanctioned, therefore, as exegetes. The 1611 translation is the "Authorised Version", because it is King James' version. Printings of it after his grandson's Restoration are overtly royalist and include portraits of Charles II as David, through whom the Psalms are uttered, or (more commonly) Solomon, son of David, God's chosen King, and he through whom that other inspired construct, the Temple, was made.³⁹ The first significant book of Bible illustrations produced in Protestant England, *The History of ye Old & New Testament in Cutts*, inserts among its Old Testament scenes (in which inspirational light or the ambient *Τετραγράμματον* hover in or over events) an Anglican clergyman, loyally tipped and capped, mediating the inspirational Book to his reverent flock; and from scenes of God's illumination in the New Testament the book passes without pause to inspiration within the Stuart regime. A ray of light cuts from God's eye to Guy Fawkes' dark lantern; lambent radiance broods over the murder of Charles I, and over the Restoration of his son.⁴⁰ The heavenly quality of the monarchy is now explicit; on the other hand, its *rôle* as an innovative power in the Church has metamorphosed as the radical Protestant influence in the Church has collapsed.

³⁸ *BpsB* is far more painstaking about these small points than is normally suggested: Parker's arms introduce the whole text (sig. 2A2^v); Francis Bedford, Earl of Bedford (a second-tier statesman, at this date had just retired from being one of England's two Border warlords, but (*DNB*) a notable partisan of the new religion) guards the Book of Joshua, the warrior magistrate of Israel; Burghley, the inspired statesman, is shown opposite the Psalms of David; Leicester is pictured as the frontispiece to Jeremiah, the political prophet.

³⁹ *The holy bible . . . illustrated w.th Chorographical Sculps* by J. Ogilby., II vols. (Cambridge, 1660), an edition rushed out in anticipation of the Restoration (STC).

⁴⁰ *The History of y^e Old & New Testament in Cutts*, a crudely printed octavo, published in 1671, probably in London; largely plagiarised from Gerard de Jode's collection, *Thesaurus Sacrarum Historiarû Veteris Testamêti* (Antwerp, 1585), most likely (STC) by F.H. van Hove; fol. [61], [143] (a reworking of a popular contemporary broadsheet of the Plot), and [144] (in which the stereotypic likeness of Christ's passion and Charles' execution is unusually heavy-handed).

Private and public spiritual authority seem to be in contradiction in the Tudor Church; and the way imaginative writing attempts to show an image of reconciliation between two things irreconcilable in logic. For inspired reading is private but Church order is public, and (if the Elizabethan Settlement is to remain a settlement) the individual revelation of the Englished Word has to converge on the verities of the English Church. Saul's explosive ejection from one ecclesiastical order must have as its converse Paul's explosive entry into another, and all the iterative Damascus Road visions of the Protestants have to coincide with a Church claiming to iterate a model Church found in Paul's letters.

(2) Inspired translation

Perhaps indeed it would have been more desirable that the Scriptures had never been translated into barbarous tongues . . .
Letter from Cardinal Allen; Pollard's *Records*, p. 300.

In England the problem of translation and authority are necessarily bound up, for between 1568 and 1611 is no English Bible, but three competing for approbation. The Catholic exiles' Rheims Bible is overtly a tract against Protestantism, is keyed with an alphabetical "Table of Controversies" as polemical as the Geneva Bible's index, and promises on its title page to refute heresies.⁴¹ But the circulation of the Rheims in England is relatively small; the real battle is between the Bishop's Bible, a revision of the Great Bible, and the marian exiles' Geneva Bible. Ecclesiastical authority sanctions the Bishops' Bible, but civil authority does not, and in practice, until they are supplanted by James' new translation, the two rivals divide the kingdom: the Bishops' Bible is preeminent in public, the Geneva for private devotion; the Bishops' is more lavish, the Geneva has better scholarship; the Bishops' is less acrimonious, but the Geneva speaks

⁴¹Rheims, sig. ʁ1r; 5B3r-5E2r.

better English. The contest is sometimes bitter. Hugh Broughton, the Hebraist and radical Protestant, declares the Bishops' Bible "might wel giue place to the Al-koran peſtred with lies",⁴² and demands "the Bibles ſhould be called in, or they will work much grief to God and man".⁴³ Yet explicit doctrine is not the point of the divide (Laud is prepared to use the text of the Geneva, many Puritans do not, and, indeed, sometimes use the Vulgate);⁴⁴ nor even, necessarily, the translators' words. Moderate Protestants are most shocked by the extreme bibliolatrous claims on the edge of the text in the Geneva, in the apparatus and the prefatory material; rigid Protestants are distressed at the introduction to and the presentation of the Bishops' Bible, or even at the Bishops' Bible as a physical artifact; or simply because its existence denies the unique inspired authority of the Genevan English version. The transfusion of inspiration on the borders of the Bible not only exposes the Protestant doctrine at its most crude and unqualified, it exaggerates the difference between Protestants who pursue the logic of the Reformation into more and more arctic Biblical purity, and those who can halt at the latitude of the Elizabethan Settlement. The poetry and pictures which the two parties deploy about the sacred book suggest that their difference is not in degree, but is a chasm in the Reformed imagination.

Parker's brief for the Bishops' Bible commanded that

the reader [is] not to be offended with the diuerſitie of
translatours, nor with the ambiguitie of tranſlations⁴⁵.

Parker made it hard to print the Geneva in England, and he was accused by radicals of "slaying the Geneua",⁴⁶ but it survived him, and under Grindal burst into edition after edition. Throughout the century its radical bent became increasingly pronounced;⁴⁷ by 1615 it was so contrary to the

⁴² Broughton, *An advertisement*, sig. H4^r.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, sig. L2^v.

⁴⁴ Whitaker, *Disputatio*, p. 450.

⁴⁵ 'Preface', *BpsB*, sig. * 3^r.

⁴⁶ J. Stubbs (?), *The life off the 70. Archbiſhopp off Canterbury preſently Sittinge* (Zürich (?), 1574), sig. .: 4^v.

⁴⁷ Lloyd E. Berry's introduction to *GB*; cf. Tyacke, pp. 2-3. Berry suggests that the 1560 edition was not particularly controversial, and only the accretions under Elizabeth and James made it so: but even in the 1560, "election" appears tendentiously in the epistle to Elizabeth, and the gloss on, for instance, 'Romaines: CHAP. IX, 15' is pure Double

Arminianising order of things that Laud really did slay it, or at least drive it out of England to the presses of Amsterdam, where it remained as the classic Puritan version into the Interregnum.

The explicit claim of the Geneva translation in its preface is to inspiration: the translator, the gloss-maker, and the reader are all, like the human author of the text, the instruments of the predestinarian Spirit. The epistle 'To ovr beloved in the lord the brethren of England, Scotland, Ireland, &c.' demands that the translation be received "as ſent from God to the people of God".⁴⁸ Its authority depends first on an extreme doctrine of inspiration, in which the letter of the Hebrew and Greek text was God's, and that degree of divine authorship is preserved in translation;⁴⁹ and secondly on an equally extreme claim to an inspired exegesis in the annotation. William Whittingham and the other translators insist that the authoritative office of interpreter depends on preternatural indwelling, as well as on human learning:

Els there is no degre or office which may haue that autoritie and priuiledge to deci[d]e concerning Gods worde, except withall he hath the spirit of God, and ſufficient knollage and iudgement to define according thereunto.⁵⁰

The Geneva translators abolish the power of natural apprehension, and erect an essentially inspirational epistemology, in which all possible truths subsist on the Bible, and all Biblical knowledge on the ministers of God, from whom "their lippes ſhal kepe knollage".⁵¹ In the end, the spirit of inspiration is the spirit of epistemological convergence and optimism.

Gregory Martin, attacking the vernacular translations of the Bible, characterises the Protestant doctrine of exegesis as private inspiration; but William Fulke, for English Protestantism, quite properly denies this.

Predestination: "the onelie wil & purpose of God is the chief cauſe of election & reprobation".

⁴⁸ 'Preface', *GB*, sig. .:4^v.

⁴⁹ The epistle to Elizabeth claims that we "preſent vnto your Maieſtie the holy Scriptures faithfully and playnely tranſlated according to the langages wherein thei were firſt written by the holy Goſt" (*ibid.*, sig. .:2^r); and even the "ſwete ſounding phraſes of holy Scriptures", the ſound of the Hebrew, is in ſome ſenſe diuine and in ſome ſenſe preſerued (sig. .:4^r).

⁵⁰ 'Preface', *GB*, sig. .:3^r. I have emended "deciſe" to "decide".

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

We expound not the scriptures after our own private conceit and fantasy; but as near as God giveth vs grace, according to the plain and natural sense . . . ⁵²

Inspiration is institutionalised: it is requisite for a legitimate translation, and therefore it must be ascribed to the Geneva. Parker naturally gives a less supernatural and less assertive account of the merits of the Bishops' Bible –

Men be we all, and that which we know, is not the thousand part of that we knowe not⁵³

– and the Rheims Bible is even more humble. Its Preface adopts the conventions of secular literature: the reader is addressed as patron, supplicated as a censorious but forgiving Christian gentleman, and apologised to for authorial infirmities of mind:

we have endeouored . . . to dele moſt ſincerely before God and man if vve profit the any vvhit by theſe our poore paines let vs for Gods ſake be partakers of thy deuout praiers⁵⁴.

Similarly, the Genevan annotations claim to explicate "all the hard places".⁵⁵ The hard places turn out to be almost the totality of the text; there is an almost unbroken bark of commentary down the trunk of most columns of text; but the comprehension possible to the diligent disciple of the Geneva is limitless.⁵⁶ Even "the ſimple reader" may understand the hardest places, if not from the text, then from the apparatus, and if not even from the apparatus,

yet by the perſpectiue, and as it were by the eye [he] may ſufficieintly know the true meaning of all ſuche places.⁵⁷

Knowledge "by the perſpectiue" can always attain to "the true and ſimple

⁵² Martin, *A discoverie*, xiv; Fulke, *A defense*, p. 37.

⁵³ 'Preface', *BpsB*, sig. * 3^r.

⁵⁴ Gregory Martin, 'Preface', Rheims; repr. in Pollard's *Records of the English Bible*, pp. 301-13; p. 313. 'Part of a Letter from Cardinal Allen to Dr. Vendeville', proposing a Catholic translation, quoted in T.F. Knox's edition of the Cardinal's *Letters* (London, 1882), p. 52; tr. from Pollard's *Records*, p. 300.

⁵⁵ *GB*, title-page; 'Preface', sig. .: 4^r.

⁵⁶ Contemporary critics thought the Geneva notes were of help only to adepts: Babington, sig. A3^v.

⁵⁷ *GB*, 'Preface', *GB*, sig. .: 4^v.

meaning." The scope of this inspired, organising knowledge is apparent from the most striking mechanism of the translation, an index "conteyning all the chefe and principal matters of the whole Bible: Jo that nothing (as we truſt) that any colde iuſtly deſire, is omitted."⁵⁸ If the Bible is "the ſchoole of all wiſdome", this nineteen-page index, which synthesises the perspective of the whole Bible, is close to truth at its most essential.⁵⁹ Such freedom with the sacred text is possible because the reader and the human author share the same perspective, the same mountain-top view, like the perspective on Old and New Testament history shown to Adam by Raphael in *Paradise Lost*.

The Geneva Bible comes with its own poetic apparatus, a eulogy in poulter's measure, 'Of the incomparable Treafure of the holy Scriptures', introduced into later English editions:

Here is the Spring where waters flow
to quench our heat of finne:
Here is the bread that feeds the life
that death can not affaile.⁶⁰

The conventions of this poem are those of an offertory hymn, praise sung in anticipation of the approach of the Sacrament. The images of springing water, ablution from sin, and bread recall the Eucharist, the Word made physically apprehendable; in reading the Englished text we are partaking in a mystery which God has given us through grace – the grace of the Genevan revelation and of the printing press.⁶¹ Only God may reveal to us its inner meaning; to that extent reading is a passive activity, for although we may ask for the Spirit to inspire us to truth, we can achieve nothing without that grace.⁶²

Whereas the Protestant is certain as an article of faith that his

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* The index (*GB*, sig. 3I2^v-3L3^v in the first edition) grew throughout the Elizabethan period. *GB*, 'Preface', sig.: 4^r; sig. 3L1^r. The translation itself was less contentious than the index, in which 'Predeſtinacion' is concisely and authoritatively expounded – as it is not in the text.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, sig. 3L1^r.

⁶⁰ 'Of the incomparable Treafure of the holy Scriptures'; I use the last edition of the Geneva to be published in England, that of 1615 (sig. 1^v). This poem would perhaps have been seen more often by Elizabethan and Jacobean Englishmen than any other contemporary verse. There is a stolid discussion of it in John David Alexander's dissertation on 'The Geneva version of the Bible: Its Origin, Translation, and Influence' (Oxford University, 1957).

⁶¹ Frith, *Works*, sig. 2^r.

⁶² 'Of the incomparable Treafure of the holy Scriptures', *GB* (1615), sig. 1^v.

translation is authoritative, the Catholic claims at best his translation is honest and academically competent. One result is that the English of Protestant translations is notably conservative: in the case of the King James Version, even antiquarian.⁶³ Such antique strangeness heightens the air of dramatic authority which the book already has for the Protestant reader. The Rheims, on the contrary, is full of inkhorn neologisms, and some syntactical experiments: "for these will shortly become English".⁶⁴ English is to be vulgarised as much as the Vulgate Englished. This implies a reverence for the meaning within the text (Martin acknowledges "how easily the voluntarie Translatour may misse the true sense of the Holy Ghost"),⁶⁵ but the reverence is for the original Greek, and even more for Jerome's inspired and authoritative translation, not for the English translation presented with this preface.

It is obviously necessary to the thorough Protestant position that the Protestant translations are inspired, as well as merely sound, or scholarly, or accomplished; translation must be *miraculously* authoritative for Protestantism; for no outward authority over scripture is allowed, and the discipline of Englishing the text must itself be a function of the Spirit. There is no evidence for the Spirit's presence in these exercises: to claim his presence is a performative, not a constative, statement. The same obedience to Protestant desires that makes him transfuse his words from the Hebrew and Greek into English, makes him sanction Preaching, drive out pictorial images, allow linguistic icons. The Spirit must be a continuous muse, mediating the Gospel into the vernacular.⁶⁶

⁶³ Steiner, pp. 348-9.

⁶⁴ 'Preface' to Rheims, in Pollard's *Records*, p. 305. Martin adds (p. 310):

And why should we be squamish at new wordes or phrases in the Scripture, which are necessarie: when we do easily admit and folow new wordes coyned in court and in courtly or other secular writings?

⁶⁵ 'Preface' to Rheims, in Pollard's *Records*, p. 305.

⁶⁶ Jewel, *Certaine Sermons*, sig. N8^r; Hughes, pp. 123-7.

(3) History and the text

Certainly it is not a warrantable curiosity, to examine the verity of Scripture by the concordance of humane history, or seek to confirme the Chronicle of *Hester* or *Daniel*, by the authority of *Megasthenes* or *Herodotus*. I confesse I had an unhappy curiosity this way, till I laughed my selfe out of it. . . .
Sir Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici*, I, 29 (p. 29).

Newman's point, that "To be deep in history is to cease to be a Protestant",⁶⁷ can be inverted: to be deep in the Protestant imagination is to cease seriously to be concerned with history. The Biblical text cannot be historical in its subject matter, except in the superficial sense that it is not untrue – no historiographical data can be held validly to contradict it; and it cannot itself be an artifact, historically transmitted – the Bible must reach the reader unconstrained by any agent but the Spirit. Since, to the Protestant, the existence of the inspired writing seems its own most important communication, these material and textual senses of ahistoricity are virtually synonymous. The Bible cannot be about the facts of past events, and the existence of the Bible cannot be caused by past events. It cannot be historical because it is spiritual; historiography must therefore be unspiritual, and trivial: chronicles of wasted time. The ideal English Protestant historian is the mythologer Foxe.

European Protestant hermeneutic, as Henning van Reventlow shows, is specifically unhistorical, and even anti-historical: it seeks to resuscitate the primitive Church (to that extent it continues the Humanist urge to resuscitate classical culture from its purified texts), and to deny the historicity of tradition since antiquity.⁶⁸ But more fundamentally, time itself presents peculiar problems to the Protestant imagination. Protestantism is generally hostile to a seriously historical sense of theology: that is, revelation through the events of history. God reveals himself through providence, but that is a different matter, because it is always cyclic and repetitious: the Old Testament judgements on the reprobate are merely reproduced throughout history. Human history is

⁶⁷ 'The Theory of Developments', *Fifteen sermons*, sec. 22, p. 331.

⁶⁸ Reventlow, pp. 1-10.

only the shadow of predestination.⁶⁹

In Bacon's Biblical myth of the *New Atlantis*, Scripture appears bobbing off the coast, in a shaft of light, in its own wooden womb, free of human begetting as the incarnate Word. The shaft of light is a *motif* of that inward inspiration (that "miraculous evangelism")⁷⁰ which vitiates all doubts and problems in reading – even down to the fundamental problem of canonicity. Belief in such a hermetically sealed, hermetic, book, does not contaminate any other learning, nor can any other knowledge (other than the myth of the inspired finding of the Book itself) touch it; and this is no doubt the immediate object of the story, for it separates all the superlative learning of the Atlantan magi from the taint of infidelity. Nevertheless, the episode indicates how the early Protestant longs to free the divine text from temporal process, and how eager he is to feign its freedom. Such desire lies behind a great deal of radical Protestant writing about Biblical authority. It exists progressively and not statically, and since the progressive reality of history proceeds from text, the possibilities of a truth that emerges progressively or publicly are abolished.⁷¹

The Protestant imagination, when uninhibited, does not picture the text arising within time at all. History emerges from the text; the text is not contained, even materially, with history (for the text is preserved incorrupt, suspended beyond temporal process, like the body of a saint).⁷²

Nevertheless, an orthodox Protestant is bound by the doctrine of

⁶⁹ Beard, sig. [A5]^{r-v}, [A7]^r; Reventlow, pp. 120-4; McKenzie, pp. 198-201; *BpsB*, sig. *1v.

⁷⁰ *NA*, p. 224.

⁷¹ Popkin (*Isaac La Peyrère*, pp. 76-8) suggests that Peyrère, one of the first serious textual critics of the Bible, was secularising the history of the Bible by his work; but to consider the Bible as historical at all is an infidelity to Protestantism, and its radical ahistoricity.

One of the best comparisons for such imaginings are traits in Jewish exegesis quoted by Popkin himself in another context: they speculate that this world must be the second of a long series, because its Scriptures begin with *Beth*, the second letter of the Jewish alphabet; or that the Mosaic authorship of the entire Pentateuch may be preserved because God dictated Moses' death scene to Moses before it happened (and tears streamed from the prophet's eyes. Sir Thomas Browne (*RM*, i, 29 (p. 29); probably following Philo) knows of this tradition well enough to joke about it). Like Protestantism, such exegesis begins by assuming the subservience of cosmos to book; unlike Protestantism, it argues that, while the composition of the text is paradoxical and mysterious, its reading and interpretation are rational, public and explicable activities.

⁷² *WC* (iii, 8 (p. 6)) asserts the incorruptibility of the 'original' text ("the Old Testament in Hebrew [that is, not the LXX] . . . and the New Testament in Greek") as an article of faith, for the supernatural divine action extends beyond the moment of positive inspiration to the preservation and translation of the original.

literal interpretation to admit history as the mode of those portions of the Biblical material that are formally historical or quasi-historical: they record events which the writers, at the time of writing, looked back on, as a matter of mortal, though inerrant, knowledge. This involves a confusion in the image of the Bible as pure and unique revelation, separate from the world of contingent knowing. For it has to be denied that the text is historical in the sense that its meaning or application are subject to historical forces, or to the process (necessarily prolonged through the centuries) of the Church's deliberation and interpretation. But Protestantism maintains that the application is always immediate to the reader (or at least to the reader who is not blinded by reprobation), and that the meaning is immediately apparent without reference to the sciences of rhetoric and exegesis, or to historical learning.⁷³ The Protestant imagination must therefore picture both the unhistoricity of the text's exegesis, and the historicity of the text. This becomes an acute difficulty when the Protestant imagination confronts doubt, or Catholic propaganda, or, as we discuss in this section, secular historical writing that involves the historical books of the Old Testament; for if historicity is compared to, or preferred to, instantaneous and inspired exegesis, then public and learned exegesis is also being preferred. Instant and inspired understanding is the prerogative of the individual, and, Elect Bible reader; prolonged and learned exegesis of the universal assembly of readers throughout time, which is to say of the Church as a whole. But Protestantism's bibliolatrous criticism collapses the restraints of time and place in outer reality, beyond the text – that is, of history – so that it fits within the world of the text, and not *vice versa*; it restrains the imagination from picturing a text emerging from history, that is, that it refers to and depends upon events held to have occurred already, independent of itself.

This secret doctrine becomes explicit in two ways: either in the unconstrained environment of fiction, as in Bacon's utopia; or under pressure, in academic debate about the quasi-historical portions of the Old

⁷³ Bale, 'The image of both churches', *Select works*, p. 261; *Institutes*, I, vii, 5; Fulke, *A Defence*, p. 37; Martin, *A discoverie*, xiv; *Doct. Chr.*, I, xxx (p. 259); Nowell, p. 117; Miles Smith's Preface to Babington, sig. A2r; Whitaker, *Disputation*, 403-10.

Testament.

My example of this second, in which Protestantism's anti-temporal imaginings are exposed by being uncomfortably juxtaposed with secular historiographical, is an exchange of books between Hugh Broughton and Edward Lively about Persian chronology. Controversies about the Bible and history in England are clearly not a matter of antiquarian chronology. It is a struggle for important doctrine, and even of dogmatic epistemology, that is, of doctrine about doctrine; and, inasmuch as Protestantism abides by the principle of *sola scriptura*, such a dispute about doctrine must reduce to a fundamental point of exegetical theory. Within the relatively broad channel of the Elizabethan Church, it is possible to hold, like Cartwright, the extreme position that only the Scriptures have any epistemological authority, even in apparently secular sciences (which exist independently only inasmuch the Bible does not trouble with them), so that no other text may be brought to bear on the witness of the Bible.⁷⁴

An epistemology as strict as Cartwright's was assumed for the study of history by a Parisian historian, Mathieu Beroalde, who in the 1570s "*embrassa avec ardeur le calvinisme*", retired to Geneva, and produced a solid Latin folio, *Chronicomon*, a harmony of the Old Testament's chronology and pseudo-chronology.⁷⁵ This work became known to English readers as a gage of controversy, for it caught the baleful attention of the "Reader of the holie tongue", that is, the Regius Professor of Hebrew, at Cambridge, Edward Lively, who was a notable enemy of the English Protestant Left. Lively mounted a refutation of Beroalde in the vernacular, first an anonymous English translation of the most egregiously unsound portion of the *Chronicomon* called *A short view of the Persian Monarchie, and of Daniels weekes: Beeing a peece of Beroaldus workes: with a cenfure in some points*⁷⁶ – and then, seven years later, a frontal assault on Beroalde's *magnum opus*, a monograph entitled *A true chronologie*.⁷⁷ Lively's tone is loftily humanist, and the

⁷⁴ Cartwright, *The second replie*, p. 56; Lawes, II, vii, 4. Popkin, *Scepticism*, pp. 1-5, 10-5; Reventlow, pp. 114, 119.

⁷⁵ *Chronicomon* (Geneva, 1575). Hofer, sub. 'Mathieu Beroalde'.

⁷⁶ *A short view of the Persian Monarchie, and of Daniels weekes: Beeing a peece of Beroaldus workes: with a cenfure in some points* (London, 1590).

⁷⁷ *A true chronologie of the times of the Persian Monarchie* (London, 1597); see sig. "A1r".

real jibe is that his opponent, and his opponent's sympathisers in England, are in ignorant error. Beroalde's fundamentalist scheme is refuted not only by the pagan historians, but by the gamut of classical learning, from "Aristotle, an author for credit very sufficient",⁷⁸ to "Æschilus a learned poet".⁷⁹ But thorough Protestants in England were committed to precisely Beroalde's historiographical assumption: "the text [of the Bible is] a light to the chronicles, and not the chronicles to the text".⁸⁰ Lively's books therefore provoked a response, a denunciation, by the radical Protestant, acrimonious pamphleteer and scholar Hugh Broughton.

The controversy over history between Lively and Broughton is useful because they are neat *exempla* of the contrasting tendencies of mind within Elizabeth's Church,⁸¹ and show how thoroughly divided the two camps are, the moderates by obscurancy – "(shall I terme it follie or rather madnes?)", asks Lively⁸² – and the radicals by faithlessness, in historical thought. Broughton, although pessimistic and unusually unbending,⁸³ is

The actual matter of the debate need not concern this investigation any more than the geological facts would, if we were discussing *In Memoriam*: they are to do with the dire inconsequential ignorance, in the Old Testament books, particularly Daniel, about the names and succession of the Persian kings. Sixteenth-century historiography knew these things more accurately from Greek sources, but the very vagueness of the Jewish account is so extreme that it can just be kept from contradiction on a prejudiced reading. Neither Lively nor Broughton entertains the idea of Daniel's being in error; their quarrel is whether our reading of the Bible should be bent to accommodate our secular knowledge, or whether information from other sources should be swept aside.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, sig. F8^r. DNB.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, sig. C5^r.

⁸⁰ Bale, 'The image of bothe churches', p. 251. Bale is, however, aware how impossibly anti-humanist this view will seem: "I know there will be great thunderings, lightnings, and earthquakes at the coming forth thereof [this book]" (pp. 258-9): the allusion is to I Kings, xix, where an earthquake, wind and lightning fall upon Elijah's refuge, "but the Lord was not in the fire: and after the fire a still, small voice" (v.12, GB). That network of radical Protestant imagery about light is being drawn on: revelatory light always appears in the radically Protestant imagination as invisible, inaudible, indubitable inner light, here contrasted with lightning, which is providence, or the violent and equally authoritative manifestation of God's monarchy; for the moderate Protestant it is the indubitable public light of day, and includes secular learning.

⁸¹ Méric Casaubon (sig. C1^v-D2^r), writing in the same tradition as Lively, demonstrates the historicity of the Flood by a comparison with the flood narrative in Ovid, and the historicity of the Fall from the myth of Prometheus.

⁸² Lively, *A true chronologie*, sig. A2^v.

⁸³ Broughton, to be sure, is unusually pugnacious, and even sixty years later his editor, despite ideological allegiance, remembers that "His *Style* of Writing was curt, and something harsh, and obscure" (thus John Lightfoot, himself a sympathetic presbyterian divine and republican (though a Trimmer) in his edition of *The Works of The Great Albinoean Divine, Renown'd . . . For rare Skill in Salems & Athens tongues . . . Mr. Hugh*

not an extreme English Protestant in his theology. Lively is committed to Anglican mediocrity: "in my iudgement *medium tenuêre beati*, the merry meane is best".⁸⁴ Lively moreover is a client of Whitgift, the rising star of conservative churchmanship; and he associates himself with Whitgift's authority in the dedication to *A true chronologie*:

I feared not the cheeke of un|eemly boldnes, if by the
honour of your Graces name, I should seeke to
command the same.⁸⁵

Broughton bridles at this, since it seems to associate Lively's account of textual truth with episcopal authority, and beyond that, with the civil power (and Broughton has a talent for sensational headlines: "Christianitie denied in England, by publyque auctory").⁸⁶ Lively is not a sceptic, any more than his patron Whitgift, or the conservative authority behind Whitgift, Elizabeth; but Broughton is perspicacious in insisting that the point of this debate is epistemological theory, rather than in the particulars of chronology, and the authority with which such epistemology is published. Radical Protestantism doubts the findings of secular learning, moderate Protestantism the "wrested interpretation"⁸⁷ of radical exegesis; and both claim that the other is selling the pass to some yet more fundamentally sceptical enemy. Lively means to maintain the authority of the divine text by showing there is no contradiction with secular records, Broughton by sweeping away the authority of secular records; Broughton hopes to convert the Jews by showing how divine

Broughton, (London, 1662); *DNB*, sub. 'Lightfoot'; Butterworth, pp. 199-200. Even *STC* (I, 170) records Broughton with impatience, for some of his traits make him troublesome even to bibliographers – his "combative spirit, his abrupt and opaque style, and his continual haroing upon a few related topics:" Biblical hermeneutics and chronology, the conversion of the Jews, and that intractably unbiblical proposition of the Creed, "He descended into Hell".

⁸⁴ Broughton, though no presbyterian, dies declaring "the course the *Bishops* take will fill the land with *Atheism*" (Lightfoot's 'Life', Broughton, *Works.*, sig. 1C1^v), and he refuses all argument from ecclesiastical continuity, decrying both the "exceeding blindnes" of the Latin Church of the Middle Ages, and of "Atheist Iewes" (*Advertisement*, sig. K1^r). He is therefore prepared overtly to deny traditional doctrine, such as Christ's descent into Hell (*ibid.*, sig. O2^{r-v}); on the contrary, he owns there has been a revolutionary break in the sixteenth century: truth lay dormant in the Scripture, "& yet we missed; vntil good *Calvin* brought the trueth into the open Church": *ibid.*, sig. L1^r, sig. H3^r.

⁸⁵ Lively, *A true chronologie*, sig. A4^v-A5^r.

⁸⁶ Broughton, *Advertisement*, sig. E3^r.

⁸⁷ Lively, *A true chronologie*, sig. A3^r.

historiography points towards Jesus as the Messiah, Lively to win over the "Sadduces", "the Atheistes and Epicures of the world".⁸⁸ By taking the demonstrable evidences of the Bible out to other texts, Lively hopes to show that

all the Infidell . . . [writers] in the world . . . shall neuer be able to auoid the force of this prophesie: but that it must needes argue a diuine spirit in *Daniell*.⁸⁹

Broughton's counter-scepticism assumes the divine spirit within the text, and it seems to him an infidelity to try to demonstrate it by appeal to secular history; his counter-scepticism works outward from the inner light, not inward to conviction from experiential or intellectual data. Those who do not accept the spark are thus without the scope of his argument, but they, on the radical Protestant model, are in any case rejecting the first principle of knowledge. Broughton hopes to demonstrate the consequences of the assumption not to these incorrigibles, but to those other people of the Book, the Jews.

There is no question of either denying plenary inspiration; but Lively uses the dangerous sceptical method to rebut the certainty of inspired reading:

their owne error in miſunderſtanding holie Scripture: by wrested interpretation, making flat contradiction betweene the spirit of God, and prophane truth:⁹⁰

which is damaging not only to the profitable work of profane truth,

but also euen the certaintie of Gods worde it ſelfe, by this meanes is weakened, & made doubtfull, and called into queſtion. For it is not poſſible that one truth ſhould be repugnant to another. Now becauſe truth (as *Auguſtine* writeth . . .) is the Lordes whereſoeuer it is found, & therefore euerie Chriſtian in dutie bound to ſtand for the maintaining thereof, againſt all aduerſaries . . . I haue . . . vndertaken the defence of the true Hiſtorie & Chronologie of the Perſian times⁹¹.

Broughton's own manifesto, in answer to this of Lively's, is a grand condemnation of Biblical exegesis touched with secular learning.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, sig. B5r.

⁹⁰ Lively, *A true chronologie*, sig. A3r.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, sig. A3r-v.

This coſinage to check the holy Angel by Olympiades, to turne the prophecy from light to darknes: from trueth to falſhood: from Chriſt his name to prophane Atheiſtes: from his covenant in the Lords ſupper: vnto a covenant of *Romane* dogges with as dogged Iewes; from the times beginning certen and cleare to all heartes of ſage, vnto one neuer knowen afore M. *Lively* told: and to end not at our Lordes death: . . . but to ende at Ieruſalems fall: . . . this matcheth *Eves* fall by the ſerpent: and paſſeth the building of Babel.⁹²

As usual, light suggests to men like Broughton the mystery of the Holy Spirit's light-within-the-breast, but to men like Lively that natural learning which "bringeth much light to the vnderſtanding of God his worde": there is an amity of secular and Biblical knowledge, and while Cicero (here, as often, an image for the sum of pagan learning) was wrong to reject the testimony of the Jews, it is equally wrong to refuse the truth of the Greeks. Men, "guided only by natures law, the word of life not knowne amongſt them",⁹³ can reach and write authoritative truth.

Broughton is suggesting that rationalising Biblical exegesis is a mortal rebellion against God, and that the catastrophe involved in such a rebellion is a sort of mental suicide. One turns "from light to darknes", and the utterances that follow from such a procedure, even if they sound rational and seem to need answer on their own terms, merely obliterate those things "certen and cleare to all heartes of ſage".

The strangeness of radical Protestant epistemology follows from its axiom, for it takes as its ground not some principles of reason or authority, but the whole text of the Bible interpreted by certain rules of collation and inner light. Even history has no shape distinct from the shape of the temporal progress of the Bible (from new-created Light to the death of God at Jerusalem, and thence to Paul's arrival in Rome). Lively implies that history is a textual shadow cast by events that exist beyond and before the text, and that all such written shadows cast by these events must conform to their shape. Reason is loth to admit that "one truth ſhould be repugnant to another".⁹⁴ But for the radical Protestant imagination there

⁹² Broughton, *Advertisement*, sig. C4^r.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, sig. , A2^v, sig. A6^r- A7^r, A1^v.

⁹⁴ Lively, *A true chronologie*, sig. A3^{r-v}.

cannot be more than one source of truth, so that our initial act of will vitiates the possibilities of doubt. If truth speaks in one language, in the voice of the one book, how may "truth . . . [be] the Lordes where]oeuer it is found"?⁹⁵ Is not a divided epistemology a deplorable mark to Babel, since all knowledge must come from God?

In radical Protestant thought, the Fall at Babel is an echo of the Fall in Eden; the fallenness of man implies a scattering of his mental and linguistic capacity below the point where he is incapable of answering or analysing the divine declaration of the Bible. The Fall is a fall from language into gibberish. Bacon calls Babel "the second curse", the Fall's partner in destruction.⁹⁶ Babel moreover is Babylon, scarlet city of endless contradiction to Jerusalem, the *civitas Dei*, which is the true Church; and Babylon, *civitas Diaboli*, is mystically Egypt, whence the reformed Church has escaped, and also Rome, against which she wars.⁹⁷ Every expression that crosses the grain of the Biblical text, even if apparently innocent and inconsequential, is an illicit attempt at a knowledge other than that proffered by the Bible – which, as it is the eternal Word, is composed in the eternal language of truth.

The curse of Babel cannot be removed. The primacy of Biblical language can be imagined as a literal and historical truth, and so merges with that odd Renaissance notion of a single, natural, authoritative and even *pre-existent* tongue: it becomes part of orthodoxy to defend Hebrew, the speech of the Old Testament, as the primal language, against sceptics who impugn the story of Babel.⁹⁸ When Adam falls, language is weakened; when Nimrod's tower of arrogant human endeavour reaches towards heaven, language splinters into factions which collide without hope of authoritative adjudication.

Protestants are concerned with primal language because they assume that language, like all important knowledge, is innate. Bacon and James

⁹⁵ Lively, *A true chronologie*, sig. A3^v.

⁹⁶ *Adv.*, II, xvi, 4.

⁹⁷ *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, I, ix (p. 38): the catastrophe at Babel is balanced, and temporarily reversed, when the Gospel is preached at Pentecost; Purchas implicitly contrasts the preaching, vernacular church of Jerusalem with the proud, pointless masonry of the Babylonian church.

⁹⁸ "The Atheists and Naturalists dreame the World to [be] eternall, and conceive that all men could not be of one, because of this diverſity of Languages." *Ibid.*

repeat Pharoah's experiment on a child reared without language because they know that language since the Fall is a snare and a breeder of idols.⁹⁹ Browne recalls as prelapsarian innocence the age

before the confusion of *Babel*, when there was but one Language in the world, and none to boast himselfe either Linguist or Criticke.¹⁰⁰

The world before Babel, then, is an image for radical Protestantism of the paradisaical reader's world from which the interpretative and rational ego has been banished: in which reading the Word is like hearing God speak because the complications of texts are gone.

Browne is a long way from the Cartwrightian position.

I think [it] is no vulgar part of faith to believe a thing not only above, but contrary to reason, and against the arguments of our proper senses¹⁰¹.

This is fideism of a sort, but it is nothing to do with Broughton's fideistic adherence to his reading of the text. Browne laughs himself out of his unhappy curiosity about sacred and profane historiography, as out of all his anxieties about the "irregularities, contradictions, and antimonies"¹⁰² of the Bible, by letting scepticism pour over him until the flood has waxed and run away, and he finds himself secure on his mountain top. All historical writing is to be doubted ("I . . . know in what counterfeit shapes . . . times present represent on the stage things past"),¹⁰³ and therefore Biblical historiography rests undisturbed, in a serene vacuum, improbable among alternative improbabilities. We do not run after any other improbability because the doctrine of the Fall has become a sort of sceptical

⁹⁹ Herodotus (ii, 2): the Jesuits report a similar experiment by the Great Mogul. Purchas, empirically (I, ix, p. 39), and Sir Thomas Browne, by philosophy (*Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, V, xxiii (in the edition by Robin Robbins (Oxford, 1981), vol. I, pp. 435-5), and VI, i (I, 442-3)) refuse to believe in a natural language. George Hakewill concludes this view of language "is a dreame", but reaches his conclusion theologically: "The first man had it by divine *Infusion*, but all his posteritie onely by *Imitation*" (*An apologie of the power and providence of God in the government of the world* (Oxford, 1627), I, i, 2, sec. 6 (p. 5)). This is of course the typical moderate Protestant epistemology for divine knowledge.

Frances Yates demonstrates that interest in universal language, Bacon's included, is related to the memory tradition; but I suspect she overstates her case by making the mnemonic aspect its *cause*: *The art of memory* (London, 1966), pp. 378-81.

¹⁰⁰ *RM*, ii, 8 (p. 65).

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, i, 10 (pp. 10-1).

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, i, 21 (p. 21).

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, i, 29 (p. 29).

lubricant: "one truth repugnant to another" can after all be made to turn without friction, like cogs in a complex machine.

In this chapter I have tried to show how English Protestantism attempts to define, bound and preserve the Word of God against externalities that could be confused with it: the English State, which prescribes, sanctions and interprets the publication of the Bible; the vernacular translation; the historical sense of what the Bible is about and how it comes to exist. These borders are all to some degree fictional: it is not possible to seal off Biblical exegesis from humane scholarship. But Broughton, who died in exile in Amsterdam, is in many ways ahead of his time: it would be the 1630s before Protestants of the intellectual mainstream could conclude that English "publyque auctory" might be inimical to Christianity, or that the episcopate was really an agent of atheism,¹⁰⁴ or that an English translation of the Bible sanctioned by a Protestant government could be a violation of the Word.¹⁰⁵ Broughton's personal rancour plays a part in this separatist extremism – *An advertisement of corruption in ovr handling of religion*, excoriating the moderation of the whole Elizabethan Church, pauses over Lively as a particular enemy of true hermeneutics and font of corruption, and he was piqued at being excluded from the board of translators for the King James Version.¹⁰⁶ But Broughton is more realistic than men like Cartwright. Solipsistic reading implies private societies of separatist readers. If the sacred text is to be preserved inviolate, purified of human abuse and tradition, it can only be out of the public realm, in the closed sectarian world of dissenting, gathered congregations. There, the compromise between the myth of the self-interpreting divine voice, and the actual process of deriving truth from the Word, do not involve the authority of the monarch, authorised translations, or the Universities, but can be reduced to more plausible, individual, acts of will.

¹⁰⁴ Broughton, *Advertisement*, sig. E3^r; Lightfoot's 'Life', Broughton, *Works.*, sig. 1C1^v. Tyacke, pp.1-5, 7-8, 70.

¹⁰⁵ Broughton, *Advertisement*, sig. A2^v.

¹⁰⁶ DNB.

CHAPTER SIX

THE THEORY OF ICONOCLASM

. . . the eye mooves the imagination more than the hearing doth, therefore to the naturall man it must be the most excellent sense; but to the child of God, hearing is the most excellent sense

John Weemes, *The portraiture of the image of God in Man* (London, 1636), sig. 2D7^r.

THE WORD of God, as an interpreted text, has to be reconciled with the external forces that order its interpretation; it has also to be reconciled, as it were internally, with those things that compromise its uniqueness as God's Word, and especially those things which compromise its distinctive, formal *rôle* as a Word, that is, as a voice. The subject of this chapter is the problem of defining, and therefore preserving, the unique authority of the Word of God by excluding other, non-textual statements of revelation: especially against religious pictures.

Patrick Collinson has suggested a distinction between English Protestant iconoclasm and iconophobia, at least as historical phenomena: the war against images degenerated into a general prejudice against all pictorial representation.

Before the Reformation it was sometimes sufficient for a layman to be found in possession of a book – any book – to be suspect of heresy. After the Reformation, pictures – almost any pictures – aroused suspicion of popery.¹

¹ Collinson, *From Iconoclasm to Iconophobia*, p. 27. Also, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London, 1988), pp. 94-126.

However, iconophobia is not merely a development of the practice of iconoclasm, or a violent reaction against Catholic practice, but a characteristic of the classic English Protestant conception of the medium of revelation.² As Scripture is the only licit source of religious knowledge, so the medium of the text is itself sacred, and the Word of God is imagined as aural experience and understood dualistically, being contrasted with the visual deceits of the world, the flesh and the devil. It is a genuine question in English thought whether printed engravings of Biblical scenes, illustrations in Bibles, and emblems, in themselves, and apart from abuses, violate the pure textuality of the gospel.

Textuality is asserted as integral to revelation, because the aim of Protestant exegesis is the moment when textuality is overcome: the reader passes beyond "the bare woordes"³ into pure and certain light. But it is necessary, for this light to be reached, for all routes except textuality to be rejected; since this epiphany, in the end, is a rhetorical device: what the rhetoricians call *aposiopesis*.⁴ Such an escape from the controversial media of revelation appears necessary because the religious debates of the Reformation continue indefinitely without resolution; so the tendency of Reformation religious imagery towards *aposiopesis* is common to all sides.

Stephen Gardiner describes the Catholic *aposiopesis* in seeing the crucifix: which is to

read in that fashion of contracted writing, wherein is wrapped up a great many of sentences, suddenly opened with one sudden sight, to him that hath been exercised in reading them.⁵

² This discussion is not what Kenneth Gross has attempted in a monograph on Spenser's poetics, and iconoclastic language in literature (*Spenserian Poetics: Idolatry, Iconoclasm, and Magic* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1985), p. 10), nor what Ernest Gilman has attempted in his study of iconophobic elements within Renaissance poetry (Chicago, 1986); but an attempt to trace the new mentality behind the phenomenon of iconoclasm, the use of iconoclastic language in literature, and consequent changes to the practice and theory of literature.

³ Tyndale, *Doctrinal treatises*, p. 360.

⁴ Richard A. Lanham, *A handlist of rhetorical terms* (Berkeley, 1968), sub 'aposiopesis'.

⁵ Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, Letter to Ridley, on pp. 495-504 of the PS ed. of *The works of Nicholas Ridley*, p. 499; this document was perhaps the most accessible defence of images in Elizabethan England, as it is quoted in Foxe (viii).

The Chapel Royal of Queen Henrietta Maria, the first significant Catholic building since the Reformation, was a more elaborate exercise in *aposiopesis*. The chapel, which was initiated with much splendour in December, 1636, had for a centre-piece a "machine" above the high altar.

The place where the Holy Sacrament lay had a bottom of gold, and . . . the cloth covering the pyx, it was a red oval with rays, the whole of which was so well contrived and appropriate, and with such splendour, that the painting seeming to vanish, there was left nothing but the brilliancy of the light, which caused that place to appear all on fire.⁶

All this smacks of the theatricality of the Baroque; and it is without surprise that one reads of the deceitful perspectives, flamboyantly gesticulating cherubim, hidden lighting, hidden orchestras and choirs, and sudden sliding curtains. However, it comes as rather a shock to discover that in the midst of all these illusions there is a complexity of ontological levels. The star of this pageant is not a representation, but the sacrament itself; in Catholic dogma, it is the incarnate deity himself performing for his courtiers (as if Louis XIV, Henrietta Maria's nephew, were already taking a turn in one of the court *ballets* at Versailles).

Through the medium of art, Christ's real presence becomes, not more real, but more explicit; not more apparent in the minds of his worshippers, but more real in their imaginations, because by the aid of this machine, they escape from the wordy controversies of Catholicism in a Protestant country by *aposiopesis*, or "that fashion of contracted writing, . . . suddenly opened with one sudden sight".⁷ Indeed, the machine is partly built to intrude the dogma of the real presence into the imagination of the Protestant King, and of the other schismatics who "never ceased coming in crowds from all parts to behold this wonder".⁸ Their response ("admiration, joy, and adoration") is both what one expects of the secular response to art, and what one expects of piety; the two are confounded in

⁶ 'Memoirs of the Mission in England of the Capuchin Friars . . . 1630 to 1669', by Fr. C. de Gamache, a *naif* in the Queen's *entourage*; p. 312 in the pidgin English tr. of Thomas Birch, pr. (II, 289-501) in his *The Court and times of Charles the First*, II vols. (London, 1848).

⁷ Gardiner's letter, *The works of Nicholas Ridley*, p. 499.

⁸ De Gamache, 'Memoirs of the Mission in England', in Birch's *The Court and times of Charles the First*, II, 312. p. 314.

the sudden sight of tangible, imaginable truth beyond abstract debate.

The Protestants' contrivance of aposiopesis, in competition with, and contradiction of, this visual spectacle, is their Biblical exegesis: that is, the imagined apprehension by the reader of God's voice present in the text and therefore within themselves, as on the Damascus Road. The reader becomes as certain of his understanding of the text as the authors were themselves: "So assured of the certainty of the visions, as the eye of the Euidence of his obiect."⁹ The Protestant mode of reading presents the object of faith to the inner eye, and all spiritual truths offered to the outer eye – that is, all plastic representation except reading, which is internalised, spiritualised, and thus rendered barely visual – are inconvenient or even obscene mockeries. English Protestantism is inclined to dualism, and the dualism of clean and unclean media makes images seem unclean. English iconoclasm is a symptom of iconophobia, not its cause.

(1) Idolatry

. . . all corporeal resemblances of inward holinesse and beauty
are now past . . .

Milton, *De Doctrina Christiana*, I, ii.

In part English Protestantism explains its iconophobia as a function of its peculiar relation with the concept of divine Law, and consequently with the Old Testament, and especially the Decalogue. Commandments II and IV, the prohibition of images and the institution of the Sabbath, are the two commandments that traditional Christian exegesis allegorised away; English Protestantism insists that they are part of the moral code that remains, not part of the ritual code of the old covenant.¹⁰ However, it is

⁹ John Hull, *An exposition vpon . . . the Lamentations of Jeremie* (London, 1618), sig. [B1]^v.

¹⁰ Calhill, *An answer*, pp. 41-3; John Woolton, Bishop of Exeter, *A newve anatomie of vvhole man, afwell of his body, as of his Soule* (London, 1576), sig. A1^v. Reventlow, pp. 105-14.

also defended as a necessary mark of true monotheism, part of God's general revelation, not only part of revealed, Biblical religion. Not only Jewish, but even Turkish, iconoclasm can be cited as authoritative.¹¹ Perkins argues that, unlike Islam, Catholicism is covertly polytheistic, and the metonymic understanding of worship offered to the referent of an image is merely an evasion, made also by pagan idolaters; this leaves him in the odd position of equating all image worship by arguing that there is monotheism implicit in all pagan idolatry.¹²

Images (I graunt) are called often in Scripture gods, but because in mans intention they haue relation to God, and reprejent him. And therefore by a metonymie they borrow his name, as a painted man is called a man, or, as he that plaies the part of a king, is called a king.¹³

Worship must be offered directly to the divine object, that is, to an object conceived verbally in the reformed imagination, and not offered to an external entity through a tangible, metonymic symbol.

Iconophobia is thus inherent to English reformed religion; iconoclasm is a universal habit of mind. Hooper notes a proper fixation with the second Commandment as a national characteristic as early as 1549: "my countrymen, be persuaded already aright in this commandment."¹⁴ Images are the root of all evil; papacy, transubstantiation, non-preaching clergy, and intercession by saints are evil because idolatrous; papists would be damned, if for nothing else, for "taking away of the second commandment".¹⁵ Idolatry is the first fruit of

¹¹ Calhill, *An answer*, pp. 41-5. A Moslem, because an extreme iconoclast, could thus sometimes, rather strangely, serve as a tragic hero in Protestant literature when he violates the Protestant inhibition: for instance, in Thomas Goffe's *The raging turke, or Baiazet the second* (London, 1631), act IV, scene ii (sig. I1^v); and *The covragious turke, Or, Amvrat the Firft* (London, 1632), act I, scene iv (sig. C2^r); or as a useful oracle of reason, untainted by the Reformation debates, as in John Rastell's *A new booke of purgatory: Whiche is a dyaloge & dysputacyon betweene one Comynge an Almayne a Christen man: & one Gyngemyn a turke of Machoinett [sic] law: dysputynge by naturall reason and good philofophie* (London, 1530). See also C.A. Patrides, "'The Bloody and Cruell Turke': The Background of a Renaissance Commonplace", *SRen*, X (1963), 126-35.

¹² Perkins, 'A warning against The Idolatrie of the laſt times', *The works*, II, 661, following Calvin, *Institutes*, I, ix, 9.

¹³ Perkins, 'A warning against The Idolatrie of the laſt times', *The works*, II, 661.

¹⁴ Hooper, *A declaration of the X. commandments*, in Hooper, I, 38. *DNB*; Lake. p. 39.

¹⁵ Hutton, pp. 29-30; a parson who does not preach the Word is himself "an idol . . . no better than a painted bishop on a wall": Becon, *Works*, II, 320. Papists took the Second

the Fall, and the cause of "adulterie"; it is virtually synonymous with impurity; an erotic passion finds it natural wistfully to criticise itself as idolatrous.¹⁶

Visual representations of the Bible were thus ambiguously orthodox in England because the Protestant Reformation there was peculiarly iconoclastic, and English writers were either vexed or embarrassed when they contemplated their Continental peers.¹⁷ Zürich's Reformation, in many ways the forerunner of England's, had an intense prejudice; but Lutherans had no objection to images as such, only to idolatrous abuse.¹⁸ The central Continental text for Calvinist iconoclastic orthodoxy was the chapter in the *Institutes*, 'It is Unlawful to Attribute a Visible Form to God': images are in themselves good, they are, like every other human artifice, a gift from God.¹⁹ But the spiritual is wholly unlike the material, must not be materially imaged. Calvin's idea is of almost gnostic dualism: "only those things are to be sculptured or painted which the eyes are capable of seeing".²⁰ The Westminster Confession rehearses this scruple: having declared God in negative terms, it insists that we must preserve His invisibility, and its exhortation of the Second Commandment

Commandment away even formally: Rheims, following the Vulgate, actually compounds commandments I and II (Deuteronomy, v, 7-8): the prohibition of images is thus not a special command, but merely an aspect of the demand for monotheistic devotion. Trent identified the second Commandment with the preparatory ritual code (*The catechism by decree of the holy Council of Trent*, tr. J. Donovan, II vols. (Rome, 1839), III, i, 16; likewise the sabbatarian commandment "*non fixum, et constans est, sed mutabile*" (III, iv, 4)).

¹⁶ This is a familiar turn of phrase in Shakespeare (*Hamlet*, II, ii, 109; *Henry V*, IV, i, 257; *Troilus and Cressida*, V, i, 7; *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, IV, ii, 129, and elsewhere). *Institutes*, I, v, 11-12. Perkins, 'A golden chaine', *The works*, I, 39, 59; and 'A warning against The Idolatrie of the last times', pp. 664-6, from the text repr. in *The works*, II, 657-701. *Luther's Works*, 'Commentary on Genesis [iii, 1, and v, 32]', I, 146, 358. Carlos M. N. Eire, *War against the idols: the reformation of worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 203-9.

¹⁷ Whitaker (*Disputatio*, p. 509) is apologetic; Fulke (*A Defence*, pp. 204-5) reproachful; Gardiner's letter to Ridley, *The works of Nicholas Ridley*, pp. 496-7, makes a Catholic jab at the inconsistency; see also Hooper, II, 318, 321. Aston, pp. 10-12.

¹⁸ Lutheranism indeed relied upon populist, visual propaganda to spread itself: "linguistic text and visual image stand in a complementary relationship" (R.W. Scribner, *For the sake of simple folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 229, 242-4, 249). Aston, pp. 10-12; Menna Prestwich, 'Introduction: The Changing Face of Calvinism', in her *International Calvinism 1541-1715* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 10-13.

¹⁹ *Institutes*, I, xi-xii; I, xi, 12.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, I, xi, 12. Any pictorial representation of anything unearthly was a danger: cf. Eire, pp. 20-3.

forbids

the making of any representation of God, of all, or of any of the three Persons, *either inwardly in our minde, or outwardly, in any kind of Image or likenesse* of any creature whatsoever²¹.

God, Calvin has to admit, does appear visibly in the Biblical narrative, but only fleetingly, as fire, clouds, a snatch of dove flight. The cherubim on the Ark of the Covenant (a frequent cause of heart burning amongst Protestant commentators, because God prescribed them) were counter-images, to bar men's eyes from seeing the Ark itself. Jesus, in classical Protestantism, was thus not an image of divinity because he could not be: God's nature is invisibility, and without invisibility he is, paradoxically, unimaginable.²²

Augustine wrote that the Scriptures are like the firmament, wholly covering the earth with God's glory, and hiding us ("to protect the weakness of . . . [God's] peoples here below") from the direct vision of God; but in Augustine the Scriptures only reflect Christ, and poetry, prophecy and nature are all inspired routes beyond this sky. English Protestants understand him to say that the firmament is the absolute, the source of the lightning bolt that falls on the Damascus Road, and the object of faith.²³ The revelation of God to man never comes through the eyes, except in the special and spiritualised experience of reading.

²¹ WC, 'Larger Catechism', p. 108: italics mine.

²² *Institutes*, I, xi, 3. Jewel ('A treatise', *Works*, IV, 1163-4), Calhull (*An answer*, pp. 45-6) and Perkins (*Works*, I, 588, 'A warning against The Idolatrie of the last times', *The works*, II, 660), following Calvin (*Institutes*, IV, vii, 40: "God is different from flesh as fire is from water"), thus understand Christ's imaging of the Father in a crypto-Nestorian sense (cf. Phillips, p. 175). Even Laud, who was more enthusiastic about the Chalcedonian definition, agrees that Jesus cannot be called an image ('Speech in the Star-Chamber, at the censure of Henry Sherfield, esq. . . . 1632', p. 17, in *Works*, VI, i, 13-21). This produces an odd (and almost Platonic) quibble in the Protestant response to images of Jesus (Perkins, 'A warning', *Works*, II, 660):

the forms in which the Sonne and holy Ghost haue appeared, were not their images, but only sensible signes and pledges of their presence: and signes not for euer, but onely for the present time, when they appeared: and therefore neither signes nor images of Gods presence now.

²³ Protestants therefore greatly resented the recusant translation of Augustine by Sir Tobie Mathew, printed at the English College (1620), particularly Mathew's stress in this passage on Augustine's notion of the Scriptures as the means and not the end of revelation. Matthew Sutcliffe tried to reclaim the Bishop of Hippo ("We esteeme S. *Augustine*, and other Fathers, and preferre them farre before the Pope", p. 56), with his counter-blast, *The unmasking of a Masse-monger. Who in the counterfeit Habit of S. Avgustine hath cunningly crept into the Closets of many English-Ladies* (London, 1626). Grant, pp. 7, 9-13.

English Protestantism rediscovers, instead of the revelation of the New Testament, in which God is visible in Christ, or even the Old Testament, where God's revelation is unfinished and open, a stricter monotheism, in which He is sovereignly inscrutable – "a Spirit eternal, unmeasurable, infinite, incomprehensible, severed from all mortal composition", a spirit for whom an image would be "an absurdity and undecent thing".²⁴ Hence the Protestant enthusiasm for the Second Commandment. But it was also a return to the text as a talisman in itself. The Law prescribes every icon of God except the Law; the English Reformers' position was thus to stigmatise pictorial representations of God as idolatry, but to sanction textual ones.

The first stage in implementing the new scruple is legislative iconoclasm. The visible point of contact in the medieval church, and the focus of inspirational power, is where popular nave meets celestial chancel, at the rood- or chancel-screen; thus, at the top of the rood-screen was mounted the Crucifix, symbol of specific revelation. English Reformers tore down the Crucifix, and an edict of Elizabeth's forbade it ever to be remounted at that focus. It was often replaced, if not by the royal arms, by a quotation from the Bible, particularly the Decalogue.²⁵ Bibles were mounted, chained, in the gutted Churches, for the people's devotion; the altar metamorphosed into the Lord's Table, and the focus of devotion moved west from the altar, where God is present, and from the rood-screen where He hangs visibly, to the pulpit, where He is unravelled from His Word. The word tramples down the image.

It is impossible to offer worship *through* plastic symbols; one must offer it to the Word itself, through words.²⁶ The negative and polemical parallel to this is an attack on the Catholic conviction that the rood on the

²⁴Nowell, p. 123; Hooper, II, 317. Reventlow, p. 212. Luther teaches that man is the image of God only in some ineffable, inscrutable, and uninformative fashion and that the imagistic similarity between God and man is hardly recovered for man by Christ; even if man is really the *μικροκοσμος* of the material universe, he can still not be like God ('Commentary on Genesis [i, 26-27]', *Works*, I, 63, 68).

²⁵It indeed remained illegal into this century: C.H.H. Wright and C. Neil, *sub* "Crucifix"; Haugaard, p. 142. Sometimes the roodscreen gave way to "Babes, hold yourselves free of idols" (from the letter of S. James), especially in the doctored form "Babes, hold yourselves free of images": Fulke, *Stapleton's fortress overthrown*, p. 127; John Phillips, *The reformation of images: destruction of art in England, 1535-1660* (Berkeley, 1973), p. 142.

²⁶Cranmer, *Works*, II, 217; Eire, pp. 214-5.

screen and the Church's lesser images are *idiotarum libri*, laymen's books. Visual images are licit reworkings of textual entities, because texts are themselves icons of visible truths. Pictures and books are convertible currencies of truth.²⁷

The Reformers interpreted this metaphor as a metonymy – pictures are books, and therefore fraudulent, usurping texts.²⁸ Pictures are the contrary of texts. "Their Pictures have defied Scripture. Their Laymen's books have abolished the Law."²⁹ Roger Hutchinson, trying to "paint" Christ for the people, as the first Apostles did – "(I would not have them utterly lack images)" – produces a Christian primer, without woodcuts, called *The Image of God*; he means to efface, not modify, the iconographical tradition of the Latin Church, which has "bespotted with the colours of man's wit" that perfect icon of Christ produced by Paul.³⁰ God says *Search the Scriptures*; Satan, God's ape, parodies this with *Look upon Pictures*.³¹

²⁷ The term *idiotarum libri* was canonised by the medieval Church's legal code, and the doctrine of images promulgated at the Seventh Œcumenical Council (or Second Council of Nicæa) was reasserted at Trent: spiritual word and spiritual image are interchangeable, so that the textual gospel is a verbal icon. The Seventh Œcumenical Council's notion of images was usually rejected and derided by the Reformed Churches; the English Church tended to deny the Council's authority (even Laud damns "that gross Council of Nice") – although even within English Protestantism there were exceptions to this. Richard Gibbings' footnote in his edition of Calhill's *An answer*, pp. 37-42; pp. 524, 550 in Henry Percival's text of II Nicæa, 'The Seven Ecumenical Councils of the Undivided Church', *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (Oxford, 1890), XIV, 521-87; Trent, Session XXV, doc. 1821; *Institutes*, I, xi, 14, and I, xii, 15; Hooper, I, 39, 42n.; Perkins, 'A golden chaine', *The works*, I, 11; Laud's 'Sherfield judgement', *Works*, VI, i, 16.

²⁸ Jewel, 'A treatise', *Works*, IV, 1181: "We buy images, and pictures, and maps, of men, and of divers things and countries: but what map or picture can shew us the like variety and change of things?"

²⁹ Calhill, *An answer*, p. 41; *Institutes*, I, xi, 7.

³⁰ Hutchinson, Epistle to Grindal, 'The image of bothe churches', *Works*, p. 3.

³¹ Calhill, *An answer*, p. 50.

(2) Iconophobia

The ear, alone, is the Christian organ.
Luther, quoted by Roland Barthes, 'Loyola', *Sade Fourier
Loyola*, p. 65.

The second stage of English iconophobia passes beyond purifying physical ornaments³² to genuine dualism, differentiating body and mind; for the picture, even a mental one, is without, and the reading voice, even though it relies on a physical object, a book, is within. Sight involves material substance, and hearing the virtually-spiritual air.

Protestant inhibition claimed to be as hostile to inward idolatry as to outward. Hooper argues that the idolatrous and verbal imaginations of God are psychological opposites.

The mind of man, when it is not illuminated with the spirit of God, nor governed by the Scripture, it imagineth and feigneth God to be like unto the imagination and council of his mind, and not as the scripture teacheth. . . . there followeth a further success of the ill. . . . the mind conceiveth the idol, and afterward the hand worketh and representeth the same unto the senses.³³

Our worship of God is predetermined by God, and the Bible is the script; any deviation is a deviation into (of course, preordained) devilry. Any error in religious practice or imagination means that a man is no longer worshipping God, but "a figment and dream of his own heart." The "jetting up of an Idol is Witch-craft", because it attempts to conjure up a visible spirit, a being that cannot exist. Millions have therefore been damned for idolatry, and no one can ever have been saved by an image.³⁴ When we look on a picture of the Crucifixion, it may at best jolt our memory of the account read or preached from the four gospels.

³² Collinson, *From Iconoclasm to Iconophobia*, pp. 11-12, 27.

³³ Hooper, II, 318.

³⁴ *Institutes*, I, iv, 1. Thomas Ady, *A Candle in the Dark: shewing The Divine Cause of the distractions of the whole Nation of England, and of the Christian World* (London, 1655), sig. C4^r. *Correspondence of Matthew Parker*, pp. 79-95. Cf. Fotherby, *Fovre sermons*, sig. G1^r; Calhill, *An answer*, pp. 110-12; Fulke, *Stapleton's fortress overthrown*, pp. 139-40, 148; Jewel, *Works*, II, 647-50; Perkins, 'A golden chaine', *The works*, I, 36; Ridley, *Works*, p. 91.

No picture can represent it . . . which all the preaching, all the writing in the world, is not able sufficiently to print into our dull and forgetful heads.³⁵

The Protestant willfully asserts that images are language, and therefore false language; experience of images can only be described in words, and words must therefore be prior. Perkins' defence of this inhibition is so explicit, and at once so evasive and willful, that I quote at length.

Some man may thus object [to our arguments for iconoclasm]: when we thinke on god, we conceiue an internall image or forme of him in our minds, and that which we conceiue we may proportionally set down by painting or caruing. Againe, if the internall forme of God be lawfully conceiued, why may not the externall be made? I answer, the right way to conceiue God is not to conceiue of any forme: but to conceiue in mind his properties and proper effects. So soone as the mind frames vnto it selfe any forme of God . . . an idoll is set up in the mind. And the formes of things internally conceiued in mind are neuer worshipped of us, as painted and carued images be.³⁶

It is clear that to such a sensibility Gardiner's visual *aposiopesis* would be innately impossible. The aural sense (implicitly identified with the ego and the inner world of spirit) is reliable, the visual sense (implicitly identified with the outer world) is often diabolically deceived: at least in the sensory hierarchy of the "child of God".

[For] the eye mooves the imagination more than the hearing doth, therefore to the naturall man it must be the most excellent sense;³⁷

the preeminence of hearing over seeing is thus part of revealed religion. A Huguenot, writing in villainous English for the English translation of a French book of Biblical engravings, admits that

the hearing aboue all our fiue naturall wittes most diuin is allone nedfull to saluation, wherewith we, as with an instrument mete, must take and receaue the promieses of God offred and presented vnto vs in the holie scripture, contenting ourselues . . . [to] red them, . . . and vndertake no further³⁸

³⁵ Calhill, *An answer*, p. 37.

³⁶ Perkins, 'A warning against The Idolatrie of the last times', *The works*, II, 670-1.

³⁷ John Weemes, *The portraiture of the image of God in Man* (London, 1636), sig. 2D7^r; Weemes was a Scottish divine much admired, and published, south of the Border (DNB).

– that is, not to try to picture them. One sequel to Stephen Gosson's famous attack on the theatre argues from the axiom of English Protestant ethics that "There cometh much evill in at the eares, but more at the eyes",³⁹ and the inherent unease of Protestantism at the theatre is clearly provoked by this unhappiness with any moral or religious topics touched on by the moving visual image of the stage.

Catholicism seems like theatre to the Reformers;⁴⁰ it cultivates theatricality and vision, sometimes as blatantly as in Henrietta Maria's operatic chapel, because Catholicism does not regard religious theatre – that is, the public display of ideas in spectacle, for which the conventions are defined by the community – as deplorable. Indeed, Counter-Reformation devotion increasingly stressed the *rôle* of the eye.⁴¹ The sacramental machine in the Chapel Royal is surrounded by hidden music, so that "eye and ear found at the same time gratification in this contrivance of piety and skill." The public and visual can be controlled and contained by public authority and convention.⁴²

Gardiner's defence of ritual speaks of the congregation on Good Friday creeping before the wooden cross which on Monday the sexton "holdeth under his gown while he drinketh a pot of ale."⁴³ The sexton is unabashed, because the connection between symbol and "that the images

³⁸ Pierre de Rendel, in *Portraits*, sig. A2^v; for bibliographical details, see below, section (2).

³⁹ *A second and third blast of retrait from plaies and Theatres:by Anglo-phile Eutheo*, probably Andrew Munday (London, 1580), pp. 95-6. Cit. Collinson, *From Iconoclasm to Iconophobia*, pp. 11-12.

⁴⁰ Fotherby, *Four sermons*, sig. G1^r; Foxe, *The works of Nicholas Ridley*, p. 289; Harding, *An answer*, sig. R2^r; Jewel, I, 464; Perkins, 'A warning against The Idolatrie of the last times', *The works*, II, 661; Prynne, *Canterburies Doome*, pp. 114-20. Horton Davies, p. 19. Farrington, pp. 19, 62, 69, 84-5, 116-7.

⁴¹ Barthes, *Sade Fourier Loyola*, pp. 63-7.

⁴² De Gamache, 'Memoirs of the Mission in England', in Birch's *The Court and times of Charles the First*, II, 312: italics mine. The Catholic imagination is tolerant of symbolism because that other, public combination of object and symbol, the identification of bread and flesh in the mass, is beyond the claims of any mere symbolism, and is therefore a secure bound on the claims of the symbol. Protestantism, which admits only symbolism, or at most a purely immaterial presence, in the Lord's Supper, refuses symbolism outside it, because such a connection cannot be so bounded as mere metonymy. Bale, 'The image of bothe churches', pp. 260-1; *Institutes*, I, xiii, 3; III, v, 1; and IV, xviii, 3; Cranmer, *Works*, I, 41-2, 207-10; Hooper, *Works*, II, 90; Jewel, *Defense*, p. 73; *Works*, II, 874, 1099, 1102; III, 62; Latimer, *Works*, I, 458-9; Laud, *The conference*, p. 70; Tyndale, *Works*, I, 360. Fisch, pp. 4-5; Hughes, pp. 199-202, 209-10; Ross, pp. 57-61.

⁴³ Gardiner's letter to Ridley, *The works of Nicholas Ridley*, p. 498.

signify" is a matter of corporate acknowledgement on Good Friday, and ends with that corporate and conscious act.⁴⁴ A Protestant sexton's imagination would be more consistent, and would have a tighter grip on the unity of symbol and the words that make it a symbol: he would consider Friday's equation of cross and One True Cross to be a binding act, which he made individually in his pew, and which therefore holds him; the authority of the ritual, corporate act cannot validate the gap between Friday's veneration and Monday's insouciance. The cross is at once a physical object prone to all the indignity of insentient things; he is only going to feel content if all symbols are banished from the realm of physicality, and his imagination is going to stress the unphysicality of the text, where alone the utterance of Christ's death, which "No picture can represent",⁴⁵ is allowed to stay.

Gardiner permits the discontinuity of symbolism for the token wooden cross because he assumes the authority of that public mystery, the Church, which is at once visible, and visibly orders its symbols, and spiritual, so that its symbols are not merely arbitrary, but carry divine authority with them. The Church decrees the metonymy of the model wooden cross for the True Cross on Good Friday; its connection of the two lapses when the ceremony it enjoins ceases. Protestantism denies the possibility of these corporate acts of imagination: the binding and then loosing of symbol and thing is unimaginable, and so

it is a practise very idolatrous, to bind adoration to any particular thing, or to any particular place: neither in the bread nor wine of the Lords Supper, nor the altar, nor in the hand of the Minister⁴⁶

Catholic symbolism, including Henrietta Maria's superstitious chapel and in the superstitious veneration of the Cross on Good Friday, are types of the confusion of image and object. The ideal of Protestantism is listening to the Word in a mind swept clear of God's image: Milton's phrase is that "all corporeal resemblances of inward holinesse and beauty are now past".⁴⁷ Under "the old Law, the middle of the Propitiary, (which

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 499.

⁴⁵ Calhill, *An answer*, p. 37.

⁴⁶ Perkins, 'A warning against The Idolatrie of the laſt times', *The works*, II, 662.

representeth God's seat,) was empty";⁴⁸ the old law is a type of the new, under which the inner reading voice sits invisibly enthroned. The inner eye of the pictorial imagination, which is another mode of imagining God, is unacceptable, for a pictorial image can in principle be displayed and perceived by many at once, and relies on the corporate act of devotion that makes it an accepted symbol.

This might incline towards what conservative churchmen would call worship of imaginations,⁴⁹ except that in Erastian England, the monarch is also enthroned within, for the monarch has the final authority to reform the Church and its practices, including its use of images; Elizabeth to maintain a crucifix in the Chapel Royal, James to prevent the final destruction of glass and music, Charles to allow the restoration of outward and sacramental devotion. The strict and anxious distinction between godly, authoritative words and deceitful pictures disappears in the face of civil authority. Cranmer, in his *Catechismus . . . for . . . yong people*, explains that the mode of God's revelation is like a printer engraving his stone with *either* "pyctures or wrytinges . . . [s]criptures or fygures as apertaineth to hys [s]cience."⁵⁰ Cranmer's metaphor makes us conscious of the book we are holding as a physical object, the pages pressed by a printer with the text of Cranmer and the woodcuts of Holbein, and the parallels in thus "[s]etting forth of Goddes treue glorie":⁵¹ God's true glory, it would seem, is a neither visual nor linguistic truth, and both words and images are inadequate modes of alluding to what cannot be expressed. What can be relied on to express it is the Church as authorised and empowered by the state. The most significant point of the Cranmer Catechism is its

⁴⁷ *Doct. Chr.*, I, 2; Fotherby, *Foure sermons*, sig. 2B1^r, 2B2^r, E8^v-F1^r; Whitaker, *Disputation*, p. 450. Grant, p. 133.

⁴⁸ Calfhill, *An answer*, p. 18.

⁴⁹ *Lawes*, Preface, iii, 6-10; II, vii, 1, 5; Andrewes, *Ninety-six sermons*, III, 273-6; Laud, *The conference*, p. 70; cf. Jewel, *A defence of the Apologie*, p. 73, and 'A treatise of holie scripture', *Works*, II, 1167. Booty, pp. 138-9.

⁵⁰ Epistle to Edward VI in *Catechismus, That is to say a shorte Instruction into Christian Religion for . . . yong people. Set forth* [in fact tr. from the Latin tr. of the children's primer, the *Kinderpredigt*, of the state Church of Brandenburg] by Thomas Arch bishop of Canterbury (London, 1548), sig. 74^r: Cranmer's discussion is naturally modified by the youth of his audience: the theologically precocious King, who had just turned eleven, and more generally children, born into original sin, whose "wytt[es] [are] naked and bare" of God.

⁵¹ Cranmer, *Catechismus*, sig. 75^v.

epistle from the Primate to the King, declaring that he, Edward, has truly set forth God's glory "in thys tyme of your gracious reformation of all ungodlynes".⁵² As on the title page of the Great Bible, the stress on text over against images becomes less important, because the State-Church's authority, personified by the King, controls both.

Laud had a book on Christ's wounds, itself orthodoxly Protestant, which was embossed with the five wounds on its binding. When he fell, he was denounced for it.⁵³ But there remained, even in the days of Thorough, a strong, if vague, sense of tact about any imaging to do with God; Laud was always careful to keep this book out of sight.⁵⁴ The best way to discern this sensitivity is to examine cases on the borders of writing and picture, items that are both textual and idolatrous, and thus impugn bibliolatry, or pictorial and licit. Gardiner is feeling towards this problem of definition when he makes the apparently grotesque argument, that if one were really to take the prohibition on graven images with Protestant seriousness, one would include the graven typing blocks, and forbid printing.⁵⁵ His point is that a printed text is only another sort of image, so that the Protestant dualism about the media for expressing dogmatic truth does not hold. As Collinson points out, Thomas Beard's enormously popular *The theatre of Gods Iudgements: Or, a collection of histories out of Sacred, Ecclesiasticall, and prophane Authours, concerning the admirable Iudgements of God vpon the transgressours of his commandements*, which attempts to fix vividly in the imagination the doctrine of retributive providence, conspicuously does not include woodcuts in any of its editions.⁵⁶

When it is formally difficult to distinguish good divine words from bad divine images, English Protestant imagination becomes confused, and troubles the Protestant conscience: sometimes over examples that strain our credulity. The Τετραγραμματον of the Jews, the divine name, YHWH,

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *The history of the troubles and tryal of . . . William Laud Wrote by Himself, during his Imprisonment in the Tower.*, ed. Henry Wharton (London, 1695), pp. 314, 435. Prynne, *Canterburies doome*, pp. 35, 202-4, 322-4; *Hidden workes of darknes*, fol. 161^r.

⁵⁴ Laud, *The history of the troubles and tryal*, p. 435.

⁵⁵ Gardiner's letter to Ridley, *The works of Nicholas Ridley*, pp. 498-500.

⁵⁶ Collinson, *From Iconoclasm to Iconophobia*, pp. 22-3

the phylacteries of the Pharisee, and the medieval Christian use of "*In principio*",⁵⁷ cause genuine bemusement.

There are three categories on the borders of the inspired writing and carnal picture that are not so trivial. The most important is sacred poetry, issuing from the words in the Bible but making them into its own image, and thus furnishing the reader's imagination with pictures made from the sacred text. The other two are engravings in Bibles, and independent books of Biblical illustration – which raise, oddly enough, different questions.⁵⁸ English (but not Continental) convention eventually allows poetry about the Bible (and even, with Milton, apotheosises it), while permitting the iconoclastic impulse to swallow up stained glass, illustrated Bibles, and even independent printings of Bible pictures. But how is this convention settled? Why, after Laud had been beheaded partly for allowing a Bible to be printed showing "*the Assumption, and the Dove*",⁵⁹ could Milton allow himself an almost intimate portrait of God the Father?

⁵⁷ Hutchinson, *Works*, p. 17; Calhill, *An answer*, pp. 282-5; Grindal, *Remains*, p. 41. Grindal finally sets his face against Catholic white magic with the *principio*, classing it with the *Abracadabra* of magicians, rather than actual textual devotion. For a review of European Protestant practice with the name YHWH, see Paul Ellingworth, 'The Lord: the final judge of functional equivalence', *Technical Papers for The Bible Translator*, XLI (1990), 345-50.

⁵⁸ Fotherby, *Foure sermons*, sig. 2B4^{r-v}. Laud, *The history of the troubles and tryal*, p. 336. S.L. Greenslade, *The English Reformers and the Fathers of the Church* (Oxford, 1960), p. 161.

⁵⁹ Laud, *The history of the troubles and tryal*, p. 336.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE PRIVATE PRACTICE OF ICONOCLASM

Thou shalt make thee no graven
image, neither any similitude of
things that are in heaven above,
neither that are in the earth beneath,
nor that are in the waters under the
earth

Exodus, xx, 4-5 (GB).¹

IN THIS chapter, I shall examine the application of the iconoclastic anxiety in the Protestant imagination in three difficult cases. One, the Bishops' Bible of 1572, is historically rather important; the second, bound collections of engraved Biblical scenes, is dependent on the question of illustrated Bibles; the third, emblem books, seems disparate, but I shall argue that essentially the same problem of imaging divine reality, in this case moral truths, is involved.

These three categories of books are scandalous for essentially the same reason as images in churches: because they are at least potentially a threat to the imageless God of the reformed imagination. So it is not the case that the practice of iconoclasm merely spills over onto the page (although I shall be drawing attention to analogous acts of destruction in books). The cases are different: an image in a book cannot be venerated. As Bishop Fotherby reminds Jacobean Puritans who object to any pictures in any Bible, the Geneva Bible itself was prepared to include a picture of the

¹ GB (also Deuteronomy, v, 8-9); the GB marginal note naturally stresses the second part of the commandment, "Thou shalt not bow down to them . . .", which it implicitly identifies with Roman practice: "By this outward gesture all kinde of service [service] & worship to idoles is forbidden."

golden calf, the Israelites' idol beneath Sinai.² The actual or potential public act of metonymic adoration, as described by Gardiner,³ is not possible. The impulse about rood screens and towards books of Bible pictures has the same root; the difference is one of degree, for books belong to the private, not the public sphere, and the imaginative control of their imaging is easier to effect.⁴

English Protestantism is therefore at first more indulgent about religious pictures in books than in parish churches, if only as a practical distinction. Perkins accepts the argument from expediency, which is not moderate in principle, but merely optimistic about practice:

it muſt be remembred, that the painting of the hiftorie of the Bible, though otherwife lawfull in it ſelf, is not expedient in churches: becauſe danger of idolatrie may riſe thence. . . . [But] the caſe is otherwife with ſuch representations of the hiftorie as are found in ſundrie Bibles, becauſe there is not like occaſion for idolatrie.⁵

Illustrating Bibles is, in Perkins scheme, a "Historicall", that is, mnemonic, use of images: one of three legitimate "common" uses, the others being "Symbolicall, or political", as the civil use of emblems, in heraldry or on coins; and in the decoration of civil architecture. There are also legitimate, holy uses of images to signify the things of God – which begs the question; Perkins does not say what sort of things these might be, but he presumably means the sacraments. In Calvin's teaching, sacraments are not God's actions, but God's images; images themselves are therefore redundant.⁶

Perkins' generation tolerated quite a liberal double standard for books. The only perfectly legitimate decoration above the Lord's Table could be the text of the Decalogue, but even Jesus was a permissible subject of pictures in books; for of course Jesus was not an image of the Father.

² *Fovre sermons*, sig. 2B4^{r-v}.

³ Gardiner's letter to Ridley, *The works of Nicholas Ridley*, p. 498; also, see above, pp. 223-4.

⁴ Ross, pp. 6-7: "the actual aesthetic effect of such symbols [as transubstantiation and its denial] must be searched and felt in terms of a subtle contrapuntal tension between tradition and innovation with dogma itself." Cf. Phillips, p. 175.

⁵ Perkins, 'The Idolatrie of the laſt times', *The works*, II, 670. *Institutes*, IV, vii, 39-41.

⁶ Perkins, 'A warning', *The works*, II, 670, again following his master, Calvin (*Institutes*, I, xi, 12-13; cf. Cranmer, I, 37, 41-2; see below, p. 261).

[Thus,] when the historie of the Bible is painted or pictured, as in some of our Bibles it is, there are no images of God described⁷:

even in the Four Gospels, the images are only mnemonic. For the same reason, even the picturing of personified attributes of God is acceptable in an emblem book, as long as it is clear that the picture works mnemonically, stirring up moral sense which the Bible itself instills by words.⁸ God Himself is by definition incapable of being imaged, and a certain optimistic indulgence was possible in texts.⁹

This double standard did not last. Emblem books survived, but the prefaces to English emblem books show how much apologetic care was necessary; and in the course of our period, the periphery of the Bible was cleared of any book that seemed to transfuse the sacred text into pictures.

⁷ Perkins, 'A warning against The Idolatrie of the last times', *The works*, II, 660. Cf. Calhull, *An answer*, pp. 45-6; *Institutes*, IV, vii, 40; Jewel, 'A treatise', *Works*, IV, 1163-4; Perkins, *Works*, I, 588, and II, 660.

⁸ Francis Quarles shows divine love as a cherub, *Emblemes* (London, 1635). See below, section (3).

⁹ Old-fashioned biblicism was extant in English Protestantism into this century, when it has been revived by the new wave from Germany of Barthian biblicism. For instance, C.H.H. Wright's article on "Inspiration" (in Wright and Neil's *A Protestant dictionary* (London, 1904), p. 308), argues:

As the Word (Christ) became flesh, so the divine Word became embodied in human speech and writing. The Bible is like other books in many particulars, but it is unlike other books in being the only authoritative embodiment of the divine revelation to man

(1) Illustrated Bibles

[The Bishops' Bible] contains a variety of woodcuts of the most ridiculous fashion, even sometimes amounting to being indecent. With what object such pictures were introduced into a large folio volume only intended for public use in the churches, it is not easy to conjecture.

Nicholas Pocock, 'The Bishops' Bible' (1882).¹⁰

For Communion on Christmas morning, the Elizabethan prayer book prescribed as the Epistle the opening of Hebrews:

God which in tyme, at sundry tymes & in diuers manners spake vnto the fathers in the prophetes,
Hath in these last dayes spokê vnto vs in the Sonne,
whom he hath appoynted heire of al thynges, by
whom also he made the worldes.¹¹

This can be understood in either a liberal or an illiberal way by Protestants. Are the divers oracles of God's revelation (such as human authority, natural morality and reason, classical literature and philosophy) obviated or completed by Christ? Is exegesis required to adopt at least the vocabulary of absolute passivity, or is human reason meant to enlighten the dark places of the Bible?¹²

The Geneva Bible claims that it is itself transparent, and that no further light is necessary: the sundry and diverse manners are all redundant, and the Spirit who brings Christ into the world without aid needs no aid from the human mind, which has in itself no "autoritie and priuiledge to deci[d]e concerning Gods worde"¹³. The Bishops' Bible, meant by the Church hierarchy to supplant and contradict the Geneva Bible, glosses the Hebrews passage thus: "So that nowe we haue no credite in any *newe* reuelations *after* hym" – a comment which Parker in fact

¹⁰ Nicholas Pocock, 'The Bishops' Bible', *The Bibliographer*, I (Jan.-Apr., 1882), 33-7, 67-71, 111-6, 148-9; p. 71; but his anger is rather getting the upper hand of his precision: the 1572 folio was not meant only for lecterns in churches, but for the houses of all the great officers of the Church, where all could consult them (see the Convocation articles, partially quoted in Pocock's own article), and of course the grandeur of the surroundings fits well with the sumptuous dignity of the folios (p. 34). This article is not to be confused with another, with different material but virtually the same name, which Pocock published six years later: 'The Bishops' Bible of 1568, 1572, and 1602', *Athenæum* No. 3148 (25 February, 1888), 243-5.

¹¹ Booty's ed. of *The Book of Common Prayer 1559*, for Christmas Day: Hebrewes, i, 1-2.

¹² *Lawes*, III, viii, 11.

¹³ 'Preface', *GB*, sig. .:3r; *Stubbs*, sig. .:4v.

plagiarised from the Geneva Bible's gloss.¹⁴ It excludes any notion of radical spiritualism, but hardly clears the ambiguity about knowledge that is prior to or parallel to the gospel, and the authority of such knowledge in the interpretation of the text.

In his Preface, Parker alludes to this passage when he is defending human authority against the annotation and translation of the Geneva:

euer more desirous they were [not] to refourme their former humaine ouerlightes [of earlier translations], [but] rather then in a stubborne wyfulnesse to resist the gyft of the holy ghoſt, who *from tyme to tyme* is resident as that heauenly teacher and leader into all trueth¹⁵

This confutes the absolutely definitive text and strictly passive reader proclaimed in the Geneva's Preface. But the most telling comment in the Bishops' Bible is the initial capital to the Epistle to the Hebrews in the second edition of 1572. Within the G of "God", God the Swan is *in flagrante delicto* with Leda, who reclines on the letter's inner curve; in the top right the clouds part, but in the luminous space conventionally reserved for YHWH in Protestant religious art, is Apollo, God of inspired poetry, riding his sun-chariot. The reader of the Bishops' Bible is presented with an image of the unity of divine and human writing, thought and activity.

The Bible of 1572 was the high (or low) point for pictorial embellishment of English Protestant Bibles until well into the nineteenth century. It was much more extravagant than any edition of the Rheims New Testament (which was cheaply produced and has no more than unremarkable mythological creatures in its embellished initials). The

¹⁴ GB: "So that now we may not credit anie new reuelations after him." The italics in Parker's gloss (Parker annotated Hebrews himself) are mine. Cf. Luther, 'The 1535 Commentary on Galations', *Works*, XXVII, 7.

The Bishops' Bible was a hasty revision of Henry VIII's Great Bible, produced by Archbishop Parker and a committee of his suffragans in 1568 (STC 2099); the second edition, hereafter *Bps72*, was printed in 1572 (STC 2107), and a third in 1602. A quarto of 1569, for private use, does not concern us. The bibliography of the Bishops' Bible is often confused, and there are a great many errors about the illustrations in the secondary literature (partly because few of the indefatigable Victorians had the opportunity of consulting many editions in one library). R.B. McKerrow, 'Elizabethan printers and the composition of reprints', *Library*, V (1925), 357-64, seems accurate.

¹⁵ 'Preface into the Byble folowyng', *BpsB*, sig. * 3^r; italics mine.

Genevan version subsequently shed its own, strictly Biblical and narrative, pictures, those

numerous woodcuts which appear in the Genevan Bible, which were all inserted for the very proper purpose of instructing and edifying the reader¹⁶

The King James' Version began with only a few mythological initial letters in the first folio of 1611, and these were suppressed in subsequent editions.¹⁷

The Bible of 1572 marked a palpable change in English conventions. It was nicknamed the Leda Bible and greatly execrated; the reaction ensured the Bishops' Bible's poor showing against the Genevan translation.¹⁸ This picture is the single most egregious example of illustrations modifying the authority of the text, and was itself a spur to the radical Protestant hatred of images in the English Bible.

Even in the relatively liberal Elizabethan context, Leda is indubitably a shock. Classical myth decorates the periphery of God's own text. Leda being impregnated with the most beautiful of mortal women is printed on the same page as God's definitive revelation of His son. The divine narrative is mixed in with the Greek. More alarmingly still, rape, or rather the Mosaic institution of forced marriage of Gentile women to the Elect after rites of purgation, is understood by the commentators as a type of the proper treatment of pagan artifacts by Christian civilisation.¹⁹ Here Zeus

¹⁶Pocock, *The Bibliographer*, p. 71.

¹⁷*The holy bible . . . Newly translated* (London, 1611, 1617, 1629, 1634); I use Pollard's facsimile of the first ed. Romans begins with the rape-of-Daphne "P" (of which more below), the Gospels with Neptune; John stares into the *Τετραγράμματον* in the "I" of his beginning "In the beginning", and Luke crouches with his miraculous bull in the opening letter of his Gospel (this Luke initial is rather inanelly recycled to commence the second chapter of II Thessalonians). All these were weeded out of the folio of 1617 except Neptune, who was suppressed in 1634. On contemporary Continental practice, see James Strachan, *Early Bible illustration: a short study based on some fifteenth and sixteenth century printed texts* (Cambridge, 1957), pp. 85-6.

¹⁸Broughton, *An advertisement*, sig. H4^r, L2^v. There are upwards of forty editions of GB between 1560 and its expulsion from England in 1635 (STC 2093-2209). James Strahan's monograph on *Early Bible illustration* (Cambridge, 1957) is accurate, although not very reflective; Estelle Hurl's *The Bible Beautiful* (London, 1908) is frankly middle-brow. Also helpful on the Leda Bible: Anthony Johnson, *An Historical Account Of the several English Translations Of the Bible* (London, 1730); W.J. Heaton, *The Bible of the Reformation: its translations and their worth* (London, 1910); W.T. Whittey, *The English Bible under the Tudor sovereigns* (London, 1933); J.D. Alexander, 'The Geneva version of the Bible: Its Origin, Translation, and Influence' (unpubl. D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1957); C.C. Ryrie, 'Calvinistic Emphases in the Bishops' Bible', *Bibliotheca Sacra*, CXXII, (1965), 227-44.

¹⁹Deuteronomy, xxi, 12-3; the GB gloss is replicated in *BpsB*. S. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa*

and not the Christian God is shedding himself on human flesh. Leda is therefore shocking at four levels: because she contaminates the definitive revelation with pagan stories; because the picture suggests that classical myth might be, as Hooker suggests,²⁰ one of the "diuers manners" in which in "[u]ndry tymes" truth has been revealed; because she is a picture and shares the page with the text; and because all these contiguities and parallels have to be kept apart and held in suspense by the interpretive mind, so that it becomes apparent that the text itself is patient and not agent. Leda breaks the hermetic barrier in the imagination between the Bible and all other books, stories and images, the "preſent authoritie of Scripture".²¹ She inspires Protestant distaste for any images in Bibles, because she shows what that juxtaposition implies.

The Bishops' Bibles of 1568 and 1572 imply in their decorations, far more provocatively than in Parker's Preface, the consanguinity of Biblical and carnal knowledge, the authority of human tradition and reason, and the impossibility of strict biblicism. Subsequently, inhibition against pictures in Bibles after Leda percolates throughout English churchmanship. The Bishops' Bible, as late as the nineteenth century, can shock the only people who still look at it, assiduous clerical bibliographers, by no means all Protestants, for whom "Scripture is . . . boldly identified with the Mind which inspires it".²² A mild Victorian Presbyterian judges the Leda Bible "disfigured by several peculiar ornaments . . . of . . . incongruous character"; a High and dry Regency Anglican, calling himself Catholicus, thinks it "in execrable taste [that the embellishments] were selected from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*"; Pocock, so ferocious a Tractarian that he has to write "the Calvinian heresy" for Calvinism, and "'Reformation'" rather than "Reformation", nevertheless prefers the Genevans' Bible because of the indecent embellishments in the Bishops'. The Geneva has pictures, but they at least avoid contaminating the imagination with unbiblical

Theologica, I. II, cv, 4 *ad* 6; Suppl., lix, 1 *ad* 2; I use the English Dominicans' XX vol. translation (London, 1911-25), in which these conclusions are on III, 274 and 278; XVII, 265-7. *Luther's Works*, IX, 211. Andrewes, *Ninety-six sermons*, V, 63.

²⁰ Lawes, I, 335-6; Phillips, p. 336.

²¹ Calhill, *An avnswere*, sig. B3^r.

²² Liddon, p. 69.

images in a Biblical context.²³

Indeed, Pocock so misunderstands the significance of the Bishops' Bible that he wonders why it was issued, as its text was inferior and its editors lazily or prudently plagiarised the annotations of the Geneva Bible. But a published Bible is more than just the text itself; it publishes the fact of publication: as I discussed above, to translate, publish, annotate or embellish the sacred text is to establish some overt or covert claim over it. The editions of the Bible in this period either assert, and exploit, the Protestant image of the Bible as a single, constant, authoritative, speaking voice, "a living Providence";²⁴ or try to break it down. In either case, the publication of a text of the Bible is an act of authority.

The Bishops' Bible tries to break down the maximalist claims of the Geneva,²⁵ and particularly the idea that all parts of the Bible are equally inspired and equally significant, even when it speaks

of genealogies, and pedigres, of lepers, of sacrificing goats and oxen, &c. . . . There is no sentence, no clause, no word, no syllable, no letter, but it is written for our instruction²⁶

Parker makes the critical authority of the Church and her editors over the text explicit; he had his colleagues judge and mark off the most irrelevant

²³ John Eadie, *The English Bible*, II vols. (London, 1876), II, 84; Cotton, *Editions of the Bible*, II, 299, n.(d) ('Catholicus' was Cotton's *nom de plume* for his *Notes on The Preface to the Rhemish testament* (Dublin, 1817)). Pocock, 'The Bishops' Bible', *The Bibliographer*, p. 71. DNB. But John Lewis (*A complete history of . . . Translations Of the Holy Bible . . . into English*, third ed. (London, 1818), p. 240) is made of steadier stuff, and declares the 1568 edition illustrated "in a very elegant and pompous manner".

²⁴ Liddon, p. 69.

²⁵ 'Preface', GB, sig. :.2^r, :.4^{r-v}.

²⁶ Jewel, 'A treatise of the holy scriptures', *Works*, IV, 1175. Thorough Protestants (including the Continental Reformed theologians) all hold this doctrine: Tyndale, *Works*, I, 360, 399-400; Cranmer, p. 41; Calvin, *Institutes*, I, vi, 1-2; I, vii, 4; IV, x, 28-29; and *Commentaries on the book of Isaiah*, vi, 7; Jewel, II, 1167; Clapham, sig. A3^r; Whitaker, *Disputation*, pp. 23, 405; Rogers, *The catholic doctrine of the Church of England*, p. 3; Nowell, p. 113; Bale, 'The image of bothe churches', *Select works*, pp. 261, 263; *Doct. Chr.*, I, xxx (p. 587); WC, I, v (pp. 4-5); Heppe, ii, 6 (pp. 16-17). Of course, as a matter of practice these men think parts of the Bible are more important than others, and Romans more important than anything else; Parker ('Preface', *BpsB*, sig. *3^r) trenchantly observes that GB reserves thicker paper for the New Testament.

On the contrary, Parker ('Preface', *BpsB*, sig. *3^r), Hooker (*Lawes*, Preface, iii, 2, 6-10; I, vii, 4-5, 10; III, vii, 11; viii), Andrewes (*Ninety-six sermons*, III, 275) Fotherby (*Fovre sermons*, sig. E2^r-E3^r), and Laud (*The conference*, p. 70) all deny that all parts of the Bible are equally significant, and assert that extra-textual authority has to discern relative importance.

portions of the Bible, and he flaunts this proceeding, which outraged Protestant sensibility (and may indeed have been illegal) in his Preface:

(Here it is to be noted, that ſuch partes and chapters)
 (which be marked and noted with ſuch ſemy circles at)
 (the head of the veaſe or line, with ſuch other texts,)
 (may be left vnread in the publique reading to the)
 (people, that therby other chapter and places of the)
 (ſcripture makyng more to their edification and)
 (capacitie may come in their roomes. . . .²⁷)

Portions of the Old Testament (mainly the legal passages of the Pentateuch, of which the Puritans were so analogically fond) are thus marked off with walls of quotation marks down each margin. The radical Protestant imagination sees in these walls of punctuation the imprisonment of the text; the moderate Protestant sees the authority of reason and the Church over the processes of the text.

The woodcuts in the Bishops' Bible continue this task of ordering: they not only puncture the separation of the Biblical text from the world, but they assume a hierarchy of inspiration, and therefore of authority, in the text of the Bible. They work like the semi-circles as marks of privilege, emphasising parts of the Bible above others. This iconic presentation, quite overtly, places Paul's Epistles above the other Epistles, the Gospels above those, John above the synoptic Gospels. The 1572 SS. James and Peter are shown at the commencement of their Epistles with halos but no other marks of inspiration, not writing but reading: that is, the pictures emphasise the studious process of their human composition, rather than passive and sudden inspiration. Paul's Epistles are illustrated with a representation of the apostle giving a messenger a letter;²⁸ Paul's divine authority is suggested by the two crossed swords beneath his feet, presumably a nod to Scripture being "ſharper then anie two edged ſworde",²⁹ and a rebuff to the crossed keys of the Pope.

²⁷ 'Preface', *BpsB*, sig. *3^r. (also in *Bps72*; I follow the 1568 text, emending "pnblique" to "publique"); *Correspondence of Matthew Parker*, p. 336. Pocock argues that it was illegal for the Bishops' to wall off part of the Bible, and that this illegality probably helped abort the translation ('The Bishops' Bible', *Athenæum*, p. 244); John Lewis' account of canon law (p. 247, n.(b)) denies the illegality.

²⁸ In the 1572 version verisimilitude is pushed further, with Greek letters visible on Paul's MS; thus the difference between the actual text and the text of *Bps72* is hinted at.

²⁹ Hebrews iv, 12 (GB): Hebrews was usually held in Reformation commentaries to be by

The synoptic Evangelists are shown in various poses of passive reception, all essentially modifications of conventional hagiographical representations;³⁰ John is presented, again conventionally, in a special mode of revelational knowingness. He crouches beside the angel of the Apocalypse, so certain and awestruck in his vision that he is integrated into the landscape of the New Jerusalem which the angel shows him. In the 1568 illustration to his Gospel, he and his mascot, the eagle, glance over their shoulders to see the clouds peel back and reveal God the Father staring back into John's eyes and pointing a directing arm at the Johannine pen. In 1572 John sits looking upward directly into the *Τετραγράμματον*, holding his pen aloft in its glow; the eagle boggles, not at God but at John.³¹

One function of the illustrations in the Bishops Bible, therefore, is to mould the reader's evaluation of each portion of Scripture, and introduce into the imagination the Church's judgement on the relative force of, say, Paul's soteriology, Moses' ritual code, and John the Divine's millenarianism. The last is a particularly telling case. S. John's Apocalypse is more profusely illustrated than any other portion of the folio of 1568; in 1572 this series of eighteen woodcuts, which are modifications of Amman's, is shrunk and gathered together on the frontispiece to the Apocalypse; thereafter it is suppressed altogether. Our problem is to decide the object of these embellishments, and why they should have been thought offensive. The answer seems to be that this attempt to modify the impact of this awkward book through pictures is scandalous, in a way in

Paul, although the headnote in *GB* is prepared to contemplate its anonymity.

³⁰ Luke in *Bps72* is a haloed Dürer merchant, writing in a closed room with a window through which we glimpse craggy landscape and a bank of numinous cloud – that is the only hint of divinity, although the Lucan emblem, the winged ox, crouches in a corner. Sometimes (Mark of *BpsB* and *Bps72*, Matthew of *BpsB*) the Evangelists sit beneath the *Τετραγράμματον*, and their halos are iterations of the luminosity that surrounds its oval shroud of rays; sometimes (Luke in *Bps* and Matthew in *Bps72*) they are more overt icons of inspiration: a ray shoots from God to Matthew's forehead, and an angel leans expectantly over the Evangelist's folio, holding his inkpot; Luke sits with a ray from the Paraclete thrusting towards his head as he gazes through a window at a luminiscent crucifix hanging in the clouds.

³¹ Of the images discussed here, all four Evangelists, Paul and the messenger, and John's vision of the New Jerusalem, follow particular iconographical conventions, and so are very similar in de Jode, Amman and the Bishops' Bible. These conventional images are the pictorial equivalent of exegetical tradition, existing on the borders of the writing's authority and Amman's Luke (sig. M4^v); de Jode's Matthew's; de Jode's John (fols. [257], [260]).

which more overt, written control from the margins of the text is not.

Tyndale complained, "The apocalypse . . . are [sic] allegories whose literal sense is hard to find in many places".³² But that is superficial: the problem is that its prophecies are, because of their eschatological nature, unfilled. Radical Protestantism is not happy reading prophecy in a strictly temporal fashion; "The creation is accounted a figment . . . the worldes burning a tale".³³ Its imaginative bent is to compound redemptive times and persons to a single moment; Moses' reception of the Word on Sinai is a type of Paul's reception of it outside Damascus, and the historicity of the Mosaic code is virtually suppressed. Saving faith believes the promise and is saved through its belief, not by the fulfilment of the promise – these overthrow the constraints of sacred history. Redemption is not fulfilled in history with Christ, but determined before history by God; it is the message of the promised redemption that is efficacious, and the words are as efficacious to the Elect – those destined to receive them – before Christ as after. The history recounted in both Testaments is of salvation by the words uttered by God and recorded in the canon, so that such salvation may be iterated: the text is the tale of redemption by the text, and, where that tale is believed, is redemptive.³⁴ But John's Apocalypse cannot be compounded to a moment, because it insists upon its historicity; it represents to Protestantism the opposite of revelation: not the sudden influx of inner light, but the down-pouring of sudden flame from above. The text points beyond the reader's imagination to the predicted extra-textual activity of God.

There are two ways of managing this problem. The first method was adopted by the Geneva Bible from 1587; thereafter, almost all editions were published with Tomson's voluminous long notes on John's Apocalypse in the margin.³⁵ These admit the historicity, but neutralise it by turning it

³² Tyndale, *Doctrinal treatises*, p. 305.

³³ Hull, *Saint Peters prophesie of these last daies*, sig. A2^v.

³⁴ Broughton, *Advertisement*, sig. C4^r; *Adv.*, II, xxv, 14; *NA.*, p. 223; Hull, *Saint Peters prophesie of these last daies*, sig. 3Z2^v; *WC*, I, v (pp. 4-5).

³⁵ The first version of *GB* to incorporate Tomson was in 1587 (STC 2144); subsequently this became habitual, and after the last *GB* was driven out of Stuart England by Laud, Juvenal's even more inflammatory notes were added as well. I have read Tomson in Barker's printing of *The bible* (London, 1637), the last before expulsion, and *The bible* (Amsterdam, 1637),

back into the past; almost every prophecy of horror means a past event, usually an atrocity by the Roman Church. This heavy-handed imposition, which is essentially what Tyndale means by "allegories whose literal sense is hard to find", requires an act of faith – in the identity of the Pope and Antichrist – by the reader to be validated; thus we can obey the Protestant precept of applying every word to ourselves. The imagination can reassert itself as the object of the text.

The other method is to make the Apocalypse theatrical, so that it appeals to the imagination in a rather different way. This is dangerous territory. Protestantism wants to keep the text's power to move, which is a property of its poetic or divine inspiration, and its power to rebuke and threaten, which is a property of its prophetic likeliness, compounded in the reader's response.³⁶ Do the Four Horsemen move us because they are a frightening spectacle, or a disquieting prospect? Clearly, not the latter: the object of threat is not the reader: once the question is asked, the Apocalypse begins to recede not merely from the historical future, but from seriousness. And this is precisely the impact of the cycle of woodcuts in the Bishops' Bible Apocalypse. These woodcuts have a common pattern: a dreaming landscape populated by tiny men in any-time-but-this Oriental Tudor costumes; a city of jumbled towers and domes nestles beneath hills behind; above, a zarefa of clouds peels open and heaven rolls out onto earth – warning and punishing angels, destructive flame and instructive light. Throughout the sequence of woodcuts, the clouds grow larger as the world is swallowed up by celestial events. But in fact it is rather charming than otherwise; especially as each scene is framed by an elaborate, proscenium border of bees, cherubim and dragon-flies.³⁷ Despite their fidelity to the narrative, they cannot fit with the extreme

the first afterwards (STC 2174).

³⁶ See for instance Calvin's account of the Last Things (*Institutes*, III, ix-x, xxv), where the events of Revelation are not so much future history as present encouragement (e.g. the comments on Apocalypse, vii, 17, at III, ix, 6). Harro Höpfl, *The Christian Polity of John Calvin* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 227-37; Wendel, pp. 263-6. Cf. Thomas Drant's commentary on the imaginative effect of Jeremiah's prophecy in *A medicinable Morall, that is, the two Bookes of Horace his Satyres, . . .* [with] *The Wailings of the Prophet Hieremiah* (London, 1566), 'To the Reader', sig. "A2r-"A4r; see below, part III, chapter x, pp. 299-300.

³⁷ The Apocalypse woodcuts are borrowed from Jobst Amman's collection of *Neuwe biblische figuren* (Frankfurt am Mann, 1565), which are themselves a modified, and less alarming, version of Holbein's *Icones*.

imaginative seriousness with which the radical Protestant mind takes any account of revelation from heaven, and are suppressed.

There is a final sense in which the Bishops' Bible compromises Protestant imaginings, and causes the general dismay at Biblical illustrations. This is to do with the currency of capital letters: for later editions of the Geneva Bible strive to look different in kind from all other printed volumes, while Parker's Bible almost strains to connect the vernacular scriptures with the mass of human authority and writing.

There may well be a certain amount of printer's devilry in some of the juxtapositions of image and text in Elizabethan volumes. In the 1572 Bishops' Bible, the Book of Samuel begins with a composite illustration, including a luxurious Bathsheba, bathing beneath the eye of the lascivious King; directly below it, in the initial letter of the text, an equally naked Venus pleads before Jupiter and the council of the gods. Jonah begins with Neptune, not Jehovah, lording it over the waves. The Leda Bible was not egregious in this regard: eight years before, a verse version of the Psalms, 'Dauid's Harpe ful of moſt delectable armony [*sic*], heauenly stringed and ſet in tune by Thomas Becon', which opened with an argument about David's literary superiority to Orpheus and all pagan poetry, had as its initial an enormous A in which Bacchus, singing, leads a reeling procession.³⁸ What matters is that Parker, who supervised the printing of the Leda Bible very closely, did not object.³⁹

The 1572 Bible's initials were taken from an edition of Ovid, and had also recently been used for secular work, including Richard Grafton's *Chronicle* of 1569. Those initials connect it with the European cultural network of contemporary printed writings, secular and divine, Christian and classical, Romanist and Reformed. The Bishops' Bible and Grafton's history of England share the same initial letter, I: it is a sketch of forced and thwarted miscegenation of the divine and the human, like Leda and the Swan at the beginning of Hebrews: Apollo's attempted rape of Daphne, who bursts into leaf at the wrists. Calhill's attack on the use of a visible

³⁸ I use the text (sig. 2D1^r-2H3^v) in the collected *Works*, II vols. (London, 1564); sig. 2D1^r.

³⁹ Strype, *The life and Acts of Matthew Parker*, sig. B3^r. 'Preface', *BpsB*, sig. *3^r. *Correspondence of Matthew Parker*, p. 336.

Cross in devotion begins its Preface to Readers thus:

If neyther experience of elder age, nor present
 authoritie of Scripture were, to put vs in mind of the
 sleightes of Sathan, . . . yet y' [e] subtile conspiracies of
 these yonger dayes, y' [e] practise of the Papiſt . . . may
 serue as a warning piece⁴⁰

This is unremarkable stuff. But the "I" of "If" is the same engraving: the experience of the elder days is not of the wiles of Satan, but of the visitation of pagan gods.⁴¹

A very similar sketch of the rape appears in two nearly contemporary editions of the *Metamorphoses*, one published in Venice (1563) and one in Frankfurt-am-Main (1571). Both those editions illustrate Ovid's Creation myths with woodcuts of the Genesis Creation story. The common Renaissance conviction was that Ovid may "have borrowed his description from *Moses*";⁴² but as we have seen with Broughton and Lively's controversy, the notion of contiguity between secular and Biblical historiography is deadly to the radical Protestant conception of the wholly miraculous and unique text. Grafton begins his chronicle with Genesis before he swells out through the pagan and papist historiography of England –

In the beginning God made Heauen and earth: and
 Moſes the deuine Prophet and Hiſtoriographer (who
 was before the incarnation of Ieſu Chriſt .1569. yeres)
 ſheweth vs howe that GOD deuided hys woorke of
 Creation into .vi. days⁴³

– but he prints an Ovidian initial letter. He thus makes inspired and scholarly, prophetic and historiographical, writing collude in this new text; even introducing a numerical balance about the Incarnation, for this edition is written at the same distance in time from the beginning of

⁴⁰ Calphill, *An awnswere*, sig. B3r.

⁴¹ A woodcut of Daphne's rape virtually identical with Grafton's is used in *Bps72*, at the beginning of Paul's Epistles, and at seven other points in the New Testament.

⁴² Sir Thomas Browne, 'The garden of Cyrus', i, in Martin's ed. of *RM*, p. 129. Hulse lists some examples of this speculation (but not Browne); see also Arnold Williams, pp. 4-7.

⁴³ Richard Grafton, *A Chronicle at large and meere History of the affayres of Englande and Kinges of the ſame, deduced from the Creation of the vvorlde* (London, 1569), p. 1. C.A. Patrides' discussion of historiographical use of Genesis in *The Grand Design of God* (London, 1972); Arnold Williams, pp. 4-7.

"theſe laſt dayes [when God has] ſpokê vnto vs in the ſonne" as Moses' book. Grafton ſecures his authority by forcing inspiration into his vernacular proſe.

Grafton's combination of the rape of Daphne in a picture, the words of Moses in the ſyntax, and the authority of Ovid, is not comfortable for the radical Protestant imagination; but it is very much leſs offensive than the preſence of pictorial and pagan human artifacts within the covers of the Leda Bible. Two generations later, when men of Broughton's ſtamp ſucceeded in thoroughly reforming the Church, Laud was indicted for attempting to revive popiſh idolatry and ſuperſtition; and the indictment alleged that he had not only diſcountenanced the Geneva, but had permitted "a *Bible*, that was Printed with Pictures, and ſold."⁴⁴ Laud's proſecutor complains "there was ſome inconvenient Pictures among them; as the *Aſſumption*, and the *Dove*" – that is, it ſhowed the Son in His glorified fleſh as He aſcended from Earth, and the Spirit, who is without fleſh. Laud is aware that there has been a ſhift in ſensitivities ſince the Geneva and Bishops' translations – "our old *Engliſh* Bibles in the beginning of the *Queen* were full of Pictures; and no fault found"⁴⁵ – and pleads that he was diſcreet about the ſale of this Bible even in his palmy days: which is probably true: for by the 1630s it had been realised how the Protestant image of the Biblical text could be perforated and contained by illustrations. But it was leſs a change of fashion than a deepening in the Protestant imagination's understanding of itſelf; certainly, the argument from continuity did not avail for Archbiſhop Laud.

⁴⁴ Laud, *The history of the troubles and tryal*, pp. 335, 349-50.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 336.

(2) Books of Bible images

Seeing this tapestry, the corp'ral eye
 (The same so fickle, and forever turning),
 Finds of itself unique felicity,
 Engend'ring in thy heart one certain yearning:
 Love for thy God, for all that He effects
 Within the Letter and the sacred Text.
 Giles Corrozet, ' L'auteur', *Images*.⁴⁶

God says *Search the Scriptures*; Satan, God's ape, parodies this with *Look upon Pictures*;⁴⁷ what is to be made of pictures of Biblical narratives, printed in books of Biblical pictures, by Protestants? This is a rather different issue from the question of pictures within an edition of the Bible. There the question was of influence and intrusion: was it acceptable to have a comment on the sacred words that was itself not in words? Here, although the import of the words is being replicated in an entirely dependent fashion – books of Bible pictures only make sense if one has already read the words of the Bible – the *form* of God's revelation, as words, has been removed. Protestant imagination privileges as sacred the form of the Biblical text as much as – and, for practical purposes, instead of – the matter; even though entirely orthodox in themselves, Biblical picture books represent the matter without the form, and however little they claim inspiration for themselves, they trouble the imagination with a replication of the Word that is not of words.

It is empirically striking how different the rates of English and Continental publication of books of Bible images are, in our period and for a century afterward.⁴⁸ The late eighteenth century and the Victorian age

⁴⁶ *En regardant ceste tapisserie*
 L'œil corporel, qui se tourne & varie
 Y peut auoir vn singulier plaisir,
 Lequel engendre au cœur certain desir
 D'aimer son Dieu, qui a faict tant de choses
 Dedans la letre, & sainte Bible enclofes.

Images (the full bibliography is given below), sig. A3^r; tr. mine (linguistic aid from Dominic Sinnett and Brant Thornburg).

⁴⁷ Calphill, *An answer*, p. 50.

⁴⁸ While the great bibliographical catalogues indicate a spate of contemporary icon-books, especially from the Protestant presses of Germany, Holland and Huguenot France, there is a conspicuous vacuity in the catalogues for Tudor and early Stuart England: BLC: XXX, 406-15; XXXI, 88-90, 141, 163, 193, 204-5, 223, 281-2, 336-8; STC 3015-46; Bodleian pre-1920 catalogue;

were the heyday for such things in this country, and by the end of last century there is evidently great and pious demand for such things as *Bible Pictures for our Pets*.⁴⁹ But between the disappearance of the Wycliffites' *Biblia pauperum*, and the printing of *The History of y^e Old & New Testament in Cutts* in 1671,⁵⁰ there was almost nothing. This is all the more noteworthy because Biblical picture books were not merely associated with the Reformation, but were a Renaissance and European phenomenon. They were almost exempt, having so little text, from Europe's vernacular and confessional divisions; they were pan-European also because most were lineally descended from Hans Holbein's famous series of Biblical woodcuts of 1547.⁵¹

Holbein called his engraved, printed, published images *icons*, like the traditional church icons of medieval Christianity. The word *icon* is even more uncomfortable to English Protestant ears than iconographical practice; it suggests convention and authority, an authority that duplicates the Word but is separate from the authority of the Word itself in words, in translation, exegesis and homiletic.⁵² That is bad enough, but in the Continental editions of *Icones*, the collection is prefaced by the verses of a Lutheran named Nicolas Bourbon (a *protégé* of the Lutheran Anne Boleyn), in which Holbein's authority is explicitly lauded as divine inspiration.

Brunet; Bennett; Hurl, p. 225; Prestwich, pp. 10-13.

⁴⁹ London, 1891 (frequently thereafter); *pets*, rather disappointingly, means *children*.

⁵⁰ Woodcuts probably by F.H. van Hove (London, 1671). Its competitor is *Bybel-printen*, a polyglot publication of 1659, which has English amongst the languages of its captions.

⁵¹ These, the *Icones*, were first published complete in 1547, but have a complicated bibliographical history, before and after 1547; there is an 1869 reprint of the first edition by the Holbein Society. Scribner, pp. 229-49; Aston, p. 10; Hurl, pp. 168-72.

Cranmer's *Catechismus* of 1548 used and thus sanctioned Holbein's pictures; the English version, *The images of the old testament, Lately expressed, set forth in Ynglishe and Frenche, wuith a playn and brief exposition*, was printed the next year in Lyons. It is effectively a French book, with anonymous English prose is poised awkwardly in the upper margin, above the woodcuts. The printers are the Frellons, Jean ("*ami . . . de Calvin*") and François, Huguenots of Lyons, the first large town on the road from Geneva; but the family is most celebrated for its Holbein woodcuts. This volume is cosmopolitan: it is prefaced in Latin prose by Frelon *fils* ("Franciscus Frellonius", sig. A1^v); by Bourbon in Latin verse (sig. A2^{r-v}); and in French verses (sig. A3^{r-v}, N3^r) by Gilles Corrozet, a Catholic. STC 3045; Michaud, XV, 139; NPG, XI, 931-2; XVIII, 799; Michaud, IX, 264-5.

⁵² Harding, *An ansvvere*, sig. Q8^v; Jewel, I, 457; Hooper, I, 317; Perkins, 'A warning against The idolatrie of the laſt times', *Works*, I, 660. Collinson, *From Iconoclasm to Iconophobia*, p. 27; Hughes, pp. 123-4.

God alone could shape
th' prodigy beheld! no human hand
could e'er have made it. These sacred icons,
(noble reader) so great an author cast,
that they call forth thy veneration.⁵³

This is offensive to English sensibilities; Bourbon's poem was left untranslated in the English edition of the *Icones*, the *Images*. Hardly less offensive is his suggestion that Holbein, through his inspired workmanship, is *mediating* the totality of the text's inspiration, for to represent the divine text in its totality is to impugn the sacredness of its form:

Whate'er is written in the book arcane
left us by Moses and the many seers
of that the one divinely quickened race,
Hans has depicted it upon his plates,
which Latin verse to thee interpreteth.⁵⁴

Seers is an inadequate translation of Bourbon's word *vates*, that "so heavenly a title" in the *Apologie for Poetrie*; the context implies that Holbein himself takes his place in the line of true prophets as well as at the culmination of the line of true artists.⁵⁵

This is altogether unlike the condition of book-making in England; but the English sense of iconoclastic tact about printed Biblical pictures was not even shared by Continental Calvinists. Indeed, the most striking

⁵³ *Potuit Deus edere mōstrū*
Quod video: humanæ nō potuēre manus.
Icones hæ sacræ tanti sunt (optime lector)
Artificis, dignum quod venerēris opus.

⁵⁴ *Tradidit arcano quæcūque volumine Moses,*
Tōtque alii vates, gens agitata Deo,
His HANSI tabulis repræsentatur: & unā
Interpres rerum sermo Latinus adest.

Nicolas Bourbon, *Images*, sig. A2^v (tr. mine, for this and the preceding; I am indebted to A.J.W. Laird for help with the Latin). E. W. Ives, *Anne Boleyn* (Oxford, 1986); M.M. Philips' 'The Pedagogian of Nicolas Bourbon', pp. 71-82 of T.C. Cave (ed.), *Neo-Latin and the Vernacular in Sixteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, 1983).

⁵⁵ *Apologie*, sig. E2^v. Bourbon makes majestic claims for Holbein's powers; and represents the ancient painters in Elysium bewailing their eclipse (sig. A2^r):

Qui nos declaret Pictores nombre tantūm,
Picturæq'ue omneis antè fuisse rudes.
Holbius est homini nomē, qui nomina nostra
Obscura ex claris, ac propè nulla facit.

("Who might declare us three (whom men accord / Greatness of name), our painting, all works made / Before this age, to have been primitive? / Holbein the man's name, who makes all names / (Once luminous) obscure, and nigh to naught.")

feature of European Bible picture books is their uniformity across the confessional divides. The contrast is between English and European conventions.

For purposes of this study, I shall therefore consider a sample of three English and three European works. The latter are Jean Le Clerc's *Figurs de la sainte bible accompagnees de brief discours* (Paris, 1614); Jobst Amman's *Neuve biblische Figuren* (Frankfurt, 1565), and Gerard de Jode's *Thesaurus Sacrarum* (Antwerp, 1585).⁵⁶ These are, respectively, Catholic, Lutheran and Calvinist productions, and, predictably, have formally sectarian touches (Marian, Petrine, Pauline and Pentecostal emphases); but such touches are infrequent and superficial. More significant are de Jode's assumptions about the essential Biblicism of any comprehension of God, and Le Clerc's assumption that the Biblical text can be ordered into a hierarchy on patristic and ecclesial authority. De Jode's Creator is an emanation of the text: He levitates through Eden like sentient ball lightning, with the *Τετραγράμματον* inscribed at his centre, and a Latin passage of the Bible inscribed about His lambent borders, circumscribing His intersection with the visible world.⁵⁷ Le Clerc, like the pictures in the Bishops' Bible, shows S. John in a pose different in kind from the synoptic Evangelists; the point is made more explicit in the quotation from Jerome's authoritative preface to the text, that "*Iean . . . escriuit le plus hautemêt de la diuinité de nostre Sauueur.*"⁵⁸

Nonetheless, our three works are much the same in purpose, assumption, content, omission and formal convention; Amman and Le Clerc in any case share a fraternal derivation from from the Lutheran *Icones*. Certain common notions about word and image are implied by all three: Amman implies the contiguity of printed text and printed picture by endorsing the legend that Luke was a plastic artist as well;⁵⁹ he is shown writing at his desk, with an icon of God the Father propped behind him on

⁵⁶ I use Amman's second edition of 1565; cf. Becker's *Jobst Amman* (1884; repr. Nieuwhoop, 1961). De Jode edited and printed this curious oblong quarto, and did most of the engravings.

⁵⁷ De Jode, fols. [3-7].

⁵⁸ Le Clerc, p. 163. S. Jerome's foreword had become welded to the Gospels (Rheims, sig. 2D4^r; Vulgate, II, 1515-16).

⁵⁹ On the history of this idea, see Brown, p. 7.

an easel. There is no blenching even at showing God as a patriarch in His conventional arbour of cloud; Amman even takes us into the cloud to give us the Father in close-up, aswirl in His billowing cope. De Jode experiments with a Janus-like three-faced head suspended in a shaft of light that crashes from heaven to earth. The Hebrews' idol beneath Sinai, the golden calf, is shown by Amman, as in the Geneva Bible; but it is explicitly contrasted with the revelation of the Old Covenant to Moses on top of the mountain.⁶⁰ Moses' God is as visible as the Calf – visibility, or, as it were, picturability, is not in itself the mark that distinguishes true worship from vain.

These three books are icons on paper – albeit sanitised icons, in the case of the two Protestant works. They are unsettling to the English reformed imagination not because they can be venerated, but because they picture visible, and therefore external, divine order. God's providence, and even the action of God's inspiration, can be seen from outside: it becomes possible to imagine external authority ordering the reading of divine inspiration. The French verses in the *Images* explicitly compare the agency of Biblical letter and Biblical icon, and draw the Catholic conclusion about form:

When thou shalt take these images to mind –
 memorials of living Godhead – still
 ponder His works of power and miracle,
 and see what bounty may befall mankind.
 Thus shalt thou profit by this exercise,
 thinking to think aright, and better
 keep the Church's view your view; the letter
 killeth, and the Spirit vivifies.⁶¹

English Protestantism does not need this explicitly papist gloss to find the

⁶⁰ Amman, sig. I3^r, I4^v; De Jode, fol. [294]; Amman, sig. C3^v. Cf. Gardiner, Letter to Ridley, Ridley's *Works*, p. 499; Perkins, *Works*, I, 72. Calhill, *An answer*, p. 37. John Daye, Prefatory Epistle to Grindal, in Hutchinson's 'The Image of God, or Layman's Book', *The Works*, p. 3.

⁶¹ *Quand vous aurez contemplé ces Images,
 Du Dieu viuant, ayes en souuenir
 La grand puissance, & merueilleux ouurages,
 Et la bonté qui nous peut subuenir.
 Ce vous sera profit à l'aduenir
 D'estudier telle philosophie:
 Veuillez le sens de l'Eglise tenir,
 La lettre occit, & l'esprit viuifie.*

Corrozet, 'L'auteur', *Images*, sig. N3^r (tr. as above).

idea of the iconographer as *vates* deplorable.

England was not entirely cut off from the Reformation tradition of Biblical engravings. A Lutheran collection of engravings by Hans Beham, *Biblicæ Historiæ, artificionissime depictæ. Biblische Historien, figürlich fürgebildet*,⁶² was reused to illustrate the Coverdale Bible, Amman's pictures were of course employed for the Bishops' Bible, and Holbein's icones were used for Cranmer's *Catechismus*. But there are still only three valid examples of independent Bible picture books printed for the English market: *Storys and prophesies out of the holy scriptur / garnyschede wiith faire ymages*, a version of Beham, translated from the Dutch of Nycolas Coppen and printed in the Netherland in 1536, meant for illegal import into England;⁶³ the English version of Holbein, *The images*; and *The true and lyuely historyke pvtreatvres of the vvoll bible* (1553), with engravings by Bernard Salomon.⁶⁴ Their form is broadly constant: they are octavos with woodcuts of scenes from the Old Testament (sometimes the Apocrypha); the New Testament is carefully avoided (*Images* even omits Holbein's depiction of the Creation).⁶⁵ *Storys* has a few pages of English prose paraphrasing the Biblical narrative; *Images* has verse in French and doggerel English prose paraphrasing the verse; *Pvtreatvres* is an English quatrain sequence translating (badly) the original French verses. They are all, in short, Continentals' attempts to break into what they are aware is a prejudiced

⁶² Frankfurt, 1537.

⁶³ The bibliography of these foreign, plagiaristic, and semi-licit volumes is complex. *Storys* takes Biblical etchings by Hans Sebald Beham, which had first been printed at Frankfurt in 1533; the stories are, according to the title page, "ouerjien and aproued by . . . Nycolas Coppijn / de Montibus", and published in English by Symon Cowke of Antwerp. Coppen, "the Inquesetor of the Chresten Faith", was Chancellor of Louvain University. This volume was illegal in England in the mid-1530s, as no vernacular Scriptures had yet been legally published. STC 3014; Watt, I, 257*t*.

Storys remarks nonchalantly in its Prologue: "Jtem we haue Jomtye Jhortened & châged the text of the Bybel, for be cause he Jhold haue fallen to long" (sig. [A2]^v). No fundamentally Reformed Englishman could have written that.

⁶⁴ *Pvtreatvres* (STC 3043); its 176 woodcuts are attributed to Bernard Salomon ('le petit Bernard'), painter at the court of François I^{er}; they are derived from the *Icones*. Both *Pvtreatvres* and *Qvadrins* (see below) are the work of the de Tournes family of Lyons, another dynasty of Huguenot printers, who later in the century are exiled to Geneva "pour cause de religion" (Michaud). Brunet; NBG, sub "Paradin", XXXIX, 187; STC 19184; Sayle, III, no. 6407; DFG, sub "famille Detournes", XI, 153.

⁶⁵ Hurl, pp. 206-8.

and unresponsive market.

Portreatvres is the English offspring of a French volume of Bible woodcuts, *Quadrins historiques de la Bible*. This was the product of a learned Calvinist printer of Lyons, Jean de Tournes 1^{er},⁶⁶ with quatrains by Claude Paradin beneath pictures derived from Bernard Salomon, and sometimes a motto or epigram: a little like an emblem book. In 1553, de Tournes produced *The true and lyuely historyke portreatvres of the voll bible*, although in fact he was careful to excise the second half of his book, 'Figvrs dv novveav testament';⁶⁷ Paradin's long philosophical preface, which argues that imaging and writing have the relation of body and soul, he was also wise enough to suppress.⁶⁸ These concessions made, it was hoped

to translate the argument of eche figure in Englische meter, being lickwise putte in fixe other languages, to the entent that the countrie . . . shulde in no wise remain bastard allone, his [England's] tonge kipping his place amonge other, readie to bring him licke commodite.⁶⁹

The book is dedicated to Edward Pickering, ambassador in Paris for the aggressively Protestant regime of Protector Northumberland; Pickering was notoriously a Protestant, and the name (which, alas, comes out as "the righth [*sic*] worshippvll and moſt worthie, Maſter Pikeling [*sic*]") should have been helpful in winning the "commodite" of Bible woodcuts into iconoclastic England.⁷⁰ Finally, de Tournes included an apology for Bible pictures, written in English by a man whom he presumably believed to know the language, Pierre de Rendel.⁷¹

⁶⁶ I use the edition printed in Lyons in 1555. De Tournes produced "*épitres dedicatoires très-bien écrites en latin*" (Michaud, *sub* "Detournes", X, 371-2), and was a good enough humanist to write the standard Latin commentary on Alciati (John Manning, 'Continental Emblem Books in Sixteenth-Century England: The Evidence of Sloane MS. 3794', *Emblematica*, I, 1 (Spring, 1986), 1-11; pp. 3, 6).

⁶⁷ *Quadrins*, sig. [2]A3^r - [2]G2^r.

⁶⁸ "*L'une est le corps, & l'autre est l'ame*"; Paradin, 'Epistle to Jeanne de la Rochefoucaud', *Quadrins*, sig. A2^v.

⁶⁹ De Rendel, 'Epistle to . . . Pikeling', *Portreatvres*, sig. A4^r.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, sig. A2^r-5^r. Pickering was already marked as a Protestant by a spell in the Tower for roistering during Lent. After Edward's death, he remained on the Continent to intrigue against the new regime, and was permitted to return only after betraying his collaborators to the Marian government; in the 1570s he stood so high in the Queen's favour that marriage was thought likely by some. *DNB*.

⁷¹ "Peter derendel" (*Portreatvres*, sig. A2^r): an obscure figure I have been unable to trace.

The apologetic material of *Portretures* is probably the best defence in English of Biblical picture books made in the Reformation; it is not a success in English terms. De Tournes' first blunder is in retaining a translation his own brief preface, 'L'imprimevr aux lecteurs'.⁷² In this he commends *Portretures* as a good third best, a "representation" of what he would print if he could, the actual vernacular Biblical text, which "the diuerſitie of the braines of this dai" (either too "gross" or too "[c]rupulouſe, and obſtinate") will not allow.

I did looke to pleaſe the with the other, that bringeth vp, wiche is the representation of the holie Bible⁷³.

No other text "mi profeſſion" produces may compare with the Bible, "the chief of all the others"; nevertheless, de Tournes can offer, not a less worthy text, but pictures of the Old Testament, which "was but the image, and figure of this, wiche we holde": the New Testament.⁷⁴ This no doubt seemed innocuous to de Tournes, but it rubs against the grain of English Protestant sensibility. The Bible cannot be imaged, even within itself, because it is irreducible. All Scripture refers to itself, and is an image of itself. The New Testament cannot be elevated above the Old by being made the reality of which the Old is an image: that is the heresy of the Bishops' Bible's pictures. The substance of "the book arcane" cannot be replicated in another form "upon. . . plates":⁷⁵ the external ordering of imaging in de Tournes' sense is forbidden in Biblical matters.

That leaves us with the specially commissioned, cautious, long defence by De Rendel. He is pleased to have been "nouriſhed and brought vp" in England, "being of the Frenſhe nation", as we would indeed have guessed; and declares Protestant as well as European amity for her (or "his") literature; moreover, he aims at colloquial English "as commonlie in the ſpeake is vſed",⁷⁶ so that the pidgin he in fact achieves is a good symbol for the iconoclastic isolation of English, "bastard allone", from

⁷² 'L'imprimevr aux lecteurs', sig. A5^{r-v}, in *Quadrins*; 'The printer to the reader', sig. A6^{r-v} in *Portretures*.

⁷³ De Tournes, 'The printer to the reader', *Portretures*, sig. A4^v.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Bourbon, 'Images', sig. A2^v.

⁷⁶ De Rendel, 'Epiſtle to . . . Pikeling', *Portretures*, sig. A4^{r-v}.

artistic interpretation of the printed Word.

De Rendel's apology for Biblical woodcuts is, to compare a great thing to a very small one, rather like Sidney's defence of poetry; and, *mutatis mutandis*, the case for the defence follows a similar rhetorical pattern. De Rendel mixes the serious charge – that the *form* of Scripture, as text, is inviolable as well as the matter – with the trivial, and merely statutory, one, the footling, misunderstood moral prohibition (like the objection that fiction lies in Sidney's oration): the Second Commandment forbids such religious images. Both apologies evade the problems of the serious charge by associating it with the lesser, the "too scrupulouſe . . . braines" in De Rendel, the drear goddess Pedantria in Sidney.⁷⁷

This minor charge, that images of the sacred history of the Hebrews are "openlie forbidden be the lawe of God", de Rendel (like Sidney) flatly abrogates: this is not the sort of imaging the Commandment means. Perhaps images are always good for the strong, and dangerous only for the weak, so that the Commandment is always contingent.⁷⁸ The more serious charge is not the crude one of naked idolatry, but that, as we already have the impeccable Biblical text, the perfect form for the communication of God's revelation, no formal variation is legitimate, any more than any modification of the text itself.

[For] we haue at libertie theſelf [same] ſtories, wherin we mai muche better knowe the pure truth reding the wholl, then to ſtaie at a thinge vncertaine and drawen at pleaſure⁷⁹.

This is difficult, because de Rendel cannot deny Protestantism's prejudice for ear over eye: "the hearing aboue all our fiue naturall wittes moſt diuin is allone nedfull to ſaluation"; according to Luther's aphorism, "The ear, alone, is the Christian organ."⁸⁰ De Rendel is thus apologetic; he begs the question, by arguing "If [images] therefore be the meanes of the eie we come to" knowledge of God, they must be providential; he urges, more trenchantly, that these images are not idle representations, but are

⁷⁷ *Apologie*, sig. B1^v.

⁷⁸ De Rendel, 'The Epistle to Pikeling', *Portreatures*, sig. A2^{r-v}.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, sig. A2^r.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, sig. A2^v; Luther, quoted by Roland Barthes, 'Loyola', *Sade Fourier Loyola*, p. 65.

demonstrably providential not only in effect, but in matter – that is, they are redolent with that peculiarly Protestant attribute of God, His aptness for punishment in this world of inattention or nonchalance.⁸¹

Like Sidney's defence, de Rendel's begins to rebut this with the minimalist claim that the art, being a source of innocent pleasure to the beholder, is morally neutral. De Rendel's rebuttal is Protestant enough (as, indeed, is Sidney's) to concern itself with the godly reader's experience of the text – which is foreordained by God – more than the nature of the text itself – which is ordained by God no less, but also no more, stringently. But no purely subjective account of reading, from the reader's point of view, is possible in Protestant literary philosophy. This stress on subjective reception easily broadens into a more fundamental claim. *Portraictures* is sound in doctrine, so looking at it, being beneficial, must be providentially intended by God; especially as the images shown are themselves depictions of God's providence.⁸² Pictures are a concession by grace to human finitude, for although the properly understood text

geueth plain and perfette knowlege of the thinges [*sic*],
neuerbetheleſſe [*sic*] . . . portraictures and represent-
ations therof mai be . . . profitable meanes, wherebe we
mai . . . graue in minde the woll meaning of it⁸³.

Perkins and Calvin argue that pictures are legitimate when entirely dependent on the text: "Historicall", that is, mnemonic; in which case, they are hardly of serious use to adults.⁸⁴ Wither's defence of his emblems, likewise, is that images of Bible stories are only of pedagogical utility for children, or "recreation of minde . . . [for] a studious man".⁸⁵ But, as Sidney maintains that it is *philosophy* that merely

replenisheth the memory with many infallible
grounds of wisdom, which . . . lie dark before the
imaginative . . . power, if they be not . . . figured forth
by the speaking picture of poetry,⁸⁶

⁸¹ De Rendel, 'The Epistle to Pikeling', *Portraictures*, sig. A4r; see below, pp. 299-300.

⁸² *Ibid.*, sig. A3v.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, sig. A2v.

⁸⁴ Perkins, 'A warning', *The works*, II, 670. *Institutes*, I, xi, 12-13: Calvin thinks pictures of Bible history are permissible in churches, but pointless.

⁸⁵ Wither, *A preparation*, XIII, i, sig. F2v.

⁸⁶ *Apologie*, p. 86.

so de Rendel argues that it is reading that needs to be illuminated by pictures: the image is a more potent medium than the word, so that only with "often reading, and with muche werines of witte" can reading keep up.⁸⁷ Pictures print onto the mind better than print does.

The use of printing as a metaphor is important for Protestantism because print is the medium of the Word. Protestant critical and doctrinal thought proceeds from the inimitable subjective experience of providential, inspired reading, not from a comparative consideration of its effect. Therefore the orthodox action of the Protestant imagination is to make print the opposite of pictures. Calhill sets up outward gesture *versus* the inner faith (or metaphor and literal speech) as contraries; the latter alone "can engraft [that is, be printed] in the mind of man."⁸⁸ Print can print onto the mind, and pictures, of their nature, cannot. Gardiner, putting the Catholic case for images, argues the opposite, that print is a species of image, and Montaigne uses printing as an image for God's revelation of himself to man through faith in the established dogmatic order.⁸⁹ Cranmer is only moderately Protestant in his imagery when he equates the agency of image and word in engraving or printing divine truth onto the mind.⁹⁰ De Rendel, similarly, speaks of

the figure and the letter coming, and agreing so well,
that thei seme properlie to be none other, but one self
thing⁹¹.

Printing God's truth in the mind is no different in kind from engraving the images of His revelation in the mind; and as a matter of observation, pictures, like poetry in Sidney's *Apologie*, are more affective way than the simple precept.

De Rendel makes a specific claim for subjective temporality: seeing makes the events of sacred history immediate, and reading does not:

the storie telleth thinges all readie passed, the wiche the
figure as calling backe to the present, sheweth plainlie

⁸⁷ De Rendel, 'The Epistle to Pikeling', *Portreatvres*, sig. A2^v -A3^r.

⁸⁸ Calhill, *An avnswere*, sig. 18^v.

⁸⁹ Gardiner's letter to Ridley, *The works of Nicholas Ridley*, p. 500; Montaigne, 'Apologie', p. 209. See above, p. 51.

⁹⁰ Cranmer, *Catechismus*, sig. ?4^r.

⁹¹ De Rendel, 'The Epistle to Pikeling', *Portreatvres*, sig. A3^r.

all euidence to the eie.⁹²

We cannot doubt what we see with our eyes; the euidence of images are "manifest arguments of the wholl ſubiect",⁹³ and rebut all poſſible imaginative doubt. But the ſubjectivity of the reader in Protestant thought is modified by providence, which wills him into immediacy in the inſtant of perception. Differences of time, place, language and even identity are collapsed; the reader identifies himſelf with the conſciouſneſſe of the Biblical hero or author, and aſſumes his historical perſpective; indeed, the "internal witneſſe" of theſe fusions is amongſt the moſt important ſymptoms of inſpirational, ſelf-juſtifying, reading. "You will never be able to enter into Paul's meaning, unleſſe you imbibe Paul's ſpirit."⁹⁴

English Protestantism, as a function of its Biblicism and not as a matter of ſubjective experience, privileges reading, which is finally not underſtood as a form of ſeeing, but of hearing, above all other ſenſory experience. De Rendel admits the neceſſity of a perception of diuinity unmediated by Holy Writ:

be the hearing nede we muſt receaue the faith: iet neuertheleſſe in her degree the ſyght is greatlie required to knowe Goddes glorie . . . in his workes⁹⁵.

In English Protestantism this is not ſo: the ſtandard experience of inſpired reading replaces even the ſubjectivism required for natural theology.

De Tournes is confident that pictures can interpret the Biblical text, and in ſaying ſo compromises the text as God's incorrigible, impeccable and ſufficient utterance. De Rendel argues that their effects are much the ſame as the text's, except that they are more affecting, and (ſince God preordains the affections of the godly) muſt be providential. This account compromises the unique affective efficacy claimed, in this country, for the Bible. I do not want to ſuggeſt that ſuch bibliolatry is merely an inſular prejudice which de Rendel ſomehow miſſed when he was being "nouriſhed and brought vp" in England; for his admission of images is in

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ Hughes, p. 42; Whitaker, *Disputation*, p. 450.

⁹⁵ De Rendel, 'The Epistle to Pikeling', *Portretiores*, sig. A3^v-A4^r.

a sense a conscious compromise, or surrender, of the aspiration of the Protestant imagination to be wholly undeceived from idols. He is pessimistic in a way that the English Protestant imagination is not, or at least not always and not yet. De Rendel, knowing idolatry to be wrong, and even believing the inward imagining of Biblical narrative to be as interdicted by God as any other sort of idolatry – for is not the making of images forbidden "being not onlie exterior, but also interior"?⁹⁶ – admits that human thought cannot do without images.

For who colde let ani man, that shulde heare tell or red
some storie neuer so godlie or shulde tell or rede it
himselſe, to imagine some idolatrie in his minde?⁹⁷

De Tournes' last line of defence is that at least by looking on these pictures the reader is not filling the "chambers of thi minde . . . with ethnicke stories"; for there is an incorrigible lust in the imagination, as in the *libido*, as a penalty of the Fall.⁹⁸ Iconoclasm of this temper is moderate and inconsistent in practice because of its prognosis; images usurp the place of the word even in the process of godly reading. Bacon denounces what he calls idols of the mind, but thinks that such internal iconoclasm implies setting up a new Baal on the cleared plinth of the old. Induction may repair the fault in terrestrial knowledge, but only in the new *organum* of celestial knowledge can the word aspire to triumph over, and be free of, the image.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, sig. A4^r.

⁹⁷ De Tournes, 'The printer to the reader', *Portretures*, sig. A4^v.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* Margaret W. Ferguson, *Trials of Desire: Renaissance Defenses of Poetry* (New Haven, 1983). Lily B. Campbell, *Divine poetry and drama in sixteenth-century England* (Cambridge, 1959), pp. 5-11, and *passim*.

⁹⁹ *Adv.* II, xiv, 5-11; *Of the advancement and proficiencie of learning*, Sp. V, 4; *Novum Organum*, Sp. I, 38-68.

(3) Emblem books

Before the knowledge of letters, GOD was knowne by *Hieroglyphicks*; And, indeed, what are the heavens, the earth, nay every Creature, but *Hieroglyphicks* and *Emblemes* of his Glory?

Francis Quarles, 'To The Reader', *Emblemes* (London, 1635), sig. A3^r.

English emblem books, unlike the other classes of material in this chapter, have received a good deal of modern critical attention (by no means all of it very thoughtful, or attentive to context, or otherwise good).¹⁰⁰ I have only a specific point to add to this bulk of research: which is that the emblem book *genre* is, in some significant ways, comparable to the *genre* discussed in the previous section, Bible picture books; and that this parallel is particularly clear in emblem-makers' apologetics to the English iconoclastic sensibility. Emblem-makers know that, by producing books to inculcate moral principles with images and not words, they are straying near the frontier of the inspired textuality. Morality is a sort of spirituality, and spiritual reality is invisible at all points except in the pages of scripture; indeed, the spiritual and the invisible are almost synonymous in the dualist vocabulary of the English Protestant imagination.¹⁰¹ Thus, it can discomfit the English Protestant imagination to see even abstract divine characteristics in pictures, rather than print.

Emblem books do not show the same loyalty to the verbal form as Protestant sermons or commentaries, because sermons and commentaries are formally as well as materially dependent on Scripture. But emblem books, as revelations of moral truth, still have to function in the shadow of the Bible, "the chief of all the other [texts]",¹⁰² the one valid source of

¹⁰⁰ P. M. Daly's survey article is perceptive ('Directions in Elizabethan Research – Past and Present', *Emblematica*, I, 1 (Spring, 1986), 159-74), especially his criticism of the common unphilosophic muddle of emblem studies (pp. 160-1).

¹⁰¹ WC, III, i, p. 7 (invisibility is God's first characteristic); *Institutes*, I, i-vi; xi, 12-13 (pictures are material, and therefore cannot portray the spiritual). Calhull, *An answer*, pp. 110-12; Fotherby, *Fovre sermons*, sig. G1^r; Fulke, *Stapleton's fortress overthrown*, pp. 139-40, 148; Jewel, *Works*, II, 647-50; Milton, *Of Reformation in England*, pp. 8-9; *Correspondence of Matthew Parker*, pp. 85-95; Perkins, 'A golden chaine', *Works*, I, 36; Ridley, *Works*, p. 88; Wither, *A preparation*, XII, viii, sig. K2^v. Reventlow, pp. 60-1, 105-112, 119-25, 227.

¹⁰² Dé Tournes, 'The printer to the reader', *Portraictures*, sig. A6^v.

moral authority. In replicating the Bible's moral precepts, using an unbiblical form, emblem books raise much the same problems as books that replicate the narrative of the Bible in pictorial form. This generic parallel is apparent from the two theoretical essays in defence of the two *genres* by our acquaintance, Claude Paradin.

Modern literary studies tend to be so obsessed with emblem form and readership that they ignore context and scope, and so overlook that odd, negative, comparative, empirical fact, "the *failure* of the emblem in England".¹⁰³ Emblem books are a more minor and peripheral form in England than elsewhere the rest of Western Christendom. This was, as we have seen, true also of Bible picture books, and it would seem that it was for the same reason: the inconclastic distaste of the English imagination for images of the invisible.¹⁰⁴

Emblem books and Bible picture books – and indeed, as I shall argue in Part III, theological and philosophical poetry – can be understood in two ways (or rather, there are therefore two ways of defending them against the complaints of Protestantism, as Protestant literary thought is almost always apologetic, and concerned with explaining why we should hold Biblical pictures or literature in regard when we already have the Book itself). I shall call these two approaches, without prejudice, the weak and strong theories. The weak theory stresses the response of the viewer or reader to the picture or poem; the picture or poem is a decorative

¹⁰³ Ernest B. Gilman, *The Curious Perspective: Literary and Pictorial Wit in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven, 1978), pp. 51-2, italics mine; cf. G. Pellegrini's verdict (p. 183), 'Symbols and significances', *ShS*, XVII (1964), 180-7. Huston Diehl's *An index of icons in English emblem books 1500-1700* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1986) includes a bibliography of the complete English *corpus*: there are only 25 items, all but three imported and adapted Continental works (pp. xi, 51-2; STC); despite what Harvey tells us about how fashionable they were at Cambridge (p. 3). Cf. Sir Roy Strong's foreword to Karl Josef Höltgen's *Aspects of the Emblem: Studies in the English Emblem tradition and the European Context* (Cassel, 1986), pp. 9-11; the review of this book (*Emblematica*, I, 2 (Fall, 1986), 375-9) by Michael Bath, p. 378; Höltgen himself, pp. 31-3.

¹⁰⁴ Whether Protestant emblems were importantly different from Catholic emblems is a moot point (Lewalski, pp. 53-6, *vs.* Höltgen, pp. 31-2, and Daniel Russell, 'Emblems and Hieroglyphs: Some Observations on the Beginnings and the Nature of Emblematic Forms', *Emblematica*, I, 2 (Fall, 1986), 227-44, especially pp. 227-9). But there was certainly a peculiarly Protestant unease about them (Bath, p. 378) – or rather a Reformed unease, as Lutheranism, as often in this study, does not share it: see Klaus Conerman, 'Luther's Rose: Observations on a Device in the Context of Reformation art and theology', *Emblematica*, II, 1 (Spring, 1987), 1-60; cf. the Catholic practice as described in Gilman, 'Word and Image in Quarles' *Emblemes*', *Critical Inquiry*, VI, 5 (Spring, 1980), pp. 385-410.

periphery dependent on the text. The emblem has no particular effect on the reason or the will, and works either as a code, a hieroglyphic, or as an imaginative prop to the memory. Its value is subjective. It does not add to or modify the moral or spiritual precept that it illustrates. Bacon's definition is:

Embleme reduceth conceits intellectual to Images sensible, which strike the memory more;

but he then adds – "out of which axioms may be drawn much better practise than that in use",¹⁰⁵ which hints at the strong theory: that there is higher and more esoteric meaning behind the mere precept. A picture or poem is not wholly dependent on the flat, public, literal meaning of the text. The precept is not tied to the form of words; forms other than Biblical or Biblically-derived texts need not themselves be dependent on the text. But this second or strong view can barely be contained within the English Protestant imagination, since it seems to impugn the formal perfection of the Scriptural text. If God's self-expression is fixed in a textual form, any variation on that form cannot be more than decorative portraiture.¹⁰⁶

'Portraitures', which is what Paradin's Biblical poem-and-picture book, the *Quadrins*, was called for the English edition, is a word more or less synonymous with 'emblems' in Renaissance English.¹⁰⁷ But portraiture as a term for emblem can be understood in a strong as well as a weak sense; especially if we accept that emblems in the Reformation were of interest not so much formally as functionally: the picture, epigram and motto were a way of approaching and portraying situations in the inner life which were otherwise invisible. One English version of a Continental emblem book, published in a translation by 'P.S.' in 1591, was called *The portraitures or Emblemes of Gabriel Simeon, a Florentine*; and this emblem book was issued bound with *The heroicall devises*,¹⁰⁸ one of the

¹⁰⁵ *Adv.* II, xv, 3. *OED*, sub 'Emblem'. *Of the advancement and proficiencie of learning*, Sp. V, 5; *Novum Organum*, Sp. I, 127. Frances Yates, *Art of Memory*, VI, 5.

¹⁰⁶ WC, i, 5 (pp. 4-5).

¹⁰⁷ See Mario Praz's bibliography of Paradin, *Studies in seventeenth-century imagery*, second ed. (Rome, 1964), pp. 444-5.

¹⁰⁸ Published as one volume (London, 1591); Gabriello Symeoni's work is on sig. X1^r - 2A2^v; the French original of the *Devises* was printed in Lyons in 1557 (Pellegrini, pp. 182 and 186-7). Paradin's emblem book is best remembered because it "was certainly consulted by the author of Pericles prince of Tyre" (Sir Francis Douce's MS. note in the Bodleian's copy). This is a discovery made independently by emblem book researchers and Shakespearians since

most important emblem books in English, a translation of the *Devises heroïques* by Paradin himself. P.S.'s translation of Paradin's preface to this double volume, the epistle 'To . . . Theodet of Marze, Lord of Bellaroché',¹⁰⁹ is one of the best 'strong argument' apologies in early modern English for emblems or "pvrtratvres" in particular, and the imaging of invisible abstractions in general.

The Epistle to Bellaroché defends emblems not subjectively, by urging their affective potency on the godly reader, but by arguing that they have an authoritative descent themselves from extra-Biblical moral revelation. The imaginative vocabulary of morality has evolved like language. Virtue was first conceived in primal minds, and pictured forth individually in their imaginations, according to the individual's whim ("as it stood vvith ech mans fanj[e] & good liking"); it became the public language of heraldry, in the chivalrous age when each chevalier bore his ethical ideal visibly on his shield; "vntill this present age", when it "appeareth manifestly in . . . stately courts" that such devices are now present as "Hieroglyphicall Letters".¹¹⁰ By hieroglyphics Paradin says he means the political display of heraldry and mottos and the trappings of chivalry in non-chivalric contexts, through the paraphernalia of the modern, bureaucratic state. But this "present age" of the state is also the age of print, and Paradin claims to have invented the novel (but charmingly medieval and nostalgic) idea of publishing hieroglyphics, with explicatory "briefe notes", to "diuerse men", that is, the book-buying, and not horse-riding, classes.¹¹¹ Paradin's

1870. M. J. Dunbar's "'To the Judgement of Your Eye": Iconography and the Theatrical Art of *Pericles*', pp. 86-97 of *Shakespeare, Man of the Theater*, ed. Kenneth Muir et al. (Newark, 1983) surveys modern research on Paradin and *Pericles*.

¹⁰⁹ Paradin, *The heroicall devises*, sig. ¶5^r - ¶6^v; the French text, 'A . . . Theode . . . Baron & Signeur . . . de Belle-roche', sig. A2^r-A3^v of the *Devises heroïques*.

¹¹⁰ Paradin, *The heroicall devises*, sig. ¶5^r - ¶6^v; "lettres Hieroglifiques", *Devises heroïques*, sig. A3^r. Cf. the heraldic procession in Shakespeare's *Pericles*, II, ii; and Victor Skretkovicz, 'Devices and Their Narrative Function in Sidney's *Arcadia*', *Emblematica*, I, 2 (Fall, 1986), 267-92. Paradin was a celebrated heraldist; his masterpiece as a printer was an extravagant, nostalgic armorial, *Alliances genealogiques des rois et princes de Gavle* (Lyons, 1561).

¹¹¹ Paradin, *The heroicall devises*, sig. ¶6^v. For other French theoretical defences of emblems, see Gilman, p. 387: Plutarch's distinction between the body and soul in pictures is reproduced almost word for word in a French defence of emblems, translated by Blount in 1646 (Daniel Russell, 'Emblems and Hieroglyphs: Some Observations on the Beginnings and the Nature of Emblematic Forms', *Emblematica*, I, 2 (Fall, 1986), 227-44; pp. 229-30).

Platonic genealogy thus justifies emblems by ascent (appealing to an ancient inspiration) as well as downwards (by asserting the claim to further popular dissemination of esoteric truth).

The strong argument has little value for an English Protestant audience when it appeals to tradition, or at least to romanticised medieval tradition; for English iconoclasm is grounded precisely on the premise that the Latin Church's reliance on images was a diabolical deceit. Such medieval "divine poesies . . . when the mist began to clear up, . . . grew to be esteemed but . . . badges of Antichrist".¹¹² But even the subtler argument from Plato, that moral verities are in some sense visible to the inner eye of the refined soul, and therefore lend themselves to imaging, is finally incompatible with the English Protestant imagination. A milder and very discreet form of the strong argument is made by Sidney in his *Apologie for Poetrie*, but it is eventually renounced on Sidney's behalf by Greville. The "shadows" of virtue, "how daintily soever limned", cannot be shown forth on earth by any human artifice without alluring men to evil.¹¹³ A Protestant Platonic theory of art is in the end impossibly full of contradiction. There can be no authoritative, because intrinsic, pattern of divine truth in the imagination. Only the words of Scripture are permissible; moral and divine order are to be heard of, but not to be pictured; and therefore Scripture keeps its monopoly, because it is never redundant. A Protestant knows himself to be in Plato's cave, but believes that he neither should take the shadows seriously, nor try to leave; but only listen to the Word that comes from beyond the cave. The fictional images offered by Biblical woodcuts, emblem books, the theatre, or poetry, are dangerous embellishments on the words, not least because they purport to be inspired from beyond the cave.¹¹⁴

In any case, an English reader of *The heroicall devises* could hardly guess the fervid Platonism of the original epistle, because P.S. suppresses it in translation. Paradin writes that noble minds are possessed

through all time, in their most sublime spirits, with

¹¹² *Adv.*, I, iv, 9.

¹¹³ Greville, *Life of Sidney*, p. 11. But cf. Russell, pp. 229-30.

¹¹⁴ Plato's cave is a "feigned supposition" because it suggests that one can leave, and attain direct, authoritative sight of divine truth, other than through the Bible: *Adv.*, II, xiv, 10.

the Shadows or Ideas of Vertue, which are shown forth
as in Painting¹¹⁵

P.S. recasts this as a truism about received wisdom:

The truth hereof hath beene at all times vvell
knowwne to our auncestors, and amongst them
especially to great kings, princes and potentates,
vvhich carrying at all seasons in their haughtie and
heroicall minds, an expresse patterne & image of
vertue, haue hereby continued a perpetuall memorie
of the same.¹¹⁶

Memorie here is the pivotal word: Paradin means Platonic remembering, for emblems remind us of truths from beyond the life of the five senses; but P.S.'s translation implies that emblems' mnemonic function reaches back no further than the explicit precepts of Christian morality. P.S. is thus sanitising Paradin for the English market, by turning the strong view of creations on the edge of scripture into the weak.

George Wither, writing his introductory defence of emblems for his *English Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and moderne* (1635),¹¹⁷ sticks strictly to the weak argument. He urges the mnemonic and affective power of emblems – "to stirre up the *Affections*, winne *Attention*, or help the *Memory*"¹¹⁸ – without a hint of Platonic esotericism. Emblems stir up what the mind has already learned from the Bible, which for the Protestant imagination is the bedrock. Their power is only psychological. Similarly, he means that emblems are "hieroglyphs" not in Paradin's sense, that they are an ordered language of the intuitions men find in

¹¹⁵ ". . . de tout tems, en leurs sublimes esprits, les Ombres ou Idees de Vertu: ont tant fait s'aydans de cette Peinture": Paradin, Epistle to Belle-roche, *Devises heroïques*, sig. A2^r. Paradin's distinction between the golden souled and *le vulgaire* (sig. A3^r) is like Sidney's notion in the *Apologie*, and to the same extent at odds with the Calvinist doctrine of God's arbitrary, exterior choice of the Elect, who are capable of seeing divine truth.

¹¹⁶ Paradin, 'Epistle to Bellaroché, *The heroïcall devises*, sig. ¶5^v. Paradin is exploiting another image of captivity, the 'Frankish myth' of a primal, chivalric, constitutional France, latterly corrupted: best expressed in the comte de Boulainvillers's notorious book, later tr. for the Whigs by Charles Forman, *An Historical Account Shewing . . . the perfidious Artifices. . . of the French Kings. . . for gradually reducing the Nation from a plenitude of Liberty . . . to its present State of Servitude*, II vols. (London, 1739).

¹¹⁷ I use the Renaissance English Text Society reprint of Wither's *A Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and moderne* (1635), introductory essay by Rosemary Freeman (Columbia, 1975).

¹¹⁸ Cf. de Tournes, 'L'imprimevr aux lectevrs', *Quadrins*, sig. A2^v: "Receuez le donq, Lecteurs, pour recreacion à l'œil, ayde à la memoire, & contentement à l'esprit"; Perkins (*The works*, II, 670) and Calvin (*Institutes*, IV, vii, 39-41) on the legitimacy of strictly mnemonic works on the edge of Scripture.

their souls, but that they are a deliberately coded restatement of things found explicitly in Scripture.¹¹⁹

Francis Quarles, on the other hand, writes in his own defence of his *Emblemes* that the world is itself a hieroglyph or emblem, and even, in the past, before writing, God's only emblem.¹²⁰ 'Hieroglyph' in this case suggests the world has a revelatory value of its own, and even that Christian revelation is only the final stage in the evolution of divine truth. Its form as a printed, published text is thus a contingent and evolutionary matter: one hieroglyph, *primus inter pares*. Likewise George Chapman, rehearsing Sidney's defence of poetry, describes a genealogy of truth, evolving from her primitive disguise "under *Hieroglyphickes* or Fabels", till in this illuminated age she is veiled only in allegorical Poesie. Chapman's defence rests on the idea that poetry is a developed and more sophisticated form of hieroglyphick, and can therefore convey truth even to Christian and Reformed men, who do not have to hunt for truth "after Jundry tymes & in diuers manners".¹²¹ But Wither's defence is more modest: the learned – that is, those who are informed by writing, by print – cannot hope to learn anything from his *Collection of Emblemes*, only to have their memory reawakened to what they have already seen in printed prose.¹²² Printed prose is the pure and elemental form of truth, which God has sanctioned by adopting it for His own self-expression, and there cannot therefore be any genealogy of alternative, authoritative forms, such as the moral heraldry of emblems (and, by implication, literature). The vulgar are tempted to moral medicine with the sugar coating of "childish delight", but the emblematic expressions have no particular authority in themselves.¹²³ Their power is psychological, subjective, exterior, and dependent on the text.

¹¹⁹ Wither, Preface, *A Collection of Emblemes*, sig. A3^r.

¹²⁰ Quarles, 'To The Reader', *Emblemes*, sig. A3^r.

¹²¹ *A free and offenceless Iustification, of a lately published and most maliciously misinterpreted Poeme: Entitled Andromeda liberata* (London, 1614), sig. *2^r; p. 327 in the well-annotated text in P.B. Bartlett's *The Poems of George Chapman* (New York, 1941), pp. 325-35 (text), 463-4 (commentary). Russell, pp. 227-8; Conerman, pp. 8-60.

¹²² Wither, Preface, *A Collection of Emblemes*, XII, viii, sig. K2^v.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, sig. A3^r; *A preparation*, X, ii.

(4) The resistance of the Protestant imagination to images

[The Puritan mind] imagining itself to seek the execution of God's will, laboureth forthwith to remove both things and persons which in any way may hinder it from taking place.
Hooker, *Lawes*, Preface, viii, 5.

The characteristic action of the Protestant imagination is to separate, by an act of will, the outward sensory (or 'visual') experience from the separate, parallel, spiritual reality imagined (or 'heard') within it. All true (that is, *saving*) religious faith and action is spiritual; all spirituals are invisible. Saving faith and action are thus insensible, but if we do have to speak about them experientially, hearing, which is associated with the almost-immaterial air, is the most tolerable metaphor.

All visibles, including the sacraments, are sugar coating: specific indulgences by God of our weak imaginations. Sacraments are material things actually prescribed by God, but (although the Elizabethan Church tends to a virtualist rather than a strictly symbolic view of the sacraments) they are still understood as seals or emblems of an inner and immaterial reality. Even eating in the Lord's Supper is imagined dualistically: Christ is "spiritually eaten and digested with the spiritual part of us"; the Elect man "eateth with the mouth of his soul", and "digesteth it with the stomach of his heart" or "the stomach of his soul". We walk to Christ with the feet of the mind, and grope him with our spiritual hands, eyes and ears.¹²⁴

[So,] as the Word of God preached putteth Christ into our ears, so likewise these elements of water, bread and wine, joined to God's Word, do after a sacramental manner put Christ into our eyes, mouths, hands, and all our senses.¹²⁵

A second, spiritual body is imagined, spiritual because apparent only to the individual soul and thus inaccessible to the public realm; and this second body is used to describe all spiritually efficacious events.

Not even the sacraments, therefore, modify the soul's imaginative distaste for the morphous and visible. Cranmer's account of the sacraments is thus a version of what I have called the weak argument:

¹²⁴ Cranmer, *Works*, I, 207-10; Latimer, *Works*, I, 458-9; Hughes, p. 199-200, 209-10.

¹²⁵ Cranmer, I, 41-2.

Christ, knowing us to be but babes and weaklings
in faith, hath ordained sensible signs and tokens
whereby to allure . . . us¹²⁶;

and in almost the same breath, he calls the sacraments *adminicles*, that is, patterned decorations around the edge of medals, coins or paintings. Salvation is the coin, the Lord's Supper is the border embellishment. The sacraments are replicative emblems of the gospel. Moreover, *Adminicles* is a variation on the printing image I discussed in section two, with a fiscal, and therefore monarchical, hint. Coins that do not come from the single royal source are fraudulent; sacraments frame a single, inimitable, legitimate coin of truth.¹²⁷

This is the ultimate cause of unease about emblem books, which also decorate the edge of Scripture,¹²⁸ and are in a somewhat awkward imaginative position; for Protestant imagination is not happy with symbols resting inside each other. The sort of referential relationship Protestant imagination wants is transparent, metonymic and binary: the sacraments stand for the inward redemptive action of Christ, the word stands for the thing, the visible Church stands for the invisible band of the Elect. Protestantism finds it difficult to tolerate images, emblems, and sometimes even the linguistic images of poetry, because it denies Catholicism's higher, sacramental, level of identification between sign and referent, and the more elaborate patterns of symbols-of-symbols that result. The Protestant imaging of art jostles at the same level of interpretation with all other portrayals of the invisible.

Paradin, in the preface to the French edition, calls the Biblical poetry and woodcuts of *Quadrins* *adminicules* to the Biblical text. It will be remembered that de Tournes cancelled this preface, the epistle to 'Dame Jeanne de la Rochefoucaud, Abbesse de Notre-dame de Xaintes',¹²⁹ from the English edition, *Pvtreatures*, and had de Rendel write his apology

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ Cranmer, I, 37. *OED*. Donne's image of the *world* as God's medal (*Sermons*, IX, 317) or His book (IX, 373) does not sit well with the radically Protestant notion that there can be no spiritual valuables without the revelation of scripture (*Institutes*, I, i-v).

¹²⁸ Wither, Preface, *A Collection of Emblemes*, XII, viii, sig. K2^v.

¹²⁹ Paradin, 'Epistle to Jeanne de la Rochefoucaud', *Quadrins*, sig. A2^r-A3^v.

instead. I hope it is clear by now that this image of pictures printing on the brain better than print, is itself troubling to English Protestantism:

We have chosen certain adminicules of the painter's art to accompany the poetic QUATRAINS taken from the Bible, to engrave upon the table of the affections the love of sacred TALES; to this end, that each be induced to the love of that SOLE AND UNIQUE NECESSITY, which is the holy word of God, hoping that the ingenious artifice of the skilled hand of the painter, repaireth the imperfections of the said QUATRAINS¹³⁰.

But what makes this discussion unsuitable for an English readership is almost certainly the attempt at a general account of the relationship of images and words as modes of communication.

They who have in all things the finest judgement (most Reverend Lady), have writ how Painting & Poetry are in such contraction and contiguity of common affinity, that they declare Painting is mute Poetry; & further, that Poetry is but speaking painting. The one is the body, & the other is the soul. For in sooth, the one & the other have nigh the same effect & nature.¹³¹

It is a classical commonplace that poetry is like painting;¹³² however, by "those who in all things have the finest judgement" Paradin seems to mean in particular Plutarch's account of poetry reading in the *Moralia*. Here, Plutarch tries to explain rhetorically how poetry seems to the reader like painting:

¹³⁰ nous auons choisi certains adminicules de Peinture, acompaignez de QVADRINS Poëtiques, tirez de la Bible, pour grauer en la table des afeccions, l'amour des sacrees HISTOIRES, à celle fin que un chacû fust induit à l'amour de ce SEVL ET VINIQVE NECESSAIRE, qui est la sainte parole de Dieu. Esperant que l'ingenieus artifice de la docte main du Peintre, supliera à l'imperfeccion des'diz QVADRINS

Ibid., sig. A3^v (tr. mine; my thanks to Brant Thornburg for help with the French). Paradin's "parole de Dieu" has the same double connotation as *Word of God* (cf. Calvin's tr., *La Bible, Qui est toute la sainte Escritroe* (Geneva, 1551), John, i, 1-4), and *grauer*, to engrave, has the same ambiguous relationship with *to print*, as in English.

¹³¹ Paradin, 'Epistle to Jeanne de la Rochefoucaud', *Quadrins*, sig. A2^v (tr. as above):
ont escrit la Peinture & la Poësie auoir telle contraccion & contrectacion d'afinitié ensemble, qu'ils disent la Peinture estre muette Poësie: & aussi la Poësie estre Peinture parlâte. L'une est le corps, & l'autre est l'ame. Et à la veritié l'une & l'autre ont quasi un mesme efet & propriété.

¹³² Horace gives the most popular form of the saw, *ut pictura, poesis* (*De Ars Poetica*, l.361; I use C.O Brink's edition (Cambridge, 1971); commentary, pp. 368-71). For the Renaissance use of this idea, I am indebted to R. W. Lee's article 'Ut pictura, poesis: The humanistic theory of painting', *The Art Bulletin*, XIV, 197-269.

the actions which painters portray as taking place at the moment literature narrates and records after they have taken place¹³³

This is the quality of sensory replication that the rhetoricians call *energia* (ἐνὰργεια); the poet makes the past appear as immediate to the imagination, or even more immediate, as images.¹³⁴ Writing characterised by *energia* has the effect on the imagination of an actual sensory experience of the thing described.

Energia is a quality that may be said to be in the text; but the apprehension of *energia* is an action of the reader's. Plutarch's example is a colourful passage in Thucydides; but his critical account is a description of his own excitement over it. Further, the paradox of *energia* for Protestantism, which grounds its authority on "the Holy Spirit in the Scriptures"¹³⁵ – that is, the solitary experience of the godly in their inspired reading, predestined to congruent explication – is that the reader becomes the subject.¹³⁶ The vividness of Scripture is meant not to make the description of God's dealing with men in the past so real that they no longer seem in the past, but to make them so immediate that they no longer seem disjunct from the reading ego.¹³⁷

The dualism fundamental to the Protestant imagination, which differentiates strictly between the material and immaterial, human and divine, literal and preternatural, is ultimately a division between the individual consciousness and the outside. Protestant reading of the Bible, because it is the ground of belief, involves identification of the subject of the text with the reader's ego: *energia* makes the text immediate. And *energia* is always ascribed to the text. Even the most banal or public-minded portions, such as the ritual laws, are meant to be heard by the reader as God speaking, and as God saying things intended to be applied by

¹³³ Plutarch, *Moralia*, cccxvi-cccxlvi, 3 (IV, 500-1 in the XIV vol. Loeb edition of F. C. Babbitt, et al. (London, 1927-69)); also, "poetry is articulate painting, and painting is inarticulate poetry", xvii f, 3 (Loeb I, 92-3); lviii b, 15 (Loeb I, 310-1); cf. Aston, p. 13.

¹³⁴ Plutarch, *Moralia*, cccxvi, f, 3 - cccxlvi, e, 3 (Loeb IV, 500-5). Plutarch attributes the saying to Simonides. On *energia* (and *enargia*), Lanham, pp. 40-1.

¹³⁵ Whitaker, *Disputation*, p. 446.

¹³⁶ Babington, sig. A2v; *Institutes*, III, v, 1; Jewel, I, 448; Nowell, p. 11; Perkins, *Works*, I, 72; Rogers, pp. 35-6.

¹³⁷ This is of course the paradox discussed in general terms in chapter ii, section (3).

the reader to himself.¹³⁸ Thus, no externality is involved in reading, even to the extent that the subject of the text is separate from the reading consciousness. Just as in the Lord's Supper the externality of eating Christ is done away with by imagining a second, spiritual body that eats, so in reading the reader imagines a larger, spiritual self, the true Israel of God's promise, the subject and the receptacle of the inspired text. The climax of the English Protestant experience of the Bible, which Frye describes as "the way the world looks after the ego has disappeared",¹³⁹ should better be understood as the way the ego looks when the world disappears, for the ego and the world are complementary, and each can only be defined by exclusion of the other.

The detection of *energia* in the text, therefore, is prerequisite for Protestant spirituality, but leads beyond the vividness of the text, beyond "the bare woordes", into pure and certain light.¹⁴⁰ *Energia* is a prerequisite for the apotheosis of words beyond words and therefore beyond contradiction, into *aposiopesis*. I have noted the rival, Catholic claims to this escape beyond debate and uncertainty, as when Gardiner describes the sight of a religious artifact, in contrast to wearisome devotional reading, "suddenly opened with one sudden sight"; or in Henrietta Maria's chapel, when, in contrast to the endless chatter of the heretics, the vision of the machine above the altar is described as an actual experience of the dazzling certainty: "there was left nothing but the brilliancy of the light".¹⁴¹ The resistance of the Protestant dogmatic imagination to the visible is a general resistance to the serious, and therefore rival, claims of experience. *Energia*, the quality of the divine text, is an incipient idol anywhere else. But it is the quality de Rendel claims is "manifest" in woodcuts of the Bible stories, in contrast to the sense of distance and temporality always experienced in all reading: "the

¹³⁸ Cartwright, quoted in *Lawes*, II, vii, 2; Cranmer, p. 41; *Institutes*, I, vi, 1-2; and IV, x, 28-29; Jewel, II, 1167, and IV, 1175; *Doct. Chr.*, I, xxx (p. 587); Nowell, p. 113; Rogers, *The catholic doctrine of the Church of England*, p. 3; Tyndale, *Works*, I, 360, 399-400; Clapham, sig. A3^r; Whitaker, *Disputation*, pp. 23, 405.

¹³⁹ Frye, *The Great Code*, p. 138. Cf. Heppe, ii, 10 (p. 24), and *Lawes*, II, vii, 1, vii, 1; 6; 8-9.

¹⁴⁰ Tyndale, *Doctrinal treatises*, p. 360. See above, chapter vi, section (1).

¹⁴¹ Gardiner, Letter to Ridley, *The works of Nicholas Ridley*, p. 499; De Gamache, 'Memoirs of the Mission in England', in Birch, *The Court and times*, II, 312.

figure . . . calling backe to the present, sheweth plainlie . . . to the eie."¹⁴² And it is also what Sidney is ascribing to "the speaking picture of poetry" when he contrasts it to the ineffectual distance and flatness of read philosophy.¹⁴³ Protestant imagination is therefore mobilised against any such serious, or 'strong', claims.

This root and branch resistance to images, it would seem, is one of the deep motivations of English cultural history during the Reformation: from the violent court tussles over the crucifix in Elizabeth's chapel, and the vestment controversy, to the failure of Sidney's poetics, and the suppression of the theatre at the Great Rebellion. The disparity, and inconsistency, of discernable iconoclastic resistance is itself evidence of how universal the impulse was. "After the Reformation, pictures – almost any pictures – aroused suspicion",¹⁴⁴ but the suspicion could sometimes be ignored. Sometimes the recoil of the imagination from imaging is extremely subtle: I have argued that the transmission of Paradin's *Quadrins* and *Deuises heroïques* into English is less significant than the relatively minor suppressions – the mistranslation of the Epistle to Belle-roche, the omission of the 'Figvrs dv novveav testament', the displacement of the epistle to Abbess Jeanne de la Rochefoucaud by de Rendel's epistle to Pickering.¹⁴⁵ In the Bishops' Bible, to the accompaniment of great storms and controversy, but in the Geneva and King James' Bibles almost without comment, the impulse against images culled the pictorial representations of pagan inspiration, and even the process of Christian inspiration, in succeeding editions.

Books are not made of stone: they can be altered in various ways in the face of imaginative misgiving, and therefore provide sensitive evidence of the force of English iconoclasm. Corrozet and Bourbon equated printed Biblical woodcuts, painted church icons, and the Biblical text, in their effect; Protestantism, at its most extreme and uncompromised, understands an utter contradiction between the nature of the text and the nature of all non-verbal representations of it; hearing or

¹⁴² De Rendel, 'Epistle to . . . Pickering', *Portreatures*, sig. A3r.

¹⁴³ *Apologie*, p. 86.

¹⁴⁴ Collinson, *From Iconoclasm to Iconophobia*, p. 27.

¹⁴⁵ Bodleian pre-1920 catalogue; Brunet.

reading is meritorious and seeing is meretricious. But until we reach that extremity, the iconoclastic impulse does recognise differences. The plastic image stands as a challenge to the new religion in every parish church, the printed image is produced at Lyons or Antwerp; the one has to be abolished by massive civil act, the other, which exists as private property, is amended by private sensibility; and, most importantly, the plastic image has to be defaced or destroyed, while the printed image is malleable.¹⁴⁶

I want to draw attention to one extremely gentle and quiet form of iconoclastic expression: the mutilation, presumably by their owners, of the controversial classes of books discussed in this chapter. It is a common enough practice for Donne to use it in a sermon –

Mundi moles liber est, this whole world is one Booke;
And is it not a barbarous thing, when all the whole
booke besides remains intire, to deface that leafe in
which the Authors picture, the Image of God is
expressed, as it is in man?¹⁴⁷

Of course it is necessary to discount examples of such mutilation that are merely partisan,¹⁴⁸ or clearly trivial. For instance, a copy of Holbein's *Images* in the possession of Exeter College has been altered in function, and turned into a courtly trinket: one Michel Otthens decorated it with plagiarised love verses and gave it, in spring, 1566, to the young daughter of the Protector, Somerset.¹⁴⁹ Conversely, the British Library's copy of *Images* has been possessed by its charmless Elizabethan owner – "Andrew Snape / his book / Amen": and pacified, by having Adam and Eve's genitalia scribbled out.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁶ Phillips, pp. 174-5.

¹⁴⁷ Donne's *Sermons*, IX, 373 (he is quoting Basil). Here, blotting a book is a symbol for sin, and sin against the God of natural theology, not revelation. Without an extremely extensive survey it would be hard to tell whether this holds true, but, impressionistically, it is the controversial *genres* I have discussed in this chapter that were defaced. Certainly none of the other old books I examined in the course of this research – well over fifteen hundred in all – were so seriously blotted.

¹⁴⁸ John N. King draws attention to the thoroughly mutilated copy of Caxton's *Golden Legend* in the possession of the Bodleian (Arch G b 2): cit. by Gilman, *Iconoclasm and Poetry*, pp. 11-12.

¹⁴⁹ "A Mad [*that is, To Mlle.*]: Elyjabeth Seymour". The verses, which (as the reliable eighteenth-century hand that annotates the Exeter College copy points out) are cribbed from Marot, are on the title-page and sig. A3v. Michel was perhaps some connection of Hippolyte Otthens, an Protestant Alsatian physician who settled in England in the 1570s (*DNB*).

¹⁵⁰ *Images*, on sig. A4r; also, sig. A4v; worse still: "Andrew Snape / his [*sic*] my name / and with my pen / I write the Same". The Snapes were an old and very Protestant family from

However, a copy (now in the British Library) of Beham's Latin and German Bible picture book *Biblicæ Historiæ, artificionissime depictæ*,¹⁵¹ the original of *Storys and prophesies out of the holy scriptur*, found its way to England, where it was biblicised and defaced. Beside each woodcut, a sixteenth century Englishman has indicated the relevant passage in the Bible; he has left unannotated two non-Biblical scenes which were canonised by Catholic belief – the risen Jesus' appearance to Mary, and her coronation.¹⁵² But a third image, "*Descensus Christi ad Infernos*", is too much. Denying Christ's Descent into Hell was a shibboleth for radical Protestants in England, for, although in the Creed, it was not in the Bible; and because it implied that the Old Testament prophets, who heard God's word and wrote the Old Testament, yet required salvation. It is therefore this image that provokes his iconoclastic impulse, and the anonymous Protestant has written this on it:

no place of scripture quoted, because tis not in y^e
scripture, Deserves to be rent but it would spoile the
booke¹⁵³

– and he perhaps would have torn it out in any case, but for the Resurrection on the verso. A later owner celebrated the Restoration with amateur but jolly verses on the final leaf:¹⁵⁴ perhaps as an antidote to the Low Church notes.

The iconoclastic conscience of Thomas Sellers of Norwich was far more sensitive than this. He has gone through his copy of *Storys and prophesies out of the holy scriptur* (subsequently in Douce's collection, now in the Bodleian),¹⁵⁵ and vigorously defaced all the little skyey Gods who peer down from arbours of cloud, inspiring Their prophets and directing Their world.¹⁵⁶ Sellers finds it unacceptably idolatrous for this

Lincoln. J. Venn's *Alumni cantabrigienses*; DNB.

¹⁵¹ Frankfurt, 1537; the BL is press-mark 683 e. 14 (1).

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, sig. D2^r, K2^r.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, sig. D4^r. Zwingli ('An exposition of the faith' [1531], pp. 252-4) produces the wonderful word "periphrastically" to explain in what sense the Creed refers to the non-existent Descent. Broughton, *An advertisement*, sig. O2^{r-v}. Potter and Greengrass, pp. 100-1.

¹⁵⁴ Beham, *Biblicæ Historiæ*, BL copy 683 e. 14 (1), sig. [K3]^r.

¹⁵⁵ *Storys*, Bodleian copy Douce B 205, sig. P1^v: Sellers signs his name in (extremely difficult) Elizabethan handwriting on the margin. I have not been able to trace him.

¹⁵⁶ He scribbles out ten representations of God (on the title page, and sig. C6^v, D7^r, E8^v, F2^r,

book or the edge of scripture to portray the act of inspiration, from which, through the Bible itself, salvation comes, although he can tolerate a sketch of God the Father pacing through Eden in cope and tiara, war in heaven, angels, a lushly drawn bathing "Beth|abre", and even a Jesus, a single Lilliputian figure in a landscape.¹⁵⁷

These furious black blotches at the centre of the luminiscent clouds are a good emblem of radical Protestant imagination. If Sellers' blotches strike us as quaint, this is only a function of subsequent history: for after the Restoration, the spiritual descendents of what I have called radical Protestantism departed into the eccentric, conservative and congregational wilderness of Dissent. Cultural revolution and renovation wither as Protestant objects; the mark of the Dissenter is cultural *purdah*. Nonetheless, when the mind of Elizabethan radical Protestantism re-emerges within English academic theology, uninfluenced by the pietisms and fideisms of Nonconformity, a most remarkable result is a revival of the scruples I have described in these last four chapters: in other words, a revolution in the avowed *rôle* of the imagination.

This is, for instance, the case in the 1970s with the *avant garde* theologian, Don Cupitt, who in one essay, then famous,¹⁵⁸ derived from a very Tudor-sounding denunciation of icons, an exposition of most of the old radical Protestant notions: enthusiasm for the primitive purity of the

M3^r, N4^r, Q3^r, T5^r, U7^v), and spares two (atop Jacob's ladder, sig. C2^r, and in Ezechiel's vision, sig. Q7^r), no doubt accidentally.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, sig. A3^r, A3^r, T5^r. Of course, it is possible for owners to reverse the iconoclastic process: the BL copy of Amman has been decorated in watercolours; and I have seen a copy of the 1620 KJV which belonged to the community at Little Gidding (now in the collection of the Community of the Resurrection, Mirfield) which has been, as it were, remedievalised. Its pages are embellished with red ink, the cover is embroidered with anagogical scenes, and a series of hand-coloured pictures, with Latin tags, have been inserted throughout the text, complete with images of the Father, Son, Spirit, saints and Virgin.

¹⁵⁸ 'The Christ of Christendom', pp. 133-47 of John Hick (ed.), *The Myth of God Incarnate* (London, 1977), pp. 138-40. Cupitt even rehearses some of the favourite anecdotes of the Reformers: the anecdote about the rage of the third century bishop Epiphanius at finding an image of Christ in a church is repeated, almost verbatim, almost obsessively, by virtually all the controversialists: *The Catechism Of Thomas Becon . . . with other pieces*, ed. John Ayre (Cambridge, 1844), pp. 60-1, 69-71; Calhill, *An answer*, pp. 42, 253, 376; Cranmer, II, 178; Hooper, I, 41; Jewel, II, 644, 655, 668; IV, 793; Ridley, *Works*, p. 91; Tyndale, *An Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue: The Supper of the Lord after the true meaning of John VI. and I. Cor. XI: And William Tracy's Testament Expounded*, ed. Henry Walter (Cambridge, 1850), p. 182. Elizabeth's Primate pointedly reminds her of the story, *Correspondence of Matthew Parker*, pp. 88-9, during the controversy over her chapel.

Church; abhorrence for its subsequent corruption, by paganism and by the machinations of the Roman Empire, and, even even worse, of Byzantium; detestation for the papacy, which is an "image" of the Empire; detestation for mariolatry; a stress on the necessary antagonism of nature and grace, the contrast between the liveliness of the Scriptural text and the deadness of human dogma.¹⁵⁹ Elements in dogma or practice which compromise the transcendence of God, or stress His immanence, or fundamentally humanise Him, or elevate humanity, rather than inscrutable deity, are anathema for Cupitt; and the beginning of all these errors is the making of images even of the humanity of Jesus.

The imaginative revolution of radical Protestantism, if uninterrupted, carries one to the point where material representations with transcendent referents seem unimaginable, and therefore incredible. Cupitt is genuinely baffled as to how

a philosopher as gifted as Wittgenstein can discuss Michelangelo's painting of God in the Sistine Chapel, and ... [yet not have] noticed that there *could* be people to whom such pagan anthropomorphism is abhorrent, because it signifies a 'decline of religion'¹⁶⁰

The visibility of God's portrait in the Sistine Chapel is the most obvious, and most impossible, thing about it. It cannot be an emblem of monotheism; it is pagan.

Any divine image, even an image of the incarnate Christ, is meaningless. Cupitt is carrying through this line of thought to a straight conclusion when he denies the incarnation altogether: as God can be spoken of, but must be invisible, so He can be painted by the words of Jesus, but cannot Himself portray Himself in visible flesh. Cupitt's imagination passes through initial recoil from icons, through a credal rejection of the whole material paraphernalia of the theology of imaging, incarnation, and representation, back to a more fundamental iconoclasm of the imagination, in which God has no external presence. This position

¹⁵⁹ Cupitt, 'The Christ of Christendom', pp. 134, 136, 145-6; 143-5; 138-9, 146; 139, 143; 146; 140; 133, 145. Cf. Perkins, 'A golden chaine', *Works*, I, 39: "The Roman Hierarchie is also condemned . . . the gouernment whereof, is an expresse image of the old Romane Empire . . . Reu. 13.15. And it was permitted to him [Satan] to giue a spirit to the image of the beast . . ."

¹⁶⁰ Cupitt, p. 144.

(which itself points to further extremes of immaterialism, towards pantheism or spiritualism) is of course far beyond that of radical Protestants under Elizabeth or James or Charles. However unimaginable it seemed to them that Jesus could have been an image of the Father, and however much they insisted that no visible things could be "signes nor images of Gods presence",¹⁶¹ they retained intellectually the incongruous Catholic christology. The important exception to this was the man who also most vividly imagined, and painted with words, the Christ of Protestant imagination, Milton.

¹⁶¹ Jewel, IV, 1163-4; Calhill, *An answer*, pp. 45-6; Perkins, *Works*, I, 588, and II, 66; *Institutes*, IV, vii, 40; Laud, 'Speech in the Star-Chamber, at the censure of Henry Sherfield', *Works*, VI, i, 17. Phillips, p. 175. Perkins, 'A warning', *Works*, II, 660: "the forms in which the Sonne and holy Ghost haue appeared, were not their images, but only sensible signes and pledges of their presence: and signes not for euer, but onely for the present time, when they appeared: and therefore [not for] now."

PART THREE

Protestant poetry

. . . the Spirit is that eternall wisdom which
effecteth and exciteth this Rhetoricall and
Oratoricall function

Robert Fludd, *Mosaicall Philosophy* (1659).

CHAPTER EIGHT

CARNAL MEN AND DIVINE POETRY

Before the fall of our Parentes, when nature was innocent & vncorrupted, this light of vviſedome, and intelligence of things diuine and humaine, did ſhine brightly in man: neither had he thê only ſparks and ſedes, but a plentiful ſtorehouse and flowing fountaine . . .

John Woolton, Bishop of Exeter,
A newve anatomie of vvhole man
(London, 1576), sig. A1^v.

STRICTLY literary comment on the English Bible is an anachronism, since the Bible is understood by its readers in England, from the mid-sixteenth century to the mid-nineteenth, as different in kind, different, as I have argued, in substance, from any other writing. The experience of reading is different in kind, because the mind is attuned in a different way. The importation from Germany of Biblical criticism in the nineteenth century was disturbing not because it (initially) impugned the truth of the text, but because it imputed historicity to it: the Bible became, formally at least, an artifact made in time, like any other. But as late as Liddon's Bampton Lectures for 1866 we can find old high English Biblicism.

Scripture is . . . boldly identified with the Mind which inspires it; Scripture is a living Providence. . . . This belief expressed itself [in the primitive Church] in the world-wide practice of quoting from one book of Scripture in illustration of the mind of any other book. . . . And unquestionably in a merely human literature such attempts at illustration would be misleading. . . . We do not expect to find in Chaucer or in Clarendon a clue to or a forecast of the true sense of Macaulay or of Tennyson.¹

¹ Liddon, p. 69. Cf. *Doct. Chr.*, I, xxx. *Sermons of M. Iohn Caluine vpon the Epistle of*

The unhistorical quality of the Biblical text, the claim that it comes from beyond history and is not governed by the one-way vision of human time, is for Liddon an act of will, appended to, and not requisite for, the specific article of faith he is attempting in these lectures to defend – the doctrine of the Incarnation in its full Chalcedonian rigour.² It cannot be pretended that the Chalcedonian doctrine is clear in the text of the New Testament. Liddon, a Tractarian, is so far from being a radical Protestant that his theological imagination does not show the Socinian impulse I discussed in the previous chapter: the presence of the Word of God in Jesus is not in any sense a function of God's presence in the Biblical Word, and indeed Liddon insists that the Incarnation is precisely not "vapid metaphor . . . addressed to . . . the imagination", but a fact in history. The strongest metaphors in his lectures are merely exploitations of the parallel between the appearance of God in the form of man, and the appearance of God's word in the form of a book. Scripture is "living", has a "mind" constant through all its parts, and is "identified" with God.³

Liddon's High Churchmanship means that he does not have to assert that the Bible must appear different, in itself, to the individual reader, from "merely human literature": the doctrine of the Church, expressed in its "world-wide practice", causes the orthodox reader to read the Bible in a different way from *The Canterbury Tales*. The extra-textual claim of the Church and its propositions, including the doctrine of the Incarnation, orders the Biblical text, and orders the way we read it.⁴ Hooker, similarly, argues that there is no direct vision of truth, even in reading the Bible.

No science doth make known the first principles whereon it buildeth, but they are always either taken as plain and manifest in themselves, or as proved and granted already, some former knowledge having made them evident. . . . There must be some former knowledge presupposed which doth herein assure the hearts of all believers. . . . The question [is therefore] . . . by what means we are taught this.⁵

Sainte Paule to the Galathians, tr. Arthur Golding (London, 1574), fol. 216^v. Frye, *The Great Code*, pp. 220-1; Patrides, *Milton and the Christian tradition*, p. 26.

² Cupitt indeed identifies these lectures as "The last really able defence of a fully orthodox doctrine of Christ in Britain" (p. 135: not without wistfulness).

³ Liddon, pp. 725, 721.

⁴ Liddon, pp. 721-5.

The science of Biblical exegesis rests on axioms grounded and defined outside the Bible.

For the radical Protestant imagination, as I have argued, this cannot be so: the nature of Scripture as the Word of God is more important than its particular contents, and (especially since the contents *in fact* hardly contain a clear statement of the nature of Scripture) that divine nature must be visible and apparent to the reformed imagination. The form of God's Word as a text is, in radical Protestant imagery, itself divine and venerable; the supernal nature of the work does not have to be, and should not be, asserted as an additional proposition, grounded on the authority of the Church, or any "forreine authority".⁶ Protestant Biblical theology is, as we noted in chapter one, uniquely neither "employed about things, . . . [nor] of Signes onely";⁷ or, in Hooker's terminology, the "first principles whereon it buildeth" are neither deduced from "some former knowledge", nor "manifest in themselves". The manner of perception is different. Reading the Bible is like using a sixth sense. It is analogous to the gradual, Catholic process that Newman calls the growth of a "real" idea, that is, an idea in the imagination. It means reading according to what Hooker (meaning explicitly this Protestant Biblicist process) calls "the very notions and conceits of men's minds".⁸ Such percepts are neither rational nor empirical, but of a special, third class; indeed, we can say that there is a mode of the Reformed imagination used, in strict orthodoxy, only for Bible reading.

The proposal of this chapter is this: the sixth sense of the reformed imagination is the essential reason that 'divine poetry', literature of a religious or even moral quality, can be a matter of anxiety for early English Protestantism. Liddon could not possibly detect a threat to the *rôle* of the Bible from Tennyson, even at Tennyson's most booming and prophetic (even if Matthew Arnold can), because Liddon's belief in the uniqueness of the Bible is a matter of "Signes only": that is, of the Church's practice and his own assertion. Radical Protestants, however, have to argue that,

⁵ *Lawes*, III, viii, 13-4. Cf. Preface, iii, 9-11, 14-15; I, iii, 10. Cf. *Adv.*, II, xxv, 5.

⁶ *Institutes*, IV, ix; Montaigne, 'Apologie', *Essayes*, p. 201.

⁷ Wither, *A preparation to The Psalter*, XII, viii, sig. K1^r.

⁸ *Lawes*, Preface, iii, 9.

while the text of the Bible is full of such "incomparable Excellencies . . . [that] it doth abundantly evidence it [self] to be the Word of God", the reader cannot know "full perswasion and assurance" of its divinity except by "the inward work of the Holy Spirit".⁹ Full persuasion – apprehension by the secondary imagination of the invisible presence of the Spirit in the text – is a matter for this supernatural sense.

Clearly (as I argued out in chapter three) there is a tension here between authority and the Church on the one hand, experience and mere spiritualism on the other; radical Protestantism places its conviction on a middle path, which is hard to imagine and hard to defend. John Penry, for instance, damning episcopacy root and branch in the 1580s, thinks he, like Calvin, can detect a presbyterian pattern for Church government within the New Testament. Penry is extreme enough to be offensive, and indeed in due cause was obdurate enough to die on the scaffold for such pamphleteering. But he is aware of the epistemological dilemma, for he knows there are other readers who cannot see the pattern.

With whom the truth lies I will not determine, for I know not. What seemeth most probable and true to me, that I know. How the truth should come to light, that is the question.¹⁰

The "seemeth most probable . . . to me" is naturally not a claim to direct inspiration, but to the secondary inspiration of Bible reading: what I have called the Protestant sixth sense. Hooker finds this remark irredeemably ridiculous.¹¹ But this uncertainty is central to the issue of authoritative knowledge in Protestantism, which is intellectually insoluble, being grounded on a simple contradiction. The Protestant imagination has to work without a viable intellectual model, and is therefore defensive.

In this chapter, I shall advance the notion of the serious difficulties of

⁹ WC, i, 5 (pp. 4-5); cf. Hull, *Saint Peters prophesie*, sig. 3Z2^v. See above, chapter iii, section (3).

¹⁰ Quotation and refutation by Richard Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, *A survey of the pretended Holy Discipline. . . . Faithfully gathered . . . out of the bookes and writings, of principall fauourers of that platforme* (London, 1593), p. 342; *An humble motion vwith submission vnto the right honorable LL. [Lords] of hir maiesties privie counsell* (London?, 1590); *A treatise containing the aequity of an humble supplication . . . for the preaching of the Gospell* (Oxford, 1587).

¹¹ Lawes, Preface, iii, 4.

Protestant epistemology being in intimate connection with Protestant poetics, and try to explain its rôle in the Protestant theology of man. In chapter ten, I shall maintain this idea against the view that Protestantism's only critical characteristic was a desire to encourage literature based on Biblical material, and to frown on carnality; having, in chapter nine, shown how the confusion about epistemology evident in Penry can work either for and against a 'strong' Protestant defence of poetry.

To discuss these things, we need to put out of court any merely trivialising picture of Protestant poetics as an awkward mixture: pagan Renaissance with earnest Reformation, cheery Ovidian fancy with hard Biblical conviction, Hellenism with Hebraism. It is simply incredible that sixteenth and seventeenth literary thought could be so unselfconscious and superficial. We are not dealing with Gradgrind or Malvolio. Nevertheless, such pictures do get proposed; I suppose because modern critical attention to English Renaissance literature is so vast, while critical interest in English Reformation theology is comparatively minimal. The imbalance itself is reasonable, given that it is well into the seventeenth century before the idiosyncratic qualities of Puritan and Latitudinarian thought begin to make a European impact;¹² but it is a pity if critics are therefore tempted to walk out onto a void. Take, for instance, this peroration to a recent study of the Elizabethans and pagan literature:

Ambivalence is central to Elizabethan mythology. The culture itself must have demanded ambivalence: where belief is Christian and education is classical, where the authors offered as models are all telling lies, there must be a sense in which the reader both does and does not accept the authority of learning.¹³

This is bland stuff. If we are really reduced to this, or to describing an Elizabethan literary essay – the translator's preface to the *Metamorphoses* by Arthur Golding, who also translated Calvin's sermons – impressionistically, as "Puritan in content but syncretist in tone",¹⁴ it

¹² Reventlow, pp. 1-60, 223-7.

¹³ Laurence Lerner, 'Ovid and the Elizabethans', pp. 121-35 in *Ovid renewed: Ovidian influences on literature and art from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century*, ed. Charles Martindale (Cambridge, 1988), p. 135.

would perhaps be better to say nothing at all of intellectual and sectarian qualities. But I do not think things are as bad as that; it is possible to speak of the connection between Renaissance English literature and English Reformation thought without this degree of inanity, anachronism and vagueness. The condition is that the subtlety, complexity and variety of theological debate cannot be dissolved, either to binary opposites, or into merely allusive, sociological or political terms.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 12; *The xv. Bookes of P. Ouidius Naso A worke very pleasaunt and delectable* (London, 1567). L.T. Golding, *An Elizabethan Puritan: Arthur Golding the translator of Ovid's "Metamorphoses" and John Calvin's "Sermons"* (New York, 1937). L.T. Peary, *The mediated muse: English translations of Ovid 1560-1700* (London, 1982). Walker, p. 255,n.3. E.M.W. Tillyard, *The Elizabethan world picture* (London, 1952), p. 58.

(1) Pagan and poetical inspiration

In this . . . part of learning, which is poesy, I can report no deficiency. For being as a plant that cometh of the lust of the earth, without a formal seed, it hath sprung up and spread abroad more than any other kind. . . . But it is not good to stay too long in the theatre.

Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, II, iv, 5.

Inspiration, particularly in the context of Scripture, is, in our period, primarily a method of acquiring knowledge, and is set against other such methods: "transitive" – which is to say, by assenting to authority – syllogistic, didactic or empirical.¹⁵ As I discussed in chapter two, these other processes are gradual and peripatetic, but inspiration is represented as a leap; a leap, however, secure and certain (particularly against sceptical doubt) because it is grounded, not in our ignorance (which is ameliorated slowly, if at all), but in omniscience: "the truth of being and the truth of knowing are one".¹⁶ Knowing through inspiration abolishes the gap between our knowledge and the object of knowledge: and if the object is God, the reader who is informed by inspiration acquires to that extent the divine viewpoint.

This presents two opposite problems. On the one hand, how can man, who in the Protestant view is thoroughly vitiated by the Fall, aspire to such vision, even through the Scriptures – can any descendent of Adam be certain of being right? And on the other, what can we say about inspiration beyond the Scriptures – have even good pagans a direct intuition of God?¹⁷

Both questions confront Biblicism with the authority and *kudos* of classical literature. The authors of antiquity, trapped by the Fall and prevented by history itself from being believers, are counted the best of writers – they are the elect of the literary canon, yet outside the Spirit's

¹⁵ *Adv.*, II, xvi, 1.

¹⁶ *Adv.*, I, iv, 3.

¹⁷ The pessimistic case is put well by Goodman (*The fall of man, or the corruption of nature, proved by the light of our naturall Reason. Being the first ground and occasion of our Christian Faith and religion, may likewise serue for the first step and degree of the naturall mans conuerfion* (London, 1616)), and the more liberal one by Hakewill (*An apologie of the pover and providence of God in the government of the world* (Oxford, 1627)).

election. What is the relationship between the knowledge on offer from classical literature – especially the "transitive" things we take on the strength of classical authority – and the plenitude of knowledge possessed by Adam before his Fall?

This is a serious problem. That Protestants can use the term *inspiration* in different ways for pagan poetry and the Bible does not vitiate it. The poetic use of inspiration is in discord with the formal uniqueness with which the radical Protestant views the information imparted to him through the inspired medium of the Word; for the process of that implantation, demonstrated from its trace on his elect heart, is the only reason for its supernatural authority. It is disquieting to have that process fictively replicated elsewhere; certainly it is disquieting to take such replications seriously. How, for instance, could one interpret or justify the famous exposition of Pythagorean philosophy in Ovid?

. . . forasmuch as God this instant houre
Dooth moue my toong to speake, I will obey his
heauenly powre.
My God Apollos temple I will set you open, and
Disclose the woondrous heauens themselues, and
make you understand
The Oracles and secrest of the Godly maieſtye.¹⁸

It can only be borne, short of absolute rejection of classical literature, by imposing a strict dualism in the imagination between temporal and divine events – a dualism natural enough to the Protestant mind, and congruent with that other absolute dualism I have already noted in various forms between the carnal and spiritual, the outer and the inner, the visible and invisible. Once established, this bifurcation is then cautiously violated, in ways that are also now familiar to us; and Sidney, this chapter's main character, is important both for the way he preserves, and for the way he tries to evade, this division.

I discussed the bifurcation of history in general terms in chapter three. But here I want to draw attention to the peculiar implication for literary thought of the radical division of time and causality into human

¹⁸ *Metamorphosis*, xv, 143-7; I quote Golding's successful but excruciating tr. On the Protestant response to Ovid: Lerner (rather vaguely), pp. 122-5, 135; Tillyard, p. 58; L.T. Golding, *passim*; L.T. Peary, *passim*.

and divine. This point is important enough to risk repetitiveness: I shall try to state how the division of time divides all human knowledge into two types; and, in the next section, to describe the theological results of the bifurcation in terms of the Protestant view of time.

Human history is a result, and a constant reiteration, of the Fall. History is thus a ray moving away from Eden, away from God; it is not a divine oracle. Protestantism denies the actual presence of God in time, that is in the repeated Eucharist and the historically continuous visible Church; verticality, not horizontality, is the usual image for God's omniscient but detached government of the world. Protestantism sees grace coming down upon (while Catholicism imagines grace running along) the track of history. Protestantism imagines not grace but history as a horizontal ray, continuing on its own, independent and in a sense trivial trajectory, from its first and greatest incident, the Fall.¹⁹

Of course, the viewpoint that sees the line of history from without – as it were, at right angles – is the divine viewpoint: it is the viewpoint of creatures only by a special and gratuitous gift from God. In Book XI of *Paradise Lost*, Adam and Michael are given that gift, and "both ascend / In the Visions of God".²⁰ In this inspired state, they observe events rippling outward, iteratively and horizontally, from Adam's Mound. This trajectory is intercepted indeed by potent beams from God, but these beams do not annex the course of history to themselves. History's atrocities and catastrophes play themselves out, whilst

the heav'nly Bands
Down from a Sky of Jasper light

– bringing either providential retribution, or inspired vision, to mankind (and of course in Book XI bringing Adam both).²¹

¹⁹ *Institutes*, II, i, 4; IV, iv. On the horizontality of Catholic images for history, see Newman, 'The Theory of Developments', sec. 20 (pp. 322-9), and *An essay*, I, i, 3-4 (pp. 35-6); Nicholas Lash in *Newman on development: The search for an explanation in history* (London, 1975), pp. 3, 48, 116, 118, 186, and *passim*; and Newman's disciple, Jean Guitton, *La philosophie de Newman: Essai sur l'idée de développement* (Paris, 1933), pp. 121-46; *The blessed virgin* (London, 1952), A. Gordon Smith's translation *La Vierge Marie* (Paris, 1949), p. 81; *Justification du temps* (Paris, 1941), pp. 4-9, 113-4, 118-21 (pp. 15-20, 122, 126-30, in the English abridgement by Adrienne Foulkes, *Man in time* (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1966)).

²⁰ PL, XI, 376-7.

²¹ PL, XI, 208-9. The ambiguous imagery of divine lightning, both enlightening and

As was apparent from Broughton's refutation of Lively, Protestant imagination makes the divine action of providence and the human action of history quite distinct. Providence does not work through historical human institutions (not even the Church), and, conversely, does not respond differently to human conditions as they vary with historical circumstance; all providence is an iteration of Biblical providence, which is unique only because examples of divine interventions in history are revealed explicitly and individually in the Biblical text. Providence is the fundamental truth about the governance of human affairs; but it is not apparent in the human record of those affairs unless, like Beard's *The theatre of Gods Judgements*, those records are iterations of the Bible. Moreover, God's decree of election or reprobation for each man is prior to, and stands against, history; even His presence in the lives of the individual, saved or damned, is an exterior intervention. That is to say, God inserts temptations into the careers of the elect to humble, punish or galvanise, "and for [undry other just and holy ends"; He intervenes with the reprobate to withdraw "the gifts which they had" and could have in the normal, that is historical, course of events, expected to keep.²² But individual lives usually work according to natural and terrestrial laws, including retributive providence; time remains for God, in the individual event as well as for the sweep of history, a long sabbath.²³ As we distinguish carnal from divine light, do we distinguish the truths of history from godly truth. History does not express God, and, practically speaking – for only knowable truths about God are valid²⁴ – He is not its author.

The chasm between human and divine temporality explicitly runs along the line of the Fall. But Protestantism's innermost imaginings reject creatureliness and created time; even the unfallen world is historical, that is, devoid of direct divine control; even before the Fall, Milton's God

destroying, is already familiar to our anatomising of the Protestant imagination – the revelation on the Damascus Road is both, and so is the action of God portrayed in Amman's illustrations to *BpsB*.

²² WC, V, 5-6.

²³ Bacon, 'A Confession of Faith', Sp. VII, 219.

²⁴ *Institutes*, I, i, 1-2. Alan Richardson's Bampton Lectures, *History sacred and profane* (London, 1964).

sends Raphael as emissary not to amend the coming catastrophe, but to clarify His own aloofness from it.²⁵ Mere creatureliness, that is, finitude, temporality and contingency, make beings unable to stand in God's presence.²⁶ Thus (despite the doctrine of Adam's plenitude of prelapsarian knowledge, which I discuss in the next section) the informing characteristic of Milton's prelapsarian Adam is fatal ignorance – especially, as regards the Fall itself, fatal ignorance from the viewpoint of the reader, that is, from the divine viewpoint which Adam himself obtains only after his Fall, when the Old Testament is previewed for him in Book XI.

This rejection of temporality as a state in which true knowledge is possible is apparent in a different way when Bacon, the Protestant taxonomist of learning, goes to some trouble to separate Biblical history from Biblical oracular truth. He rules that narratives containing revelatory prodigies cannot be history, and conversely that Biblical prophecy, apart from its anagogical or messianic *rôle*, is merely ecclesiastical historiography (*Historica Prophetica*) written before the event rather than after. This sounds rather odd, but the oddness is the price paid for the strictness of the bifurcation Bacon maintains, throughout *The Advancement of Learning*, between celestial and terrestrial knowledge.²⁷ As there is a "light of nature" which, metaphorically, "springeth from beneath", and, definitionally, "consisteth in the notions of the mind and the reports of the senses"; and a supernatural inner light, metaphorically "descending from above", which

²⁵ *PL*, V, 233-47. This passage is frequently misunderstood. The doctrine presented here is that God causes (that is, *wills*) the Fall, but *ascribes* the guilt to man in an act of sovereign will. Justice in Milton's thought, and Calvin's (*Institutes*, III, xxiii, 4-8), is thus separate from God's will, *because* our imagination and reason can consider it separately; thus, we can say that God's will is the origin of the Fall, without His justice colluding in it.

[God's will] extendeth it [elf even to the fir]t Fall, and all other [innes of Angels and Men . . . and that not by bare permi]ssion, . . . yet so, as the [infulne]sse thereof proceedeth only from the creature, and not from God

(*WC*, V, 4 ; pp. 13-4). God's justice requires sinlessness; God's will causes the Fall. Goodness, although wholly obedient to God's will, is separate from Him. I do not think this is an insurmountable intellectual problem, but Calvin himself calls it "dreadful" and "incomprehensible" (*Institutes*, III, xxiii, 7, 8), for it is a problem for the Calvinist imagination; as is evident in *PL*.

²⁶ Bacon, 'A Confession of Faith', *Sp.* VII, 219. Luther, 'Commentary on Genesis [iii, 1]', *Works*, I, 144.

²⁷ *Adv.*, II, i, 1, 4; II, i, 1; II, iii, 2. Bacon himself admits (II, i, 1) that this is not intuitive, for prophecy "seemeth" a separate branch of theology.

informs the dogmatic imagination; so Bacon makes it clear that history is a science that ascends "of the lust of the earth, without a formal seed", and does not descend. Even Biblical history, as history, is strictly terrestrial, not celestial, knowledge – and to that extent, it is like poetry, "a plant that cometh of the lust of the earth, without a formal seed", not a miraculous seed dropped from heaven.²⁸ An account of the publicly ascertainable past cannot have spiritual authority.

(2) Natural theology and natural inspiration

Artes, eloquence, and other such things are needfull onely to
this carnall life, vve vse them onely for the same.
Woolton, *A newve anatomie*, sig. E7^r.

As there are different sorts of time, and as historical time necessarily involves a distance from divine reality, so there are different sorts of knowing. All temporal knowing – that is, all knowledge gained within time and through the processes of history – is finally vain, because it is knowledge of transient things, and cannot tell us of God. There cannot be, therefore, positive natural theology.²⁹ God is apparent in nature only to the extent that men are culpable for not acknowledging Him; but by the Fall the imagination is corrupted, so that the image of God within was replaced by the image of Satan; "death crept like leprosy into all our perceptive powers".³⁰ Nature becomes invisible to us, and the positive truths of God in it are hidden from us.

True human knowledge, therefore, can never come by looking: we are incapable of looking. Therefore the Protestant image of great human understanding is Adam, not because he had every natural human faculty unimpaired, indeed to a superhuman degree – Luther is "fully convinced

²⁸ *Adv.*, II, iv, 5; II, v, 1.

²⁹ *Institutes*, I, v, 14. Höpfl, pp. 227-35; Wendel, pp. 263-6.

³⁰ Clapham, sig. C5^v; cf. Luther, 'Commentary on Genesis [i, 26]', *Works*, I, 62.

that before Adam's sin his eyes . . . surpassed those of the lynx"³¹ – not even because he contained in himself the sum of human learning, lately and painfully half-recovered.³² Adam is the only true and proper man, because he had direct access to truth, that is, to the mind of God, through his uncorrupted imagination. When he named the animals, Adam was not inventing, but finding their true names, in his still-divine imagination:

From their Natures Adam them did Name,
Not from experience, (for the world was new)
He only from their Cause their Natures knew.³³

Adam has unshakeable knowledge not out of the flawless perception of a perfect creature, but through his supernatural, non-sensory faculty of inspiration. That is, his imagination had immediate access to the truth of things, which is in God's will.

That faculty is broken by the Fall, but not altogether destroyed. The epigram to this chapter, from *A newve anatomie of vvhole man*, by John Woolton, Elizabethan Bishop of Exeter,³⁴ compares our present inspiration, the "sparks" of which we hear so much in Protestant imagery, to a flowing fountain of innate knowledge in Adam: the elect are to some extent restored to Adam's direct, non-sensory and non-rational apprehension of reality. "The Ethnickes doo onely follovve the direction of their carnall Reason", but the regenerate have "a kinde of light kindled in thinges spirituall and diuine".³⁵ Calvin applies the prologue to the Gospel of John – "The light still shines in the darkness, and the darkness comprehends it not" – to the postlapsarian condition of man.³⁶ That is,

³¹ Luther, *ibid.*; cf. *Works*, XII, 119.

³² Woolton, *A newve anatomie* (see below, n.34), sig. C6^v-C7^r: "Adam before his fall, was an excellent Diuine, an excellēt Lavvyer and an excellent Philosopher." Adam in *PL* is a rhetorician (V, 102-11; Fowler's notes thereon). This was orthodox scholastic doctrine: *Summa theologica*, II: I, xciv, 3 (III, 298-308). Conversely, La Peyrère's heterodoxy begins with a denial of this picture of Adam: he pictures a new organon of knowledge in the future, that will redeem mankind from many of the penalties of the Fall; so that Adam can be surpassed (*Theological systeme*, p. 201):

the seeds of [all sciences and arts] . . . were only sowed in *Adam*, which could not arise, but by meditation, reasoning with himself, by cultivating, and time.

³³ John Denham, 'The Progress of Learning', ll. 4-5; quoted by A. Williams, p. 81.

³⁴ *A newve anatomie of vvhole man, aswell of his body, as of his Soule: Declaring the condition and constitution of the same, in his first creation, corruption, regeneration, and glorification* (London, 1576). DNB.

³⁵ Woolton, *A newve anatomie*, sig. A1^{r-v}, D6^r.

the certainty which the Spirit inspires in the Protestant is measured not by its limited *rôle* in his present human knowledge, but by its potential for illimitable apprehension. At present, our reason can smother ("quenche with . . . peruers opinions") the divine spark, and usually all we gain from it is what we gain from the rational apprehension of God in nature: moral sensibility enough to be justly damned for our transgressions. Nonetheless, when the Protestant imagination pictures itself as inspired, it relies on its own experience of reading less than on this picture of its ideal, uncorrupted man, unhampered by lapsarian blindness, uncorrupted in imagination.³⁷

To summarise: in Protestantism there is a model of two realities, two temporalities, and two epistemologies, divine and carnal. The one succeeds the other at the Fall. Our knowledge according to the second epistemology, the apprehension of the flesh, is unreliable even about the material world, and wholly unfruitful about the truer, spiritual realm. Even though there are still ways left of perceiving God's truth – through our reason, in nature, in Scripture – we are naturally blind to them, and in practice are incapable of sound knowledge, other than moral sensibility enough to be justly damned for our transgressions; unless God gives us His Spirit and gratuitously enlightens us.³⁸

This predestined gift of the Spirit, to the small, elect proportion of mankind, is the only wholly legitimate basis for any certain belief about anything. The only wholly consistent Protestant epistemology can be a reiteration of this fideistic and experiential, predestined enlightenment. However, as we have seen, the imagination shies away from the blankness of this image; it disguises the absolute monarchy of the Protestant God, and the fact that every opinion and proposition derives from His will without mediation. Without this disguise, the imagination cannot bear the concept of predestination, by which gigantic idea time, causation, and free will are crushed and abolished.³⁹ God Himself cannot

³⁶ *Institutes*, II, ii, 12, quoting John, i, 5.

³⁷ See *Institutes*, I, xvi, 1; xviii, 2, on universal, ideal, secret inspiration.

³⁸ Calvin teaches that only the social and political instincts remain more -or-less intact (*Institutes*, II, ii, 13, 23): thus the State is itself hardly Fallen.

³⁹ NT, 737, 745-8; WC, v, 4-6; *Institutes*, III, xxiii, 7-8.

be imagined at all if He is imagined as everything – that is, as immediate cause and reality behind everything; for God is then no longer a noun in the imagination's grammar; He ceases to be merely inscrutable, and becomes merely unimaginable.

Protestant imagination, abhorring a vacuum but reformed clean of images, looks for some way of picturing the soul's acquisition of knowledge, other than the blank claim of divine inspiration. To change the metaphor: it desires some means of spanning the epistemological gulf of the Fall, which cuts off the mind's apprehension from the objects of apprehension, besides the mere passivity of the mind that relies upon the Spirit to pour knowledge into it.

One fairly obvious rope bridge across the gulf is poetry, and most of the rest of this study will consider ways in which radical Protestantism thought literature could, or could not, answer the dilemmas of lapsarian doubt and ignorance. Can poetry exploit some faculty less damaged by the Fall than syllogistic reason or empirical observation? If reason has to walk, and the road to God is cut, cannot poetry fly there?⁴⁰ Or are at least some poetic images idols that the reformed gospel casts out?

It will be apparent from the complexities of the problem of Protestant images that, once the question of poetry was taken to heart, radical Protestant verdicts could be very disparate. There are, however, three broad types of theorising.

In the first place, there is hostility. This need not be philistine – Broughton, one of its most erudite exponents, curses Lively fluently out of Ovid.⁴¹ But to Broughton it seems that all the objections that can be made against secular historiography carry over into pagan literature. If history is the observation of cyclic human affairs since the Fall, without the aid of the inspired historiography of the Old Testament; classical literature is only the accumulation of false prophecies and fraudulent inspiration since the Fall, unenlightened by the Bible.

M. Lively neuer heard of any Iew that more regarded Olympiades, thê we regard *Lucianes* true stories.⁴²

⁴⁰ *The works of Michael Drayton*, ed. J. William Hebel. V vols. (Oxford, 1961), III, 357.

⁴¹ Broughton, *Advertisement*, sig. E2^r.

⁴² *Ibid.*, sig. D1^r.

All pagan texts, historiographical or fictional, are much the same, that is blind; Lively is being idolatrous even to use pagan critical methods to explicate a trope in Isaiah.⁴³

The second approach, which is the norm, is comparable to what I called the weak defence of images.⁴⁴ It relies upon the strictness of the distinction between human and divine arts; poetry may speak, but its words have no weight, except possibly as repetitions of the Word.

In this . . . part of learning, which is poesy, I can report no deficiencie. . . . But it is not good to stay too long in the theatre.⁴⁵

If unredeemed humanity is without any considerable remaining splashes of the primal fountain of light, why do we esteem pagan "vertues & noble actes, their inuentions and explications of artes"? Because there is a dichotomy between earthly and celestial knowledge, and no passage between. Pagan arts are "woorkes . . . ſo excellent as mannes Reaſon can attayne vnto", but no more.⁴⁶ Poetry is on this side of the chasm: it is only an earthly light, and neutral in the business of salvation.

However, these ineffectual earthly sparks can be used as evidence of something much more important. The nostalgia of art, the regret for a better sort of inspiration betrayed by the inspiration of literature, can be understood by Protestants, given the weak defence of poetry, as evidence of the splendour of prelapsarian inspiration. That the imagination's reach exceeds its grip is evidence for the infinite source of inspiration, God.

Manifold also is the skill with which it devises things incredible, and which is the mother of so many marvellous devices. These are unfailing signs of divinity in man.⁴⁷

Even the pagan Cicero's "intreating of the excelencie" of man's imagination, shows that "Philosophers . . . did geſſe (and as it were dreame)" of prelapsarian perfection; explorers show us that there are "as

⁴³ *Ibid.*; Lively, *A true chronologie*, sig. B1^r-B2^v.

⁴⁴ Woolton, *A newve anatomie*, sig. B7^v, C5^r, C7^r.

⁴⁵ *Adv.*, II, iv, 5.

⁴⁶ Woolton, *A newve anatomie*, sig. E6^v.

⁴⁷ *Institutes*, I, v, 5.

well Poets as Philoſophers in every nation";⁴⁸ because "there are left vnto vs certayne ſedes or ſparkes", traces of a universal faculty of intuitive knowledge that we have lost, and can experience now only in the Bible itself. Poetry gives no direct intuition of God, but shows us that such an intuition is possible to man in principle. This argument is of course familiar to us, in a stronger form, in Sidney's *Apologie*:

[God] having made man to His own likeness, set him beyond and over all the works of that second nature: which in nothing he showeth so much as in Poetry, when with the force of a divine breath he bringeth things forth far surpassing her doings, with no small argument to the incredulous of that first accursed fall of Adam⁴⁹

Two points seem certain from reading the *Apologie* in this context. One is seriousness of the oration; something of which most modern criticism of the *Apologie* loses sight. The other is the curious proximity of such a defence of a branch of learning, and defences of Protestant dogma. Because Protestant belief rests on inspired exegesis of the Bible, and the Bible on inspired writing, a defence of inspiration is surprisingly close to the dogmatic heart of Protestantism. I shall develop this idea in the next chapter.

Sidney clearly represents the third radical Protestant view of poetry; what we can call, on analogy with de Rendel's defence of Biblical pictures, the strong defence. Poetry is not only the trace of prelapsarian inspiration; actual prelapsarian sparks remain within it; through poetic inspiration we can cross the gulf, and stand again in the golden world. It has a comparable function to the poetry of the Bible itself. Naturally, this is dangerous ground for Sidney to tread; he keeps poetry from blurring the boundary with Scripture partly by imposing generic limits upon it, and discountenancing philosophical or theological subjects. Poetry proceeds within human history, not as a result of God's intervention from without.

⁴⁸ Gulermus Houppelandus, 'Of the immortality of the Soule', sig. A5^r-G4^v of John Jackson's anthology, *The soule is Immortall: Or, Certaine Discourses defending the immortalitie of the Soule, against the limmes of Sathan: to wit, Saduces, Anabaptists, Atheists, and such* (London, 1611), sig. A7^r.

⁴⁹ Sidney's *Apologie*; I quote, as ever, from Olney's edition, sig. C1^r; this is the textual crux I shall return to in the next chapter: most eds. read "credulous".

Its inspiration is a light of nature, and cannot be allowed to explain things beyond nature. But it is an antidote for history,⁵⁰ for it takes us back to unblemished nature in Eden; it is actual inspiration, and

the truth of being and the truth of knowing are one, differing no more than the direct beam and the beam reflected.⁵¹

(3) Right reason and inspiration

It is not to be spoken, how much and how cleare light, the diligent study and reading of Latin and Greek writers; yeeld to the knowledge of holy scripture.

Edward Lively, *A true chronologie*, sig. A7^r-A8^r.

In this final section, I compare this line of thought with Hooker's, because Hooker has an old-fashioned faith in *ratio recta*, and is therefore outside the whole epistemological endeavour of radical Protestantism. The theological difference turns on the milder doctrine of the Fall in moderate Protestantism and in Catholicism; the implications for literary thought are perhaps rather surprising. No direct connection is possible in Hooker's thought between the observed and the observer, the thought and the object of thought; but it is not necessary, since the Fall was a spiritual less than an intellectual disaster. It does not make the world wholly *outside* the life of the ego; contiguity continues between the individual consciousness with the rest of the created universe.

The axioms of that law. . . whereby natural agents are guided, have their use in the moral, yea, even in the spiritual actions of men, and consequently in all laws belonging unto men howsoever.⁵²

⁵⁰ *Apologie*, sig. F3^{r-v}.

⁵¹ *Adv.*, I, iv, 3.

⁵² *Lawes*, I, xvi, 3-4; cf. III, viii, 5.

Radical Protestantism is disinclined to attempt too much epistemological self-consciousness, pessimistic or optimistic. That would imperil its whole project; instead, it takes the natural modes (transitive, empirical, syllogistic, didactic) of acquiring knowledge as givens; and the supernatural mode, acquisition of knowledge through the direct gift of the Spirit in Scripture, as given also. This axiomatic commitment is one of the things that makes it the ancestor of British Empiricism.⁵³ But, on the contrary, Hooker rejects any direct apprehension of truth. Hooker's axiom is that knowledge, as I noted at the beginning of this chapter, is defined by the grounds of knowing it: all knowledge is therefore social and public, because it must be possible to demonstrate publicly its derivation. He therefore rejects the "silly empiric", who rejects transitive authority; the papist, who subsists only on transitive knowledge; but, equally, the radical Protestant malcontents, those Archbishop Bancroft calls "Our English Genevators",⁵⁴ whose belief in the divine prescription of presbyterianism rests upon inspiration. Inspiration is not in Hooker's system ineffable or irreducible; it is a faculty of the imagination, and like any faculty can be faulty or accurate. In this case, the Genevators' fancy sets them on towards belief: enthusiasm detects evidence everywhere (just as the mad Pythagoreans were convinced they saw numbers in everything); zeal makes them denigrate any contrary thought. Their "misfashioned preconceit" contorts "the very notions and conceits of men's minds", their secondary imagination is unsound, and their very certainty is evidence of their confusion.⁵⁵

Hooker's epistemology, being self-conscious, is both pessimistic and optimistic. Thus, while he has an almost messianic, Baconian view of the possibilities of liberated human science –

there would undoubtedly be almost as great difference in maturity of judgement between men therewith inured, and that which now men are, as between men that are now and innocents⁵⁶

⁵³ Reventlow, pp. 200-12.

⁵⁴ Bancroft, p. 60; *Lawes*, II, vii, 2.

⁵⁵ *Lawes*, Preface, iii, 11, 14-5; I, vi, 9.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, I, vi, 3, 9.

– he is hostile to the assumptions of Baconian empiricism, and loyal to Aristotle's model of rational inquiry, including the Aristotelian model of induction:

no art is at the first finding out so perfect as industry may after make it; yet [Aristotle,] the very first man that to any purpose knew the way we speak of and folowed it, hath alone thereby performed more . . . that sithence in any one part . . . the whole world⁵⁷.

Hooker is an epistemological conservative who teaches that *ratio recta* is a light to detect objects beyond the mind of man, for the mind to work upon. He is therefore antagonistic to any idea, such as Sidney's, that some categories of truth, particularly moral truth, are self-evident to the mind, without process of observatiuon, inculcation, or ratiocination. Maximal, Sidnean views of poetic inspiration cannot fit within Hooker's rationalism. As Browne says, "solitary and retired imagination" of theological thought, even if it feels itself inspired, is finite in capacity – "for who can speake of eternity without a solœcisme, or thinke thereof without an extasie?"⁵⁸

Thus the invention of a Christian poetic, as an expression of the inherent righteousness of the Chrtistian imagination, would be a null project. Inspiration is not a normal mode of finding truth, but an extraordinary and rare mode. Therefore imagination, the faculty that apprehend inspirational truths, is not necessarily in a special state of grace among Christians. Hooker on the contrary suggests that classical myth might be one of the one of the "diuers manners" which in "fundry tymes" God hath spoken to mankind.⁵⁹ Lively argues that learning, as well as passively explicating the Scriptures,

also in many places bringeth much light, & great seruice, from diuerſe and fundry prophane writers⁶⁰

– a verbal echo, again, of the opening of Hebrews, understood liberally.

Méric Casaubon, in the first English book on religious epistemology,

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, I, vi, 3.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, i, 11 (p. 11).

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, I, iii, 10; I, vi, 3.

⁶⁰ Lively, *A true chronologie*, sig. A7^r -A8^r.

argues similarly: he even experiments with comparative mythology, arguing that the Biblical account of the Flood is so close to Ovid's narrative that the reality must be historical.⁶¹ There is an even more daring claim about heathen poetry, for he claims that Horace, Hesiod and Æschylus provide, not as Wooton suggests, guesses at mankind's primal disaster, but inspired accounts of the Fall. Prometheus' expulsion from heaven, and his chaining, are muddled memories of realities. The inspired writing of the *Prometheus Bound* is therefore of doctrinal authority. Casaubon translates a scene of this play into Latin, and adds:

It may be some one who is better able [than I], if he dare in these sad Atheistical times venture so much Christianity, without too much disparagment to his wit, will . . . translate the whole Tragedy⁶²

The writers of antiquity are thus a model for the Christian faith of the moderns – and not only, as Woolton argues, because they "excell in vviſdome, vertue, and good demerits" modern Christians.⁶³

The obvious and trivial consequence of all this is that conservative proponents of *ratio recta* are far friendlier to the classics as critical aids –

all other artes and learning, . . . [are] helps and handmaids to the vnderſtanding of diuine ſcripture, beeing Ladie and Miſtris of all⁶⁴.

The less trivial point is that a belief in *ratio recta* contradicts Sidney's Protestant poetic, and Baconian epistemology – essentially, and not just superficially, for the same reason. Bacon and Sidney both represent a radical idea of epistemology, in which man is passive and revelation is

⁶¹ Méric Casaubon, *Of credulity and incredulity; In things Divine & ſpiritual . . . wherein (among other things) . . . Platonick philoſophy . . . As alſo be buſineſs of Witches* (London, 1620), sig. C1^v-C2^r.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ Woolton, *A newve anatomie*, sig. C6^r. Woolton is careful to ſtress that his humaniſt hopes of human amelioration can be reconciled with the Proteſtant doctrine of total depravity; and ſupplies a very long liſt of "Antithiſes" between the pagans, however they "otherwiſe excell in vviſdome, vertue, and good demerits", and Iſrael, however woe-begone, "vvheryby the diuerſitie betweene Alexander and Daudid, Plato and Paule, and other ſuche excellent wightes, vvill more manifeſtly appeare" (sig. E5^r-E6^v). "The Ethnicks after the Reſurrection, becauſe they beleued not in Chriſt, ſhall be in hell vvythe the riche glutton", and that is more to the point than the authority of their writing.

⁶⁴ Lively, *A true chronologie*, sig. A7^r -A8^r.

itself active. Of course, both Sidney and Bacon are modifying the radical Protestant view in specific directions. Bacon wants to show that the empirical sciences are beyond the ambit of Biblical theology, and rely on a separate revelation of God in nature, not the Bible; sciences passively transcribe what is recorded in that 'second book.' Sidney wants to justify poetry against the charge of vanity by showing that it appeals to a revelation of God's presence left inscribed within man's imagination, despite the Fall. But both rely on the essential Protestant image for knowledge, which has been apparent at all points in this study, the image of informing light. Man's eyes are passive, and the light from above fills his mind without human action. Truth is luminiscent: it itself puts out light; corporate mankind need not bring the light of authority to it. The Bible is typically "the truth of God descended from Heaven",⁶⁵ like the sunlight. The philosopher's precepts "lye darke before the imaginatiue and iudging powre",⁶⁶ and are therefore useless; but poetry phosphoresces. Cecropia's rage against her aunt's atheism, which we consider in the next chapter, is informed by "a light more than humane".⁶⁷ The light of Scripture is bright as the sun, and only our blindness prevents our belief.⁶⁸

In Hooker there can be no "special illumination of the Holy Ghost" to guide reading of the word, because reason is the ordinary means of God's revelation, and revelation itself the extraordinary one; and there is no third class, as in radical Protestantism, or institutionalised secondary inspiration through the inspired reception of the Word.⁶⁹ The "right helps of true art and learning"⁷⁰ are that means, without Bacon's new organon of science or Sidney's new order of poetry, "not onely by writing of the liberall [sciences: but also alleadging of Poets and other Authors",⁷¹ without any claim for the unfallen authority of their imagination. It is not even the case, as in the 'weak' defence, that poetry is a prop to precepts

⁶⁵ Nowell, p. 117.

⁶⁶ *Apologie*, sig. D3^r.

⁶⁷ *Arcadia*, fol. 284^v.

⁶⁸ *Institutes*, III, xxiii, 7-8.

⁶⁹ *Lawes*, Preface, iii, 10; I, iii, 10.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, I, vi, 3.

⁷¹ *Lively*, *A true chronologie*, sig. A7^r -A8^r.

already heard explicitly. Reason is our prime moral agent, and if we are to be galvanised for the good, reason's "Definitions, Diuifions, and Distinctions" are not as irrelevant to the *psychomachia* as Sidney would suggest.⁷² Sidney compares a "woordish description" of the invisible realms of the spirit to a verbal anatomising of "an Elephant or a Rhinoceros". The extended of the rhinoceros is not what we want, because it "doth neyther strike, pierce, nor possesse the sight of the soule".⁷³ Transitive knowledge will no longer do, because its truth is measured in its effect. We want a picture of it; for the price Protestantism pays for iconoclasm in churches is iconophilia in the monadic, spiritually empirical, mind.

⁷² *Apologie*, sig. D1^r.

⁷³ *Apologie*, sig. D3^r.

CHAPTER NINE

POETIC VISION, SCEPTICAL BLINDNESS

But here with vs, the discipline is stain'd;
Forme lost; trust scandaliz'd with noueltie;
Louingnesse with craft; and faith with Atheisme.
Greville, *Alaham*, I, i, ll. 243-5.

I TURN in this chapter to the direct application of the Protestant imagination to literature, particularly the function of literature that Protestantism took most seriously: divine or moral poetry, which means not elaborations or celebrations of Protestant dogma, but defences of it to blind, baffled and perverse humanity.

Naturally, it cannot be claimed that religious apology is one of the prime features of English Renaissance literature; the Protestant imagination is rarely so self-conscious, and Protestant poetry in practice is able to avoid divinity. Indeed, the soundest instinct, at least for the mass of lesser poets, was doubtless avoidance:

To speake divinely, t'is above my reach,
To speake of dutie, you know more then I,
To speake of dainties, heere you stay my speech¹;

and there follows a competent enough romance. On the contrary, the astonishingly profuse hack Gervase Markham, publishing a metrical version of the Song of Songs in 1611, has the temerity to dedicate it to Sidney's daughter, and to describe his poetic pilgrimage, thus:

{I have been] an eternall Prentise to the Muses. At length, finding Nature an enemy to mine Arte . . . I betooke me to Diunitie, in which labouring my

¹ Henry Mordaunt, *The strange fortune of Alerane* (London, 1605), sig. B2^r.

Junne-burnt conceits, I found Poetrie which I so much reuerenced, created but a hande-maide to attend Diuinitie: and that as Poetrie gaue grace to vulgar Iubiects, so Diuinitie gaue glorie to the best part of a Poets inuention. Proude in this opinion, I made loue to Salomons holy song²

But as one would expect, *The Poem of Poems* is catastrophically overblown.

Sidney himself is lukewarm in his defence of this "second kinde" of poetry, "wrapped within the folde of the proposed subject"; as much as political satire or georgic, religious or philosophical poetry is handmaid to some other art or science, and this does not lend glory to the poet's imagination, for Sidney has a different category for the truths of that poetic sight. In any case, the *Apologie* makes it clear that overtly Biblical subjects are inappropriate for "indeed right Poets".³ But the connection between Protestant theology and poetry is developed by Sidney in a more profound and ambitious way, involving not merely the subject of the work, but its action on the believing imagination. Thus Sidney, defending fiction in the *Apologie*, and Pamela, defending theism in Sidney's *Arcadia*, are fighting much the same battle. The images the mind finds in itself can satisfy any exterior doubt; the higher, golden, spiritual world can be discovered within, and with such vivid *energia*, that denying it ceases to be imaginatively viable.

The nature of Reformation doubt is far too vast an issue for this study, but it is necessary to start with some self-conscious distinctions: for instance, in the phenomenon of doubt itself. Thomas' account of the Puritan saints' agonies of doubt is useful,⁴ but he seems to confound different sorts of experience. It was a recognised cross of Protestant spirituality to have faith assailed; the doctrine of final perseverance positively invited a sceptical battery by the Devil. The Protestant writer,

² Gervase Markham, Epistle Dedicatory to Elizabeth Sidney, *The Poem of Poems. Or, Sions muse, Contayning the diuine Song of King Salomon* (London, 1611), sig. A4^v. F.N.C. Poynter, 'A bibliography of Gervase Markham 1568?-1637', *Oxford Bibliographical Society: Proceedings & Papers*, n.s. XI (1961). DNB.

³ For *An apologie for Poetrie. Written by the right noble, vertuous, and learned, Sir Phillip Sidney, Knight*, hereafter cited merely as *Apologie*, I continue to use Henry Olney's ed. of 1595; sig. C3^r, B2^v-B3^r.

⁴ Thomas, pp. 159-72.

while he almost always calls the atheist an amoral beast, too depraved to require answer, but offers spiritual remedies to the troubled in belief.⁵ Even Foxe's Marian martyrs in their death cells are represented as stung by doubts, the fiery darts of Satan, even losing their belief in the efficacy of Christ's death.⁶ On the one hand, atheism is merely the function of habitual sin, an out-breathing of hell, unworthy of answer; to accuse a public figure of atheism is a political action, because it places him beyond the pale of human society.⁷ On the other hand, it is a trick of the papists to reprobate all doubt and inquiry, for religious scepticism leads us out of popery.⁸ The experience doubt in itself cannot be reprobated.

Even amongst those who consciously refuse the truth of their gospel, Protestants acknowledges distinctions – "All which [are] [e]uerall kinds and degrees of *Atheists*", in the most inclusive sense of *atheist*.⁹ First, the simply brutish (the stupid, the gross, the scoffer, the ignorant, the "Naturalist") is incapable of abstract belief. Secondly, the neo-pagan ("the Skepticke", the Epicure or "indirect *Atheist*", the learned and debauched) doubts the truth of the Christian revelation. Thirdly, the materialist, the overt or "direct *Atheist*", the indifferentist, disbelieves any metaphysical truth whatsoever; and, fourthly, the pyrrhonist (the "Confiderer", the "contradicting Atheist", the subtle and wily, the Italianate or "politike"),

⁵ John Hull, *The arte of christian sayling* (London, 1602), sig. ¶3^rff. There is no atheism at all in the sense of a system of belief: "*Atheism . . . enters at the Will*" (Thomas Creech's Preface to his tr. of Lucretius' *De Natura Rerum* (Oxford, 1682), sig. A2^v), or is a mere pose (Stonham, sig. G1^r).

⁶ For instance, Foxe, ix, 838; Rich, *Opinion deified*, pp. 4-5.

⁷ Enemies denounced Elizabeth as a proponent of atheism (CSPD, 1601-1603, p. 23), and likewise James (CSPD, 1598-1601, p. 356); Essex used it against Raleigh (CSPD, 1598-1601, p. 547); of course in this he was following popular rumour: Robert Parsons, SJ, *A booke of christian exercise* (Oxford, 1585), pp. 410-11) and felt obliged to defend himself against the same charge on the scaffold (CSPD, 1598-1601, p. 593); Gabriel Harvey accused Nashe and Milton accused the Royalists: *Pierces Supererogation Or a new praise of the old asse. A preparative to certaine larger Discourses, intituled Nashes S. fame* (London, 1593); 'Pro populo anglicano: Defensio secunda', DMW, IV (i), 550-1.

⁸ Casaubon, sig. M8^v. 'Of Curioſitie', in *The Common Places of the most famous and renowned [sic] Diuine Doctor Peter Martyr*, tr. Anthonie Marten (London, 1583), pp. 332-3; cit. Allen, *The Legend of Noah*, p. 12. Gloss on 'February' in Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*, Works, VII, 28. 'A letter written by Sir Fulke Greuill to his Cousin Greuill Varney residing in France', *Certaine learned and elegant workes*, pp. 295-8, urges a "make no other vse of informing your ſelfe in the corrupts and ſuperſtitious of other [Catholic] Nations, than onely thereby to engage your owne heart more firmly vnto the truth" (p. 295). Mathew Stonham shows atheism to be a French disease, *A treatise On the first psalme* (London, 1610), sig. G1^r.

⁹ Fotherby, *Atheosmastix*, 'A Preface to the Reader', sig. B2^r.

the sceptic proper, the overt atheist, refuses any proposition put to him, including the truths of religion.¹⁰

It is the last two classes, those of the materialist and the pyrrhonist, that most concern the Protestant imagination. Both carry to extreme and pure conclusions the Protestant idea that "anthropomorphism is abhorrent, because it signifies a 'decline of religion'".¹¹ The inward withdrawal of the Protestant imagination, away from public and visible authority to the certainty of inspiration, finally implies a withdrawal from man-made propositions about the invisible. Biblicist iconophobia, which begins by destroying images, tends to the dissolution of doctrine, because doctrine, as much as statues, stand outside the supernal text, making the unknowable knowable, and thus modifying our reading of the text itself.¹² Sidney's poetic ideal arrests this tendency by producing vivid images of the spiritual that are inward, and therefore neither scandalous or incredible; but, as will be seen, this itself sits awkwardly with the rigour and vigour of the iconoclastic impulse.

¹⁰ This taxonomy of disbelief is strikingly constant in Reformation writing, although the vocabulary varies. Here I am quoting from the schemes of John Weemes, 'A treatise of the fovre degenerate sonnes, viz. The Atheist, the Magician, the Idolater and the Jew . . .', repr. in his posthumous *Workes*, IV vols. (London, 1636), IV, sig. 8B3^v-8B4^r; Hull, *Saint Peters prophesie of these last daies*, sig. 3Y1^v- 3Y2^r; Fotherby, 'A Preface to the Reader', *Atheomastix*, sig. B2^r; John Dove, *A confutation of atheisme* (London, 1605, but in print until 1640), p. 12; and Joshua Bonhomme, in the Epistle Dedicatory to his tr. of David Derodon, *The Arraignment and Conviction of Atheism* (London, 1679), sig. A2^r. Nashe, *Works*, IV, 176. James Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, *A godlie exposition vpon certeine chapters of Nehemiah*, ed. John Foxe (Cambridge, 1585), pp. 401-2. Robertson, II, 13.

¹¹ Cupitt, p. 144; cf. Reventlow, pp. 122-5. Popkin, *The History of Scepticism from Erasmus to Descartes*, pp. 2-19.

¹² Reventlow, 55-60, 123-4; Popkin, *The History of Scepticism from Erasmus to Descartes*, pp. 77-87, 132-40; D.G. James, *Scepticism and Poetry*, pp. 213-14. Philip J. Lee makes a similar point in his chapter on 'The Reformation: Beyond a Knowledge That Saves', *Against the Protestant Gnostics* (New York, 1987), pp. 54-73. Allen works from some irredeemably positivist assumptions about Protestant idealism, about schools of sixteenth century European thought, and indeed on the intuitive and the rational: 'The degeneration of man', pp. 215-16; *The Legend of Noah*, pp. 1-10, 14.

(1) Counter-scepticism

Scoffers are manie, & Atheisme manifold: some are grosse, and some are politike The Skepticke & Considerer awaites but a day to reueale his impietie.

Hull, *Saint Peters prophesie of these last daies*, sig. 3Y1^v- 3Y2^r.

Don Cameron Allen observes that while there were many books in our period written against atheism, there were none written for it. That is, possibly excepting *Raleigh's sceptick, or speculations*, true, but it is not evidence for Allen's Whiggish, humanist, and teleological model of early modern English thought. Allen pictures the Renaissance and Reformation as steps on the progression to the liberal rationalism of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. He therefore thinks 'atheism' rather or beside the point; it was not atheism but rationalism, easing in like a flood, that overthrew the old view of the world. The attacks on atheism are evidence of pressure from another source, "the drive of positive rationalism".¹³

The reason historiographical Whiggery cannot be true is too big a question for an historical or literary discussion; however, even within the narrow, empirical scope of this present study it is apparent that there was no such thing as emergent rationalism at issue in Reformation English letters. The source of anxiety was not methodology, but epistemology; and particularly, the conservative attempt to preserve *ratio recta*, the voice within, undetectable except through ratiocination, but nevertheless divine, as a sufficient guide to truth. Sceptics and fideists were equal and allied enemies of *ratio recta*, especially as a prop (not perhaps a very candid one) for orthodox Christian intellectualism:¹⁴ a prop contradicted in England by scripturalism.

An earnest desire to draw all things under the determination of bare and naked Scripture hath caused . . . much pains to be taken in abating the estimation and credit of man.¹⁵

¹³ Allen, *The Legend of Noah*, p. 14.

¹⁴ Hoopes, pp. 1-3, 7-21, 97; C.S. Lewis, *English literature in the sixteenth century excluding drama* (Oxford, 1954), pp. 154-60. Jewel attempts some sort of synthesis between the old claims for *ratio recta* and the new autocracy of *testimonium spiritus sancti internum*, expressed through the Bible's text; but I think by no means as successfully as Booty, his modern biographer and critic would have it (pp. 126-47). On the incompatibility of scripturalism and *ratio recta*, see Andrewes' *Ninety-six sermons*, III, 275; Lawes, Preface, iii, 2, 6-10; II, vii, 4-5, 10; III, vii, 11.

The ideal of *ratio recta* was displaced in the late seventeenth century, by what Robert Hoopes calls Shaftesburian optimism about merely effective reason, *ratio scientiæ*¹⁶ – reason with no suggestion of divine light about it. In chapter two, I discussed the consequent decay in the connotations of the word *inspiration*, including Shaftesbury's own coolness towards it.¹⁷ But this revolution in thought is at the end of our period; the Reformation debates took place in something of a vacuum; scepticism was not so much an intellectual issue as an imaginative disease.

In chapter one, I discussed the specific problem of paradoxy: apparently irrational doctrines for which a polemical, though not strictly rational defence has to be mounted: there were a variety of routes into doubt, and a variety of routes out; there were also different sorts of doubt.¹⁸ Here, we need to distinguish, although more vaguely and generally, the characteristics of disbelief visible in Elizabethan and Jacobean literature.

Superficially, scepticism in the fourth sense, that of the "Confiderer" or "contradicting Atheist", is an imitative revival of one of the schools of classical learning; Sextus Empiricus is the central name. On the Continent, it was a half-licit weapon of the Counter-Reformation.¹⁹ In England this is rarely so, and the possibilities of nihilistic pyrrhonism are not profoundly understood. Raleigh's notion is that, if all opinions are to be doubted, none should be held.

The Sceptick doth neither affirm, neither denie
any Position: but doubteth of it, and opposeth his
Reasons againſt that which is affirmed, or denied,

¹⁵ Lawes, VII, 1.

¹⁶ Hoopes, pp. 7-21, 97; Shaftesbury, I, 28, 55. Descartes naturally sneers at old-fashioned scepticism, *Philosophical Writings*, p. 28; cf. Popkin's chapter on Descartes in *The History of Scepticism from Erasmus to Descartes*.

¹⁷ See above, pp. 86-7.

¹⁸ D.P. Walker, 'Ways of Dealing with Atheists: a background to Pamela's refutation of Cecropia.' *BHR*, xvii (1955), 252-77; pp. 261-2.

¹⁹ Popkin, *The History of Scepticism from Erasmus to Descartes*, pp. 3-56, 84-7; E.F. Rice, *The Renaissance Idea of Wisdom* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), pp. 174-9. On the revival and Bacon, see T.D. Kendrick, *British Antiquity* (London, 1950), p. 115. Spencer the Jesuit (see below) is an English exception to this rule, but he is using Montaigne's method to defend theism, not Catholicism. On Sextus Empiricus and the Renaissance, see the introduction by R.G. Bury in his IV vol. Loeb ed. (London, 1933).

to justifie his not Conſenting²⁰

– which is really rather puerile. But inasmuch as it impeaches the inward certainty of Protestant faith, that "lyght from heauen shynynge",²¹ it does suggest the potential threat of epistemological nihilism to the radical Protestant system.

What matters more than pyrrhonism in England, however, is a less cynical sagging of the imagination at the strain of belief. Religion, as Marston has one of his characters allege, has changed "her robe so oft, that sure but some arch-devil can shape her a petticoat".²² Doctrinal warfare meanders into a sort of apathy, a vague but more threatening incredulity about religious matters. This is scepticism in the third sense, and it is much complained about in English books.²³ The route out of Catholicism required the application of disbelief to religious matters – "their strange woonders are not beléued of vs";²⁴ doubting was necessary to Protestant belief. But doubt in this sense has no limits, except those imposed by will or exterior authority, and tends towards a final dislocation of the

²⁰ Sir Walter Raleigh's *sceptick, or speculations*, pp. 1, 3-5, 25. This purely negative doubt can equally grow from troubles with the theory of physical perception, or the Ptolemaic system, as from troubles with the doctrine of the Eucharist; and Raleigh suggests all three. But cf. Raleigh's *observations* (London, 1661), pp. 247-50; Patrides' intr. to his ed. of *The History of the World* (London, 1971), pp. 17-18.

²¹ Raleigh, *ibid.*, pp. 22-6: by extrapolation, the impossibility of the Reformation debate implies the impossibility of Christian belief: for why (p. 26) should we not attend also to the far more numerous sects "which denie that very point, which the greatest number with us do affirm [the truth of Christianity]: so that thereof nothing can certainly be affirmed"? Hemmingsen admits this case to be unanswerable by reason (sig. G4^v-G5^r).

²² John Marston, *The Malcontent*, ed. George K. Hunter (London, 1975), I, iii, 9.

²³ Henrrie Cornelius Agrippa, *of the Vanitie and vncertaintie of Artes and Sciences, Englished by Ja[mes]. San[ford]* (London, 1569); cf. the popularisation by Nashe, *Works*, 297-300; Pierce Pennileſſe *his Supplication to the Diuell* (London, 1595), p. 106. Fotherby, *Atheomastix*, 'The Preface to the Reader', sig. B3^v; 'Letter iv', *The works of Gabriel Harvey*, I, 149. Popkin, *The History of Scepticism from Erasmus to Descartes*, p. 255; Hoopes, p. 97. See above, p. 25.

²⁴ Martyr, pp. 332-3. Martyr, the first significant Protestant thinker to work in England, proposed to the English a *via media* between sceptical knowingness and doctrinaire fidelity, eschewing too much reason, which is corrosive, and fideism, which sends the individual tumbling back into the lap of Rome:

we muſt take héed, that we doo not ouer-lightlie receiue whatſoeuer is laid before vs When the Papiſts perceiue, that their strange woonders are not beléued of vs; to wit [transubstantiation], . . . [Thus] they crie out, that we be ouer-curious But fooles that they are, they might haue remembred, that in the holie ſcriptures, euen the goodlie men haue oftentimes aſked; *How?*

This is an attempt at imposing an equilibrium from beyond reason, from the authoritative viewpoint of orthodox Lutheranism, on sceptical reason. It is optimistic.

imagination from all credal formulæ. The radical Protestants, who have "tried the Quintessence" of the new Gospel, can be expected by a Catholic to continue on to a denial of theism by attrition.²⁵ And this is not entirely misguided, because, as I have suggested, there is a progressive tendency in English Protestantism, which begins with *nosce te ipsum*, hardly proceeds further, and finally refuses any statements about God as human constructions.²⁶

As early as Edward's reign, the Reformers of England began to think that the English were slumping, not into indignation at papist fraud, but into mere disbelief; by Charles II's, it was possible to look back on the English Reformation as the era of atheism's revolt.²⁷

the greatest part of those excellent gifts, wherewith
God hath . . . adorned this our age, are rather the
gifts of *Illumination*, than of *Sanctification*,²⁸

including the sanctification necessary to belief. 'Atheism' might almost be the norm if it were not for the ecclesial, social and civil sanctions against it. This general aloofness was a considerable shock to a convinced Protestant, for whom truth presents itself in indubitable *aposiopesis*. He cannot imagine how disbelief is possible after the Reformation, when "Christ's truth is declared" at last.²⁹ Refusal of something so blindingly true may be due to the pernicious influence of Europe on innocent Englishmen;³⁰ or to the blindness of the Antichrist Pope, which becomes manifest as history draws to an end.³¹

²⁵ Harding, *A detection*, sig. M3^r. Houppeladus, 'Of the immortalitie of the soul', in Jackson's *The soule is Immortall*, sig. A2^v.

²⁶ Lee, p. 65; Reventlow, pp. 57-60. Cf. RM, ii, 4 (p. 63).

²⁷ 'Letter XXXIII: John Hooper to Henry Bullinger. Dated at London, June 25, [1549]', I, 65-7 in *Original Letters relative to the English Reformation . . . chiefly from the archives of Zurich*, tr. and ed. Hastings Robinson, II vols. (Cambridge, 1846-7). Bacon's essay 'Of Atheism', Sp. II, 252. Joshua Bonhome's Epistle Dedicatory to his tr. of David Derodon's *The Arraignment and Conviction of Atheism* (published in French in 1659; London, 1679), sig. A2^r. Andrewes, *A pattern of catechistical doctrine* (L.A.-C.T., 1846), p. 23; Dove, *Confutation*, pp. 4-5, 17, is particularly paranoid; cf. Burton, *Anatomy*, III, iv, 2 (3); III, iv, 2 (1).

²⁸ Fotherby, *Atheomastix*, 'A Preface to the Reader', sig. B3^v.

²⁹ Hull, *Saint Peters prophesie of these last daies*, sig. 3T1^r; 'Of Atheism', Sp. II, 252-3.

³⁰ Ascham, pp. 218-21; Hull, *The vnmasking of the politiqve atheist* (London, 1602). Greville, *Certaine learned and elegant workes*, p. 116; Burton, *Anatomy*, III, iv, 2 (3); Dove, *Confutation*, pp. 4-5, 17.

³¹ Hull, *Saint Peters prophesie of these last daies*, sig. 3T1^r, 3R2^r-3S3^v. John M. Robertson's doctrinaire but well-researched *A short history of freethought ancient and*

In fact, there were so many books written against 'atheism' because deism was the point towards which the imagination of English Protestantism was directed; Protestantism bore the irritant of doubt within itself. The threat of scepticism in the third sense, indifferentism, necessarily loomed over Protestant writers when they looked outward from their own souls: the light within casts the outer world, including one's perception of other believers, into shadow. Certainty being internal, the truth about another's belief is unobtainable: "*the name of Christian [cannot] . . . free a man from Atheisme*", for "*To beleue, is with the heart to affect*".³² The fourteenth Psalm ("the fool saith in his heart, there is no God"), a favourite for versification, typically comes out like this:

'There is no God' the foole sayth in his heart,
Yet dares not with his tongues his thought impart³³

- but there is nothing in the Greek or Latin, Geneva or Great Bible, to suggest the second line. Bacon, Davies, Elizabeth and James each project the innate Protestant anxiety about secret atheism into their translation.

Refutation of atheism becomes during the English Reformation a small, self-conscious, and self-sustaining publishing industry. In the century before the Restoration, there was a new title, proving the existence of God or the immortality of the soul, published every three years.³⁴ These are generally insincere essays in natural theology, produced by a barren appetite that feeds on itself. They are all disingenuously addressed to the disbeliever, rather than the believer; and descend in due course to mere abuse of the atheist.³⁵ Protestant belief depends on the inner light of

modern, 3rd ed., II vols. (London, 1915), has a good bibliography of orthodox complaint (and despair) over 'atheism' in Elizabethan England (II, xiii, §4, II, 1-3).

³² *Institutes*, IV, xx, 3-11. Fotherby, *Atheomastix*, 'A Preface to the Reader', sig. B3^v. Parsons, *A booke*, pp. 410-11: cit. Walker, 'Ways of Dealing with Atheists', p. 257 n.1.

³³ Grosart's ed. of Davies' *Works*, II, 141; Elizabeth's tr. in *Select Poetry: Chiefly devotional*, ed. Edward Farr (PS, 1845), p. 1; James' *Essayes*, sig. N3^r (the King also includes a little invocation to the Spirit-Muse); Bacon's, Sp. IV. *The Greek Testament*, ed. Henry Alford, fifth ed., IV vols. (London, 1880); Vulgate; GB. I quote the KJV.

³⁴ Watt (47q, 57q, 163e, 191t, 200f, 216g, 219h, 287z, 298w, 315p, 352m, 399s, 418u-w, 474a, 483f, 506v, 539f, 666j, 682d, 685k, 770z, 839y, 863t, 913f, 914b, 925e, 927z, 956k); Dove, *A confutation of atheisme*, p. 34. Most of these are published for the general public, in English.

³⁵ Dove, *A confutation of atheisme*; *Atheomastix*, 'A Preface to the Reader', sig. B3^v-B4^r; Hemmingsen, *The faith of the Church Militant*; Jackson, *The soule is Immortall*, 'Preface' Mornay, *A Worke concerning the Trunesse of Christian Religion, written in French: Against Atheists*; Scot, *The discoverie of witchcraft . . . the infidelitie of atheists*; Henry Smith,

inspired exegesis, which cannot be proved to those who are denied it; yet adherence to Protestant dogma still requires public vindication.

Bacon's absolute distinction between finite and divine knowledge frees him from the itch: we can try to prove the existence of angels and spirits, but not of God:

we ought not to attempt to draw down . . . God to our reason; So in . . . divine philosophy, I am so far from noting any deficiency, as I rather note an excess.³⁶

In Bacon's new organon, scepticism is the first step to knowledge; in the natural sciences, it leads on to the exercise of inductive empiricism about second causes: but in the divine sciences, to the exercise of faith about the first cause, God. The school in ancient philosophy that most preached atheism most promoted true religion,³⁷ because it was most rigorous in dividing natural and theological truths. The first principle of science is

that wee know nothing, that we discerned nothing, that trueth was drowned in the depths of obscuritie³⁸.

The first principle of divinity is that we know nothing from nature, and must rely on the oracles of God; Biblical revelation is certain, rational argument from Scripture almost certain.³⁹ This is in fact how the Protestant appeal to reason must end: Thomas Rogers' attempt at a fully rational explanation of the XXXIX Articles, for instance, concludes by anathematising rationalism: all ideas "proceeding from the brain of man; as Machiavel doth [*sic*], and his scholars", are inherently atheist; papists as well, because they rationalise theology, are atheists.⁴⁰ They are thus excluded from debate, and the outer voice of reason may preach only to those who have not refused the inner voice of Scriptural inspiration. The Geneva Bible itself defines itself as a weapon against contemporary papists,

Gods Arrovve against Atheists (London, 1593).

³⁶ *Adv.* II, vi, 1.

³⁷ *Sp.* IV, 46.

³⁸ 'Prometheus', *The wisdom of the ancients*, sig. F6^r.

³⁹ *Adv.*, II, xxv, 3-6. Jean Véron, *A stronge battery against the Idolatrous inuocation of the deed Saintes* (London, 1562), fol. 103^v-104^r.

⁴⁰ *The catholic doctrine of the Church of England*, pp. 79-80. On a good survey of atheism in English literature of our period, see Ribner's intr. to *The Atheist's Tragedy*, pp. xxxviii-xli.

worldlings, tyrannous prelates and contumacious heretics:⁴¹ an anti-sceptical force, stalwart against the traditional catholic authority and the "errors, sectes and hereſies [which] grow dailie".⁴² Scripture is the sum of theology, and Scripture cannot acknowledge rational proofs.

Nevertheless, counter-sceptical works up to the reign of Charles I doggedly rehearse versions of the argument from design.⁴³ After that, an alternative defence presents itself. The believing imagination, looking for confirmation of its belief, turns not to experience of the outer world as such, but to the fact of its own existence. It is apparent that we have entered a new philosophical age when the refutations of atheism start having titles such as *God or nothing. Or a Logickall Method . . . deducing from the Actual Being of what we evidently experience, the unavoidable necessity of a God*.⁴⁴ The proof of the existence of God has moved from more-or-less crude arguments from design, to versions of the ontological argument. God must exist to allow the self and the world the self perceives to exist. This sea change is even apparent in a "Physico-theologicall treatise" published by the prominent physician, Walter Charlton, in 1652, *The Darkness of Atheism Dispelled*, which sounds as if it is going to repeat the argument from anatomical design, as in Helkiah Cooke's textbook of 1618, the *Μικροκοσμογραφία*, but is an *avant garde* attempt by an English atomist, a proponent of Epicurus and "the incomparable *Des Cartes*"; and he rehearses the theistic arguments of the new philosophy, deduced from the certainty of self.⁴⁵

⁴¹ 'Preface', GB, sig. .: 1^r.

⁴² *Ibid.*, sig. .: 4^v.

⁴³ *Adv.*, I, iii, 3; II, vi, 1; cf. Thomas Morton's Socratic defence of theism, *A treatise of the Nature of God* (London, 1599), ch. i; Henry Smith's *Gods Arrowve against Atheists* (London, 1593), sig. A5^v; this book reached thirteen eds. before the Restoration (STC 22666-22676; Wing, S4040, 1656). Reventlow, pp. 201-12; Robertson, II, 13-14.

⁴⁴ Written (naturally under a pseudonym) by a Jesuit of the English Province, John Spencer, S.J., (London, 1659). The dilemma *Aut Deum, aut nihil*, God or nothing, is typical of certain strains in Counter-Reformation apologetics; but Spencer reads more like a student of the new philosophy than an Ignatian nihilist. Popkin, *The History of Scepticism from Erasmus to Descartes*, pp. 70-88.

⁴⁵ *The Darkness of Atheism Dispelled by the Light of Nature* (London, 1652), sig. B3^r; cf. RM, i, 20, p. 20. Further evidence is the changing note of apology in the three successive translations of Lucretius, by John Evelyn (London, 1656), Thomas Creech (Oxford, 1682), and Dryden (London, 1700). The argument from anatomy is an imaginatively charged variation on the argument from design: it being nearly impossible to imagine one's ego the product of purely material causes. When the doctor in Tourneur's *Atheist's Tragedy* dissuades the

But quite apart from Cartesianism, English Protestantism is inclined to look for a ground for faith that is, on the one hand, not merely the indubitable and supernatural experience of "lyght from heauen shynynge" in the text of the Bible, but which is not, on the other hand, an appeal to common experience of material reality – which would be idolatrous.⁴⁶ One possible avenue is the appeal to supernatural experience, that is, to diabolical or providential activity.

Atheistes cannot denie, but that there are devils, and if they grant that there be devils, they must also grant that there is a God.⁴⁷

At its crudest, this is an appeal to the providential pessimism of the imagination, however atheistic the intellect. Caligula sneered at the gods, argues Calvin, but hid under his bed when there was lightning.⁴⁸ Even if a man denies the inner light, he remains afraid of the outer darkness; if he does not accept the light shining from heaven, in the medium of the Bible, through imagination, into our intellect, he will have to face retributive fire from God, shining through imagination, and causing great terror. As late as the eighteenth century, it is still possible to advance this lightning-of-the-imagination theodicy: one charming anonymous pamphlet from George I's reign, *A treatise, wherin are Strict Observations Upon That detestable and most shocking Sin [sic] of Sodomy, Blasphemy, and Atheism*, assumes that thunder must frighten those who overtly reject God's policing of the world.⁴⁹

villain from atheism on the grounds of sexual generation, (V, ii, ll.106-7; p. 106 in the ed. by Irving Ribner (London, 1964)) he is appealing to this difficulty.

⁴⁶ *Institutes*, I, i, 5-7.

⁴⁷ Weemes, 'A treatise', *Works*, IV, sig. 8C1^v-8C2^r; also, Derodon, sig. L1^v-L2^r; Casaubon, G8^v-H1^r; *Adv.* II, vi, 1; Burton, *Anatomy*, I, 202-3; James VI and I, *Daemonologie*, sig. A3^r-A4^r; Andrewes, *A pattern of catechistical doctrine*, pp. 23-32; Thomas Ady, *A Candle in the dark* (London, 1656), sig. A3^r. Louis Lavaterus, in *Of ghostes and spirites walking by nyght, and of strange noyses, crackes, and sundry forewarnynges* (London, 1572), exults that there are fewer ghosts abroad since the Reformation, but his tr., Richard Harrison, is concerned that the fact of their existence is consequently dwindling in England (fol. 183-6; sig. [A1]^v). George Giffard, on the contrary, thinks diabolical activity has increased with the Reformation, and that this is a good corrective to atheism: *A dialogue concerning vitches and witchcrafts* (London, 1603), sig. A2^{r-v}. Joseph Glanvill, *A blow at Modern Sadducism in some Philosophical Considerations about Witchcraft*, fourth ed. (London, 1668), p. 111. Thomas, pp. 472-6, 573.

⁴⁸ *Institutes*, I, i, 5.

⁴⁹ London, 1728. The villain of Tourneur's *Atheist's Tragedy* is won over to atheism, and his

Another way, analogous to this, is the appeal to imaginative experience of the sublime. The hint of infinite splendour in our experience of human arts is a suggestion of the infinite order and goodness that lies just beyond and behind the Fallen world of experience. With the arts, as with witchcraft and the more astounding judgments of providence, we do not have to rely on *energia* in the text or the constancy of faith, but have a muted perception of the presence of God, ubiquitous and certain as sunlight.⁵⁰

Bearing this in mind, it is possible to detect in English Protestant defences of poetry two disparate tendencies. Moderate Protestantism preserves the medieval idea of arts and sciences as part of hierarchy, with theology at the apex. Secular arts and sciences are valid because they are congruent disciplines to theology. All human knowledge is connected.⁵¹ All human sciences, including *Rhetoric* and even *Arithmetick*, "depend on the true Sophia", the Holy Spirit, who was not wholly lost at the Fall.

[The Holy] [spirit is that eternall wi]dome which effecteth and exciteth this Rhetoricall and Oratoricall function⁵²

– that is, poetry. Without the spirit, poets are dumb.⁵³ The validity of the art of literature depends upon belief in the authority of human knowledge *despite* the Fall. Poetry has its place in the pyramid of human sciences.

But *Protestantes Rigidores*, including Sidney and Greville, deny that theology has any congruent disciplines. "Artes . . . are needefull onely to this carnall life", or are shadows, not only imperfect but vain, of the reality beyond this world.⁵⁴ The Fall ends man's claims to natural cognisance of the world. Even about God we are blind: atheism can be detected everywhere.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, the arts (usually poetry, since scripturalism

victims are outraged, by the initial absence of such providential judgments – symbolised, again, by lightning (II, iv, l.140, and IV, iii, ll.160-4, pp. 46, 87; see also Robert Ornstein, 'The Atheist's Tragedy and Renaissance Naturalism', *SP*, LI (1954) pp. 194-207).

⁵⁰ Fotherby, *Atheomastix*, 'A Preface to the Reader', sig. B2^r.

⁵¹ *Lawes*, Preface, iii, 10; I, iii, 10; I, vi, 3.

⁵² Robert Fludd, *Mosaicall philosophy* (London, 1659), sig. D3^v - D4^r. Fotherby, *Atheomastix*, sig. Q5^r, 2F4^v-2F5^r.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, sig. D4^r.

⁵⁴ Woolton, *A nerve anatomie*, sig. E7^r; Greville, 'Life of Sidney', p. 11.

⁵⁵ Greville accuses Alençon of a plot to encourage English licentiousness and atheism as a softening-up barrage for popery. Henry of Navarre's conversion was "the true discipline of

supplies an inherent bias in favour of verbal expression) do seem to give us a glimpse of the unfallen world; it follows that in poetry a trace survives of the supernatural "storehouse and flowing fountaine" of intuitive knowledge that Adam had before the Fall, "when nature was innocent & vncorrupted". The "sparks"⁵⁶ of divine truth we find in poetry now are not valid because literary art "bringeth much light, & great seruice"⁵⁷ to theology, both being human sciences. Poetry is, like our experience of witchcraft or providence, supernatural; its light is not the light of nature, but an *aposiopesis* that carries us suddenly beyond nature, beyond the chasm of the Fall.

Henry Holland's sturdy book, *A treatise against vwitchcraft: or A Dialogue, wherein the greateft doubts concerning that finne, are briefly answered* 1590, is one of a large number of defences of the existence of witchcraft against the aspersions of men like Reginald Scot. Holland argues that the Earth is divided into two kingdoms, Christ's and Satan's, and that most people try to avoid this apprehension:

the Neuters of this worlde, dreame they may . . . neuer approach neere those bloody skirmishes⁵⁸.

Holland's *Treatise* proposes to give these doubters a proper vision of the spiritual battle. Similarly, Beard's *The theatre of Gods Iudgements* attempts to cure his readers' blindness to the working of God's retributive punishment. Both try to make the invisible visible, not by an idolatrous construction of images of the invisible (for that would itself be a sort of witchcraft),⁵⁹ but by drawing attention to the actual presence of the supernatural, which the reader can then perceive for himself. Witchcraft and providence cannot be explained in terms of the world's natural workings; they are a direct revelation.

atheism". The crypto-papist Northampton corrupted James' favourite, Somerset, with atheism. *The five yeares of King Iames* (London, 1643); 'Life of Sidney', pp. 31, 107.

⁵⁶ Woolton, *A newve anatomie of vvhole man*, sig. A1^v.

⁵⁷ Lively, *A true chronologie*, sig. A7^r.

⁵⁸ Holland, Dedicatory Epistle to Essex, *A treatise* (Cambridge, 1590), sig. A2^r.

⁵⁹ Ady, sig. C4^v.

(2) Sidney and the argument from inspiration

[Sidney sought] first, to see what true knowledge she [the soul] retains of her own essence out of the light of herself
Greville, 'The life of Sidney', p. 81.

Holland's *Treatise* and Beard's *Theatre* thus work as Sidney says poetry works, and as the purely natural and human sciences, such as history and philosophy, do not. Or rather, one could say that in the *Apologie* Sidney is trying to add poetry to the list of divine, rather than human, sciences, and to distinguish it from mere human, postlapsarian knowledge, such as moral philosophy and gentile history. Sidney's apology *for* poetry implies the apologetic use of poetry to defend Protestant, or at least Christian, truth, as poetry is valuable *because* it reflects the higher, golden world, and thus is valuable because it suggests that the golden world exists.

The Apologie for Poetry is so much better than the clichéd, awkward and sterile run of the Elizabethan Protestant debate on the arts that, from all but the literary historian's point of view, it is desirable that it has outlived the debate, and is read for its own sake. Nevertheless, *The Apologie* does have a didactic context; it is meant as a defence rather than as a eulogy.

The question is what question he is answering: to whom is Sidney apologising? He proposes a motley array of prosecutors: philistines, pedants and pedagogues; Plato; the Puritan conscience. These are not all equally serious. The philistine imputation, that poetry lies, that the stage claims to be Thebes and is not Thebes, is comically easy to refute; the philistine is a stalking horse to the assault on the academic detractor, who is damned by association with *Pendantria*, the great dreary goddess who emerges as the enemy in the first minutes of the discussion.⁶⁰ Plato's complaint about the moral turpitude of poetry is waved away (this is only the abuse of poetry, says Sidney, not its essence); so are the humanist's anxiety about vulgar taste, and the Protestant moralist's anxiety about the gross frivolity of the comic drama.⁶¹

⁶⁰ *Apologie*, sig. B1^v.

⁶¹ On *Apologie* as an answer to Plato, see Irene Samuel, 'The Influence of Plato on Sidney's

The *Apologie* cannot be understood as a response to the attack of writers like Gosson.⁶² It defends the practice of fiction against the iconoclastic doubts of the Protestant mind: that is, it defends poetry against the inevitable misgivings of the Reformed imagination. Poetry is a valid source of light, despite the postlapsarian darkness:

[for even] the heathens acknowledge a resurrection, and the Poets a restoring to their former estate and condition The heathens had their *nosce teipsum*, . . . written vpon the doore of Apolloes temple, as the first step vnto the service of God⁶³

The universal secondary imagination of a deathless golden world, discovered by knowing the self and not by looking outward, is evidence of an actual golden world, which man has lost. The marks of immortality and sinlessness, as well as of sinfulness and death, lie within the self. Indeed, such golden perfection is to be imagined in terms of the self: for to imagine human capabilities as inherently finite is pagan –

the Ethnicks and Gentiles . . . are altogether ignorant of Adams transgression, and doe suppose that throughe malicious nature, mankinde hath bene subiect to thraldome and miseries, euen from the beginning.⁶⁴

The limitations which reality imposes on the actions of the self, even, for instance, the incapacities of our memory, are exterior constraints: consciousness is innately unbounded, and through poetry rediscovers its

Defence of Poesy, *MLQ*, I (1940), 383-91; Michael Krouse, 'Plato and Sidney's *Defence of Poesie*', *CompL*, VI (1954), 138-47, especially pp. 138-9, 146-7; C.M. Dowlin, 'Sidney's two definitions of poetry', *MLQ*, III (1942), 573-81; pp. 573, 580; and Ludwig Edelstein in 'The Function of Myth in Plato's Philosophy', *JHI*, X (1949), 463-81, on the Sidnean and Platonic idea in Spenser and Milton. *Apologie*, sig. D3^v-D4^r, E1^v, F3^{r-v}.

⁶² Gosson notoriously dedicated to Sidney, without permission, his first book against poetry, *The Schoole [sic] of Abuse, Conteyning a pleasaunt inuectiue against Poets, Pipers, Plaiers, Iesters, and such like Caterpillars of a Commonwealth* (London, 1579). A.F. Kinney does not conclusively prove that Sidney had read *The Schoole of Abuse*, or that he took care to confute its points (Preface, *Markets of Bawdrie: The dramatic criticism of Stephen Gosson* (Salzburg, 1974), pp. 44-6); Gosson had been answered at his own level by Thomas Lodge.

Gosson, despite what is often assumed, was not a Puritan: he attacks the "wrangling humor of the *Presbyterie*", and his final book, *The Trumpet of VVarre* (London, 1598) is immoderate in abuse of Puritans, "beastes in the shape of men" (sig. F4^r).

⁶³ Hull, *Saint Peters prophesie of these last daies*, sig. 3Z4^{r-v}.

⁶⁴ Woolton, *A newve anatomie of vvhole man*, sig. C5^r. Cf. Pierre Charron, *Of wisdome: three bookes: written in French by Peter Charrö Doct^r of Lawe in Paris*, tr. Samson Lennard (London, 1607).

own nature.⁶⁵ The secondary imagination is a secondary source of information about true man, that is, about unfallen Adam, and therefore a route back to the "storehouse and flowing fountaine" of divine fire.⁶⁶

This view of man's capacity to recall perfection can be reconciled with the Calvinist view of man's postlapsarian depravity, because Calvin himself distinguishes, almost as sharply as Bacon, between terrestrial and celestial knowledge. Efficacious knowledge of salvation is altogether lost to Adam, and sin blinds his heirs even to the patent evidence of God in nature. Nevertheless, while an individual's particular perceptions and notions err, general notions are unlikely to be wrong; language, for instance, must be reliable (for the verbal communication of the Bible to be possible), and we can discuss categories and classes without the laboured employment of the schoolman's artificial *genus*.⁶⁷ It is possible to appeal from man's corrupt reason to his relatively uncorrupt primary imagination, the ordering faculty; even to the secondary imagination, for a special excitement of the imagination is produced by any experience of God, even in blind and dirty man.⁶⁸ Such desire is of no help to salvation, which comes only through the scriptures; nevertheless, so far as it goes, it is a sign of a *nostalgia* in man for things beyond his Fallen state.

Manifold indeed is the nimbleness of the soul with which it surveys heaven and earth, joins past to future, retains in memory something heard long before, nay, pictures to itself whatever it pleases. Manifold also is the skill with which it devises things incredible, and which is the mother of so many marvellous devices. These are unfailing signs of divinity in man⁶⁹

– although they can be of no help in man's striving after divinity.

Sidney's and Greville's Calvinist poetry has as its ethical goal an appeal to the imaginative reminiscence of good, which the Fall has obliterated in the reason and will.⁷⁰ The theological background is the

⁶⁵ Woolton, *A newve anatomie of vvhole man*, sig. B7^v, C7^r.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, sig. A1^v.

⁶⁷ *Institutes*, I, i; II, ii, 13, 23. *Apologie*, sig. E3^r-E4^r.

⁶⁸ William Cowper, Bishop of Galloway, *A holy alphabet for Sion's Scholars* (London, 1613), p. 186; *Institutes*, I, i, 7; I, v, 5. Harold Fisch, *Jerusalem and Albion: The Hebraic Factor in English Literature* (London, 1964), pp. 4-5.

⁶⁹ *Institutes*, I, v, 5.

⁷⁰ Ronald A. Rebholz, *The life of Fulke Greville First Lord Brooke* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 66-7,

softened Calvinist determinism of de Mornay, in which God foresees our free and eternal volitions, and orders the choices of our mortal life and all secondary causes to fulfill these ends.⁷¹ The circumstances of life, including our imaginative lives, act out in shadow-play the felicity and goodness of the Elect; thus Calvin's denial of any effective goodness in humanity since the Fall is partly circumvented. Our actions and imaginations, although they cannot help towards salvation, can be actually and in themselves good.⁷² Thus,

our erected wit, maketh vs know what perfection is,
and yet our infected will, keepeth vs from reaching
vnto it⁷³;

nevertheless, it is possible to offer such aids of art to that surviving spark that it can be made an effectual prop to faith and to righteousness.

That sparks of intuitive light have survived the Fall radical Protestants would typically accept, and moderate Protestants (and of course Catholics) typically deny.⁷⁴ What is controversial is whether there is any systematic way to exploit these wisps of divine vision – a science that pertains to these sparks, an art above all arts, a "supreme knowledge" (what Sidney calls an *ἀρχιτεκτονική*), served by all other disciplines, which moves and directs men.⁷⁵

Bacon, as discussed in my first chapter, explicitly denies that "any science . . . doth properly or fitly pertain to the imagination" (as, among others, does Calhill, the theorist of iconoclasm).⁷⁶ But there are

136-9; Joan Rees misses this point in *Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, 1554-1628: A Critical biography* (London, 1971), pp. 6-7. Walker qualifies this as regards Sidney: 'Atheists', p. 276. Cf. Snyder's intr. to her ed. of du Bartas, pp. 34-5.

⁷¹ Mornay, *A Worke concerning the Trunesse of Christian Religion*, sig. P8^v, Q1^v-Q4^v; H.C. Baker, *The wars of truth: studies in the decay of Christian Humanism in the earlier seventeenth century* (London, 1952), pp. 209, 226. Rebholz, pp. 23-4.

⁷² Mornay *A Worke concerning the Trunesse of Christian Religion*, sig. P8^{r-v}, U6^{r-v}, Z2^v-Z4^v; Greville, 'A letter to an honourable lady', *The Prose Works*, ed. John Gouws (Oxford, 1986), pp. 139-50; Rebholz, p. 24.

⁷³ *Apologie*, sig. C2^{r-v}.

⁷⁴ Lawes, I, iii, 10; also Preface, viii, 3, 6-14; III, viii, 4. Laud, *The conference*, p. 70. Andrewes, *Ninety-six sermons*, III, 275. Heppe, ii, 10 (p. 26). *Adv.*, II, xi, 1-3. *NA*, p. 222-3. *PR*, IV, 288-90.

⁷⁵ *Apologie*, sig. C3^v, D1^r, D2^v.

⁷⁶ Sp., III, 382. The human soul, "by the Word [the Bible], may behold the word [Nature]"; any third way, such as cumulative human learning, or pictures, are merely our own devillish devices: Calhill, *An answer*, pp. 46-7. Cf. *RM*, ii, 2 (p. 2).

candidates for the architechtonic. Beard maintains that the Christian's inspired apprehension of providence, in "[s]traight and direct motion, as well the generall as the particular", can be turned into a science.⁷⁷ William Baldwin's perennially marketable *A treatise of Morall Philosophie*⁷⁸, which was up to its fifteenth edition when the *Apologie* was published, argues that inspired philosophy is the chief of all knowledge, as it can be effectual in defining and promoting faith and godliness, being itself self-sufficient and self-interpretative: we do not need "eyther . . . Logicke or Rhethoricke".⁷⁹ Baldwin's antagonists are Protestant precisionists who contemn pagan learning as "a thing very odious . . . for Infidels and misse-beleeuers";⁸⁰ that is, they are much the same as Sidney's. Baldwin's defence, that philosophy is the same everywhere and always righteous – all philosophers were ascetic Christians *avant la lettre*, all right philosophy is properly called theology⁸¹ – is much like Sidney.

Fotherby, the Jacobean Bishop of Salisbury, œcumenically includes every human art, liberal, metaphysical and even mechanical, as a systematic exploitations of the Spirit within. Fotherby even uses Sidney's word, "*Architechtonicals*", to describe their pneumatic power.⁸² But the arts of language are closest to God, since the divine is essentially the verbal:

λόγος, in generall, is like the nature of the Deitie . . . Grammar, is λόγος, Logick, is λόγος, & Rhetorick, is λόγος⁸³.

However inspired poets are, there is always a better work conceivable, and their inspiration must be a pale copy of an even higher art, which is

⁷⁷ Beard, sig. [A5]^r.

⁷⁸ I cite the most accessible copy, the modern facsimile of the 1620 ed., rev. Thomas Palfreyman, intr. R.H. Bowers (Gainesville, FA., 1967), but have checked it against *A treatise of Morall Phylofophye, contayning the sayings of the wyse Gathered and Englyshed* (London, 1550). STC, I, 57.

⁷⁹ Baldwin, *A treatise of Morall Philosophie*, I,ii; fol. 2^r.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, II,i; fol. 40^r.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 40^r-41^r.

⁸² *Spirit* here is more-or-less synonymous with *mind*. Created things are finite only because they are positively limited by God (this is what Lovejoy, pp. 103-54, calls the principle of plenitude), and mind is naturally as infinite as spirit; it is finite in its capacities only because God imposes bounds on it: *Atheomastix*, sig. Q3^r, O5^v-Q1^r.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, sig. 2F5^v.

divine. Poetry points towards the greater Word beyond itself.

The architectonic quality of poetry claimed by Sidney means that poetry must be capable of applying philosophy to action and of detecting providence; that is, it must have the quality ascribed by Beard and Baldwin to their own fields. Philosophy is the more important rival: and Sidney's attack on the claims of philosophy is a form of the classic Protestant appeal to the perversity of human faculties (which is of course the crux of the Protestant account of the sacraments).⁸⁴ A "woordish description" of, say, "an Elephant or a Rinoceros", and a "iudiciall cōprehending" by the reader, is not what humans want, because it "doth neyther strike, pierce, nor possesse the sight of the soule"; their inner eyes require a picture, and since an actual picture of the divine is forbidden, they must have a wordish picture from which the secondary imagination may gain "a true liuely knowledge".⁸⁵ Philosophy can only work mnemonically, by appealing to pictures already within the mind, and its imperatives

lye darke before the imaginatiue and iudging powre, if they be not illuminated or figure fourth by the speaking picture of Poesie.⁸⁶

Poetry, therefore, and not philosophy, is the architectonic science, and it is therefore a matter of divine and not natural light. It is not to be tried by nature, rather as transubstantiation is "not to be tried by rules of nature";⁸⁷ it involves a miraculous conservation of prelapsarian light.

⁸⁴ Cranmer, *Works*, I, 37, 41-2, 207-10. Latimer, *Works*, I, 458-9. Hughes, p. 199-200, 209-10.

⁸⁵ *Apologie*, sig. D3^r. Cf. Sp. II, 659: "images visible work better than other conceits".

⁸⁶ *Apologie*, sig. D3^v.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, sig. E2^v, G4^v; Harding, in Jewel, I, 502, 504.

(3) Sidney's practice of poetry

[Sidney sought] first, to see what true knowledge she [the soul] retains of her own essence out of the light of herself
Greville, 'The life of Sidney', p. 81.

The defence of poetry that identifies poetic light with supernatural light thus amounts to a defence of the supernatural. Poetry in Sidney's scheme vindicates philosophy as showing that the life of virtue can be led; Xenophon's *Cyrus* vindicates the possibility of men like *Cyrus*.⁸⁸ Poetic artifice vindicates providence by rendering the invisible judicial activity of God visible. Pamela in her cell in the *Arcadia*, praying her famous prayer, is asserting the government of God over the apparent anarchy of human affairs.

O Lord, I yeeld unto thy will, and joyfully embrace
what sorrow thou will have me suffer Let calamitie
be the exercise, but not the overthrowe of my vertue.⁸⁹

King Charles adopted this prayer for himself in his death-cell, for which Milton, as a government pamphleteer, posthumously attacked him. Milton exploits Protestantism's instinct against fiction being used in any way that trespasses on the literary prerogatives of Scripture, including private devotion; and thus abuses Charles' borrowing of

a Prayer stol'n word for word from the mouth of a
Heathen fiction prayed to a Heathen God; & that in no
serious Book⁹⁰.

This is ignoble, but not trivial, because by appropriating Pamela's prayer, the King appropriated the *Arcadia's* vindication of providence. His murder thus becomes part of the divine economy of grace: a martyrdom.

⁸⁸ *Apologie*, sig. C2^r.

⁸⁹ *The countess of Pembroke's Arcadia: written by Sir Philip Sidney, Knt. The original quarto edition (1590) in photographic facsimile*, ed. H. Oskar Sommer (London, 1891), III, vi, fol. 264^v, hereafter cit. as *Arcadia*. There is no good critical ed.; Albert Feuillerat's ed. for *Cambridge English Classics: The Complete Works of Sir Philip Sidney*, IV vols. (Cambridge, 1912-26) is an inaccurate reprint.

⁹⁰ *Εἰκονοκλάστης*, ed. Merritt Y. Hughes, DMW, III, 335-601. Walker's remark ('Ways of Dealing with Atheists: a background to Pamela's refutation of Cecropia', p. 264), that Milton is making a *critical* misjudgment of Pamela's sound Protestant zeal, seems to me beside the point: Milton's judgment is ulterior and political, and the condemnation more fundamental than literary criticism. The orthodoxy of the prayer itself is unquestioned.

The practice in Sidney's *Arcadia*, as much as his theory in the *Apologie*, is meant as a rebuff to scepticism and a defence of the reality of the unseen realm. This becomes quite ambitious and explicit: for, having fixed her faith upon God's providence, the imprisoned Pamela has shortly to defend God himself against her oen, and her aunt's, and her readers', doubts.

The chapter in question is called (though not by Sidney) "Pamelas *exercise*. Cecropias talke with her of Beautie and the vse thereof. The Auntes Atheisme refuted by the Neeces Diuinitie."⁹¹ Pamela, still imprisoned in the castle of her wicked aunt Cecropia, is patiently embroidering a purse with roses and lilies. Her face's natural splendour has been carefully but undeceitfully enhanced with cosmetics, and its reds and whites furnish and inspire the beauties of her needlework⁹² – thus far we are on the same ground as the *Apologie*: artifice reproduces nature, and in reproduction consummates and perfects.

Cecropia enters Pamela's cell to praise both face and purse. This compliment is gracefully turned, but Cecropia wants to expand it to a symposium on the nature of beauty. She reproduces a debased version of the *Apologie's* model of beauty as the efficacious agent of good. In Cecropia's scheme, beauty is the efficacious agent of its possessor. Beauty is power, and, because they are superlatively beautiful, *belles* are the unacknowledged legislators of the world. But Pamela will not have beauty for beauty's sake: the *essence* of beauty is its imperative power over men, but its proper *use* is in harmony with the higher moral order and higher beauty of heaven. There is a light within the heart of man that turns us from earthly beauty to its heavenly font, and thus merely worldly exploitation of beauty must be deranged.⁹³

Pamela has thus identified the abstract worth of material beauty with the abstract beauty and purpose of the universe, that is, with God; and Cecropia has to attack monotheism itself to shake her niece's aesthetics –

⁹¹ *Arcadia*, III, x ; fol. 277^v, and following: "The diuision and summing of the Chapters was not of Sir Philip Sidneis dooing, but aduentured by the ouer-seer of the print": publisher's Preface, sig. A4^v.

⁹² *Arcadia*, fol. 277^v-278^r.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, fol. 278^v-280^r; cf. the *Apologie*, sig. B4^v: the liberty of human poetry is a divine attribute; the natural object of poetry "that vn[s]peakable and euerlasting beautie".

employing the vttermoſt of her miſchieuous witte, and ſpeaking the more earneſtly, becauſe ſhe ſpake as ſhe thought,⁹⁴

being herſelf an atheist, or rather a ſort of Epicurean: an atheist in the ſecond ſenſe of the word. Religion, Cecropia intimates to her appalled niece, grows from ſuperſtitious dread, and is preſerved as a civil expedient. It is "the beſt bonde, which the moſt politicke wittes haue found, to holde mans witte in well doing."⁹⁵ Pamela can be an initiate in the fraud by purſuing virtue only for its effects, and by realising

that all things follow but the courſe of their owne nature, ſauing only Man, who while by the pregnancie of his imagination he ſtrives to things ſupernaturall, meane-while he looſeth his owne naturall felicitie. Be wiſe, and that wiſedome ſhalbe a God unto thee⁹⁶.

It will be ſeen that even Cecropia admits that the imagination is theiſt.

Pamela explodes at this into an indignant refutation, which is furioſly argued and ends with Cecropia's diſcomfiture. D.P. Walker has uſefully collated this defence with the conventions of Reformation counter-ſceptical writing; and on the ſtrength of the comparison, accuses Pamela of diſingenuity, becauſe ſhe compounds fortuitous order and chaos by calling them both *Chance*. Since the uniuerſe obviously is not chaotic, ſhe concludes that it is not fortuitous, but has an ordering mind. Attributing conſciouſneſs, benignity and infinity to this great mind (perhaps arbitrarily) completes natural religion, and the aunt is abashed with the promiſe of diuine deſtruction for diſbelief.⁹⁷

This is dialectically true, but Walker is miſſing Sidney's point in the *Apologie* that poetry is the architechtonic proof of ſupernal light ordering and directing the world. Pamela's natural theology does not diſtinguiſh order from intention becauſe ſhe is intereſted not in order as ſuch, but in ſublimity:

I . . . call all your ſenſes to witnes, which can heare, nor ſee nothing, which yeeldes not moſt euident euidence of the vniſpeakeableneſſe of that Wiſedome: . . . ſo proper effects of iudgement, as ſpeaking [is] . . . of mankind⁹⁸.

⁹⁴ *Arcadia*, fol. 280^v.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 281^r.

⁹⁷ Walker, 'Ways of Dealing with Atheiſts', pp. 270-2.

Mindfulness is as apparent to the "pregnancie of the imagination" in the universe as in mankind.⁹⁹

Only superficially is this scene meant as an academic debate over the likelihood of theism: such a debate is hardly possible within orthodox, Calvinist English Protestantism.¹⁰⁰ It is the light within that impels Pamela to believe, and by which the reader is struck, rather than the actual "light infinitely vpwards" of the exterior world.¹⁰¹ The light is Pamela's inner reality, apparent from those beautiful shadows, her face, the embroidered purse which models it, and the speech she makes to Cecropia. The speech begins with virtuous flushing – her cheeks flare in the "beautifulleſt graine of vertuous anger"¹⁰² – and when it ends even Cecropia perceives about her niece "a light more than humaine, which gaue a lustre to her perfections."¹⁰³ Conversely, Cecropia falls into atheism's "bottomleſſe pitt of abſurdities"¹⁰⁴ not through intellectual error, but because she is reprobate, and therefore blind, like a "batte", to enlightenment.¹⁰⁵

Pamela and Cecropia's debate is thus feeble as dialectic, but effective as Calvinist theology, and a reasonable application of the claims made in the *Apologie* for literature's architectonic authority.¹⁰⁶ It is in fact hardly a debate at all, since Pamela won't let her aunt answer back ("But you will ſay", "But you may affirme"),¹⁰⁷ and will not altogether commit herself to the project of refuting stark disbelief:

⁹⁸ *Arcadia*, fol. 283^r, 282^r.

⁹⁹ Walker ('Atheists', pp. 262, 276) is not impressed partly because he is interested, not in the Calvinist defence of God, but in the *prisca theologia*, the early, gnomic Greek and Latin texts some Renaissance writers regarded as the Gentile analogy to Jewish scripture; and with the 'liberal' Renaissance concept of a revelation to the pagans

¹⁰⁰ *Institutes*, I, i, 2-4.

¹⁰¹ *Arcadia*, fol. 282^r.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, fol. 281^r.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, fol. 284^v.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 281^v.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 284^v.

¹⁰⁶ C.S. Lewis pronounces that one has to appreciate this set speech to have tasted *Arcadia*: *English literature in the sixteenth century*, p. 335. Besides, it is the intellectual climax to the theme of innocence triumphing over circumstance. In the previous chapter, Philanax goes cheerfully to a sentence of death from Cecropia's husband Amphialus, knowing himself innocent; in the next, Phalantus is defeated by Amphialus in battle, but fights with such *savoir faire* that he is befriended and freed without ransom.

¹⁰⁷ *Arcadia*, fol. 282^{r,v}.

I ſpeke to you without any hope of fruite in ſo rotten a
hearte . . . [Yet this] hearde I once againſt ſuch a godleſſe
minde as yours¹⁰⁸

Theism and atheism cannot, in the Calvinist scheme, be merely propositional matters, but are expressions of a state of being: Cecropia axiomatically refuses the erect wit, the pregnancy of the secondary imagination, and Pamela axiomatically accepts it. *Arcadia*, as a Protestant romance, means to present Pamela as illuminated, that is, to make the light within her "ſtrike, pierce, . . . [and] poſſeſſe the ſight of the ſoule" of the reader.¹⁰⁹

When the *Apologie* urges the poetic faculty as proof to "the incredulous" of man's prelapsarian perfection, the defence of poetry and the defence of orthodoxy are quite seriously being linked: both are knowledge revealed by a supernal light from beyond nature. The two incredulities have to be refused, and it is the rhetorical climax of Sidney's second, esoteric, non-mimetic argument for poetry (signalled by the disclaimer: "theſe arguments wil by fewe be vnderſtood, and by fewer granted")¹¹⁰ that their refusal by Protestant idealism is essentially a single, unified act. It is all the more unfortunate that this "incredulous" has been emended in Jan van Dorsten's Oxford edition to read "the credulous", despite the witness of one of the two manuscripts and both the rival editions of 1595.¹¹¹ As it reads in van Dorsten's edition, Sidney is proposing that the superstitious, the groundlings, will have their belief in the story of Adam buoyed by this eulogy of poetry; whereas he seems to me to be asserting that the inspired power of the poetic imagination can abash the learned 'atheists' who deny the presence of such inspiration.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 281^v.

¹⁰⁹ *Apologie*, sig. D3^r.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, sig. C2^v: another typically Sidnean irony.

¹¹¹ Olney's ed. (sig. C2^r), and Ponsonby's (*The defence of Poetrie* (London, 1595), sig. C1^r), read "incredulous"; van Dorsten chooses "credulous" on the authority of the De L'Isle MS (which I have not seen). His policy is to prefer this MS. where it "has a unique reading that appears to be authentic, or a minor variant which is manifestly superior" (p. 69); what we have here is an important interpretative judgment expressing itself as textual criticism.

Sidney had of course tr. Mornay's *A Worke concerning the Trunelle of Christian Religion . . . Againſt Atheiſts*, and seems to have absorbed much of its rationalist Calvinism. Allen, 'The degeneration of man and Renaissance pessimism', p. 11. Bredvold, 'The Sources used by Davies in *Nosce teipsum*', pp. 747-8. Baker, p. 226. Bamborough, pp. 423-4.

Greville inherited from Sidney the project of reconciling an ambitious Protestant poetic, a literary Puritan humanism, with the Protestant religion. Greville did not succeed, and renounced it for a more rugged sort of Calvinism. Indeed, in his *Life of Sidney*, Greville represents the universal scholar himself making the renunciation:

when his body declined and his piercing inward powers were lifted up to a purer horizon he then discovered not only the imperfection, but vanity, of these shadows, how daintily soever limned: as seeing that even beauty itself, in all earthly complexions, was more apt to allure men to evil than to fashion any goodness in them.¹¹²

¹¹² Greville, 'Life of Sidney', p. 11.

CHAPTER TEN

THE POETIC
OFFSPRING OF THE BIBLE

A new method must be found for quiet entry into minds so choked and overgrown. Frenzied men are exacerbated by violent opposition but may be beguiled by art.

Bacon, 'Temporis Partus
Masculus', Farrington, p. 62 (Sp.
III, 529).

THIS IS a chapter of loose ends, since the practice of self-consciously Protestant poetics is more complicated and indecisive than the theory. At least until the time of Cowley and Milton, there is no clear model in English letters for ambitious and successful Protestant poetry. The reader is faced with more-or-less drab Bible versifications on one hand, and more-or-less disastrous Biblical epics, on the model of du Bartas, on the other.

The prolific Elizabethan *genre* of metrical Bible paraphrases is thus beyond the scope of this study. Protestant poetry is specifically Protestant because of its assumptions about the authoritative nature of words, not its subject matter. Religious writing is miracle working at one remove:

Crystes dyscyples taughte Crystes doctryne, confermyng
it with myracles / that it myghte be knowen for goddes
and not theyrs. And euyn so muste the chyrche that I
wyll byleue / shew a myracle, or brynge authentyke
scripture that is come from the apostles that
confermed it with myracles.¹

¹ *An Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*, ed. Henry Walter (PS, 1850); the text is repr. more faithfully in More's answer to this pamphlet, *Confutation of Tyndale's Answer*, iii; More, VIII, part i, p. 346. Cf. the concern of George More, the Elizabethan non-conformist, at non-scriptural miracles, 'Preface to the Reader', *A true Discourse concerning the certaine possession and dispossessiõ of persons in one familie in Lancashire* (London, 1600), pp. 5-6.

Moreover, Tyndale does not mean only the Bible by this; the inspired character of the Biblical text is, as I argued in chapter four, not static, but a pool to be drawn on by Protestant preachers, exegetes, and perhaps poets. On the other hand, there is, as I have tried to document, a fervent jealousy in the Protestant imagination for preserving the singularity of the Bible, and the result is that versifications of the Bible, initially very popular, are, like Bible picture books, an attractive dead end, especially once the words of the Geneva and King James versions take a hold on popular reading.

In any case, Sidney's account of poetry implies a theoretical distinction between the manner and the mode of Protestant poetry; his double definition of poetry in the *Apologie* implies a warning against poetry with Biblical material. Poetry is *mimesis* – "Thus farre Ariſtotle".² Poetry *does* what the divine sparks remaining to man after the Fall still allow, that is, it raises him toward the perfection of heaven. The poet thus has, "(if he liſt) . . . all, from *Dante* his heaven, to hys hell, vnder the authoritie of his penne"; nevertheless, Sidney's ideal poet does not write about, but *toward*, heaven.³ Again, poetry is of three sorts: the sacred literature of the Bible itself; philosophical or theological poetry, which is also full of truths, but is mimetic, and thus without the moving power of either the Bible or of poetry proper; and "indeed right Poets",⁴ who write of human affairs, gilded by the inspiring flame within. The second class is dubious, because it trespasses on the function of the Bible, and antiquated, because it is only in the infancy of human civilisation that abstract dogma has to be promulgated as fiction.⁵ The explicit revelation of God's truth, given in the Bible and rediscovered in the Reformation, has reached a plateau, and the object of literature is the defence, not the discovery, of divine inspiration.⁶ Literature has to approach the Bible, but cannot come too close. The literary appropriation of the Bible, unlike its homiletic use, feels to the Protestant mind tactlessly close.

² *Apologie*, sig. E1^r.

³ *Apologie*, sig. E2^v. Cf. Van Dorsten's note in his ed., p. 187; Mornay, *A Worke concerning the Trunesse of Christian Religion*, iii, 215.

⁴ *Apologie*, sig. C3^r, B2^v-B3^r.

⁵ *Ibid.*, sig. B2^v; Chapman, *A free and offenceless Iustification*, fol.*2^r. Bacon, Preface to *The wisdom of the ancients*, sig. ¶A12^r.

⁶ Richard Sibbes, *Beames of diuine light, Breaking forth from severall places of holy Scripture* (London, 1639), pp. 20-1. Morgan, p. 50.

(1) Biblical matter

... driue out of office the baudy balades of lecherous loue
 William Baldwin, *Canticles*, sig. A3^{r-v}.

The Whiggish account of 'divine poetry', as defended by Allen and Campbell, pictures English literature deliberately laced with Biblical subjects at the Reformation, and slowly receding from such themes; Allen claims to trace an increasingly frivolous and whimsical use of the Deluge narrative.⁷ But Allen is ventriloquising a complex group of poems, and a disparate approach to the question of Biblical authority; he is perhaps thinking of the nineteenth century categories. Even in Allen's extreme example of attenuated belief, Edward Ecclestone's closet drama of 1690, *Noah's Flood*, the playwright's preface insists on the validity and authority of divine literature; such poets are

Something above the vulgar; nay, so much above
 them, that they are a medium betwixt God and Man:
 For as *Plato* says – *Non possunt carere priusquam Deo
 pleni*⁸

There follows the whole passage from the *Ion* on poetic inspiration as the voice of prophecy, which Sidney also quotes: the poet

is a light and winged thing, and holy, and never able to
 compose until he has become inspired, and is beside
 himself, and reason is no longer in him.⁹

What Ecclestone goes on to describe of the Deluge is thus sanctioned by the prophetic claim; and the liberties he takes with Holy Writ are, like Milton's, justified by a seriously inspirational view of poetry – poetry "writ with all the helps of Providence" – not by what Allen would call a rationalist attitude towards the Bible.¹⁰ The authority of the sacred text is to be thought of as extended or transfused, not diluted, by iteration.

⁷ Allen, *The Legend of Noah: Renaissance Rationalism in Art Science and Letters*. (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature. Vol. XXXIII, No. 3-4) (Urbana, 1949).

⁸ Edward Ecclestone, *Noah's flood, or, the destruction of the world. An opera* (London, 1679), sig. A2^{r-v}.

⁹ *Ion*, 534b (p. 220).

¹⁰ John Learder's 'Epistle' to Ecclestone's *Noah's flood*, sig. πA4^v; Allen, *Legend of Noah*, pp. 152-5. Better than Allen on Ecclestone and Ecclestone's Miltonic claim to spiritual inspiration is J.M. Baird, 'Milton and Ecclestone's *Noah's Flood*', *MLN*, LV (1940), 183-7.

Ecclestone's poetic assumptions are comparable with Milton's. Poetry and the Bible are cognate.

To be sure, William Prynne's *Histrion-mastix* looks back from the 1630s over a long antagonism between carnal literature and the Bible, to illustrate which he parades (in rapidly descending order of importance) the authorities of Protestantism:

[u]ndry texts of Scripture; of the whole Primitive Church, both under the Law and Gospell; of 55 Synodes and Councils; of 71 Fathers and Christian Writers, before the yeare of our Lord 1200; of aboue 50 foraigne and dome[st]ique Protestant and Popi[sh] Authors, since; of 40 Heathen Philo[s]ophers, Historians, Poets . . .¹¹

Prynne claims as his immediate progenitors the Elizabethans who tried to forbid any

to pen, to print, to sell, to read, or Schoole-masters and others to teach any amorous wanton Play-bookes, Histories, or Heathen Authors, especially *Ovids*; . . . and other such amorous Bookes, favoring either of Pagan Gods, of ethnick rites and ceremonies, or of [s]currility, amorousness & prophane[ss]e¹².

But this is obviously a jaundiced account of English Protestantism's literary programme; in general the Elizabethan radical Protestants, despite such odd books as *The Vngodlinesse of the Hethnicke Goddess*, were in favour even of the theatre.¹³ But Prynne apparently has in mind an actual attempt by the regime to reform literature: at a meeting in April, 1582, the Privy Council enjoined schoolmasters to use a recent Latin work by Christopher Ocland, the *Anglorum praelia*, "in place of some of the heathen poets nowe read among them, as Ovid de arte amanti, de tristibus, or suche lyke" of lascivious and pagan nature. By making Ocland a set text, the Council hoped to enhearten and direct other poets towards Christian work (as an afterthought it commended Ocland's verse).¹⁴

¹¹ William Prynne, *Histrion-mastix. The players scourge, or, actors tragedie* (London, 1633), title-page.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 916.

¹³ Gosson, *Playes confuted in fiue actions, prouing that they are not to be suffred in a christian common weale* (London, 1582); Kinney, p. 197. *The Vngodlinesse of the Hethnicke Goddess: or The Downfall of Diana of the Ephesians by J.D. an exile of the word, late a minister in London* (published by the Marian exiles, probably in Geneva, in about 1554) seems itself to regard itself as extreme.

¹⁴ I use the text preserved in the Privy Council archives: *Acts of the Privy Council*, ed. J.R.

Ocland was an old provincial schoolmaster,¹⁵ and *Anglorum prælia* is a schoolmasterly chronicle of England's military triumphs (though not her defeats) from Edward III's reign to the present, in heavy Latin verse, modelled, not very happily, on the battle scenes from the *Æneid*. It reproduces Virgil's monotheism, and is only vaguely Christian, certainly by no means Protestant. God is the "authour chiefe" of history. As in *Cymbeline*, the balmy *Pax Augusta* is, by special providential dispensation, allowed to extend to Britain, being designed by God as the backdrop to the Nativity. The English warriors invoke Him on the eve of Agincourt, but when their warriors fall, "their dying spirites, to Plutoes kingdom large . . . flie". The Reformation is as invisible as it is in Parker's *De antiquitate Britannicæ ecclesiæ*.¹⁶

From the peculiar perspective of a High Tory Professor of Poetry in Oxford during the Enlightenment, a Puritan conspiracy against learning and the arts can be detected in the canonisation of Ocland, in the rantings of *The Vngodlinessse of the Hethnicke Goddes*, and in the work of Gosson.¹⁷ But the real attraction of Ocland's English epic is its Englishness. Virgil and Ovid are good in themselves, but they apologise for Augustus, while Ocland, whatever his little merit, apologises for Elizabeth – particularly for Elizabeth's pacificism in the years before 1587, when she was resisting the radical Protestant faction's bellicose designs on Spain. Once Ocland was placed on the national curriculum, this national tone becomes overt: the short introductory verses, 'Εἰρηναρχία: sive

Dassent, N.S. XIII, 389-90 (21 April 1582); which is very different from the text printed in the later editions of *Anglorum prælia*, in Ames and Herbert's *Typographical Antiquities*, (London, 1786) II, 910n. (although not in the more accessible revision (London, 1810-9) by Dibdin), and in *DNB*, sub. 'Christopher Ockland' [sic]. Clearly, there must have been some sharp practice by Ocland or his publisher (or there may have been, as Douce's MS. note in the Bodleian's copy of Herbert proposes, a distinct, second PC document).

¹⁵ Thomas Warton, *History of English poetry*, ed. W. Carew Hazlitt, IV vols. (London, 1871), IV, 232. *DNB*.

¹⁶ Ocland, *Anglorum prælia. Ab Anno Domini. 1327* (London, 1580); subsequent eds. have grander title-pages. I quote from the English tr. by John Sharrock, entitled *The valiant actes and victorious battailes of the English nation* (London, 1585), sig. F4^r, A1^{r-v}, E4^r. C.A. Patrides' *The Grand Design of God: The literary form of the Christian view of history* (London, 1972).

¹⁷ "With such abundant circum[s]pection and solemnity did these profound and pious politicians . . . exert their endeavours to bring back barbari[s]m, and to obstruct the progress of truth and good sense" (Warton, IV, 231-3).

Elizabetha', are now expanded in scale and scope,¹⁸ extending to praise of Elizabeth's reform of "popiſh trompery dregges".¹⁹

With rather more artistic *finesse*, Ocland also added a passage to his epic in which Elizabeth's mother is comforted before her execution by a dream, which foretells the demise of popery in England and the vindication of the new religion. This is undoubtedly the best passage in the poem, and for thoroughly Sidnean reasons: it is the only point at which Ocland escapes "wrapped within the folde of the propoſed ſubject",²⁰ that is, the chroniclers, and attempts a realisation of the invisible. As with Katherine of Aragon's dream in *Henry VIII*, the passage vindicates the divine order behind the apparent chaos and nastiness of history. Its air of revelation is indeed vivid enough to be taken wholly seriously: this passage was reprinted a century later as *The Pope's farwel; or Queen Ann's Dream*, meant not as a revived classic, but as "a Poem, or Propheſie", that has "prov'd true" hitherto, and is to be taken as an authentically inspired assurance of the eventual victory of English Protestantism.²¹

That is, so far as it goes, evidence for Sidney's optimistic view of the interpretative authority of poetry. However, the brief official and popular enthusiasm for Ocland was caused by a simpler appetite: desire for an English epic poem was so great that readers were eager to persuade themselves that they had found it. The English translation of the *Anglorum prælia*, "wrought for the vnlearned crue" without Latin, is prefaced with a poem by an Oxford don, William Bluett, and Bluett is concerned with the literary consumption of these "countrie friends". As the canon of classical literature is translated into English, the question of the classics becomes national, and not merely academic, and Bluett invites those without Latin to repudiate "Virgills very fables", and read Ocland's true history.

Cease, ceaſe hence forth you worthy Engliſhe wightes,
at ſtraungers deedes, to take ſuch admiration²²

¹⁸ Also published separately (London, 1582).

¹⁹ Ocland, *Valiant actes*, sig. ²C3^v.

²⁰ *Apologie*, sig. C3^r, B2^v-B3^r.

²¹ And, in this context (London, 1680), Whiggism: for this is during the turmoil and anxiety of the Exclusion Crisis.

²² Ocland, *Valiant actes*, sig. π2^v, π4^r.

Ocland is, in a very dim way, a precursor of Milton, but he is far more like an early Macpherson. Elizabethan poetry, even when as vasty as the *Arcadia* or *The Faerie Queene*, is not genuinely epic, and the Biblical poetry of the sixteenth century merely versifies the text of the English Bible in metre, or at the most elaborates it. There can thus be little sense of competition with the masterpieces of antiquity.

Christopher Tye, in his metrical version of *The Actes of the Apostles*, although he assumes that a Biblical poet must deliberately abjure poetic devices and commitments ("Of force he must, such termes forgeat"), and be austere to the point of starkness ("my style, be grosse and bad"),²³ does not generally "condescende / The pleasaunt style, to disallow / But do it much commende."²⁴ Likewise Francis Sabie's octavo of three Biblical poems in 1596. *Adams Complaint: The Olde Worlde's Tragedie. David and Bathsheba*; Campbell thinks Sabie "was obviously desiring to offer poems which should set forth Biblical stories to compete with popular secular works",²⁵ but in the same year, Sabie himself published a series of pagan eclogues in imitation of Virgil, *Pan's Pipes*; and the two parts of a pagan romance called *The Fisher-mans Tale*.²⁶ "This historie (I præsume) you shall finde delightfull; the matter not offensiue to anie", writes Sabie in his introduction.²⁷ William Baldwin's *Canticles* indeed seems less liberal; Baldwin hopes that metrical Bible versions "myght once driue out of office the boudy balades of lecherous loue" sung "by courtyers in princes and noble mens houses", but this is a partisan cry addressed to the adolescent Edward VI, with his "earnest zeale to knowledge of truth, & diligent endeour to aduance the same",²⁸ and hardly proposes a general

²³ *The Actes of the Apostles, translated into Englyshe Metre, and dedicated to the kynges most excellent Maiestye* [the second edition, with full four-part score] (London, 1553), sig. A3^r. Campbell, *Divine Poetry*, p. 69.

²⁴ *Ibid.*: Tye argues further that the artlessness of Scriptural language is a function of its universal appeal, not of the unethically of artfulness in language.

²⁵ Campbell, *Divine Poetry*, p. 106. Allen, *Legend of Noah*, pp. 142-7.

²⁶ *Pans pipe, Three Pastorall Eglogues* [sic] in *Englysh Hexameter. With other poeticall Verses delightfull* (London, 1595); there is a reprint by J.W. Bright and W.P. Mustard in *MP*, VII (1910), 433-64. *The Fisher-mans Tale: of the famous Actes, Life and loue of Cassander a Grecian Knight and Flora's Fortune* (both London, 1595). The latter is a little famous because it derives from the same source as *The Winter's Tale*; there is an 1867 reprint.

²⁷ Sabie, *Flora's fortune*, sig. A2^r.

Protestant revolution in literature.

William Hunnis, a 'Drab Age' courtier poet, one of Tye's successors in the Chapel Royal, published yet another metrical version of the Psalms, which remained in print until the 1630s; also, more ambitiously, a versified Genesis, *A hyve full Of Hunnye: Contayning the Firſte Booke of Mosse, called Genesis*.²⁹ The commendatory epistle pictures Hunnis as a man personally inspired to turn away from the pagan Muse to the Bible; but the highest commendations are that Hunnis makes it easier to read Genesis – "thus thou Minced haſt the Foode, vvhich Goodmen al embrace" – and that he has not been original: indeed, that he reproduces not only the text, but also the annotations, of the Geneva Bible.³⁰ Verse as a form is easier than prose, and as Sidney points out, verse need not carry any implication of poetry. Verse is a mere translation, a covering, of the Word.

There is, finally, little intrinsic tension between the matter of Biblical poetry and of carnal literature, although impatience about human arts can in itself be used to impugn poetry: "Good thynges are hard, and euyll things are eaſye . . . [therefore] good bookes . . . be fewe".³¹ But the problem of Protestant poetry runs deeper than that. How far poetry can, or should, adopt the authoritative manners of the Bible, the great code of literature, the type and epitome of all books – and yet also the only sacred thing, the element through which the divine presence is manifested?

²⁸ Baldwin, *Canticles*, sig. A3^{r-v}.

²⁹ *Seven Sobs of a Sorrowfull Soule for Sinne. Comprehending thoſe Pſalmes . . . called Pœnitentiall* (London, 1583) had fourteen subsequent eds. (STC 13975). *A hyve full Of Hunnye* (London, 1578): the Creation and (slightly revised) Joseph narratives are reproduced in *Hunnies Recreations: Conteyning foure godlie and compendious diſcourſes, intituled Adams baniſhment. Chriſt his Crib. The loſt Sheepe. The complaint of old Age [and other pieces]* (London, 1595). Hunnis was Master of the Revels in the Chapel, and thus a minor figure in early Elizabethan drama. It would be interesting if, as C.C. Stropes suggests, Hunnis were the author of *A newe mery and wittie Comedie or Enterlude, newly imprinted, treating upon the Historie of Jacob and Esau* (London, 1568; reprinted by John S. Farmer in 1908); cf. Campbell, *Divine Poetry*, p. 215. But it seems he was not.

³⁰ Thomas Newton, 'To . . . the author', Hunnis, *Hyve*, sig. ¶A3^v; Campbell, *Divine Poetry*, p.49. The title of the work, and the frequent allusions to honeysuckles, are meant to draw the reader's imagination to Hunnis the man and his own inspiration (Hunnis scored out the herald's staid design for Hunnis in his armorial, and replaced it with the bold, punning arms also reproduced in the *Hyve*: Bod. MS. Ashmole 844, fol.183).

³¹ 'Preface' by Thomas Drant to his tr. of *Horace his arte of Poetrie, Epistles and Satyrs* (London, 1567), sig. *4^r.

(2) The Biblical manner

. . . . as *Hieroglyphicks* preceded letters, so fables were more ancient than Arguments. And in these daies also, he that would illuminate mens mindes anew in any old matter . . . must absolutely take the same course

Bacon, Preface to *The wisdom of the ancients*, sig. "A12^r.

Conventions of divinity and inspiration are not necessarily very earnest. Even King James invokes God as his muse, not as an inspired Christian prince, but in his shy, improbable *rôle* as poetic hack:

My subjects all shall be of heavenly thing,
How to delate the gods immortal gloir.³²

The 'divinity' of poetry is a hackneyed convention, and both Harvey and Dekker mock it, Dekker at some length in his *Satiro-mastix. Or the vntrussing of the Humorous Poet*.³³

There is thus some sophistication of tone: Dekker's "the diuine part of true Poesie" is mockery, Sabie's "diuine Arte of sense-delighting Poésie"³⁴ is merely pretty, and Sidney's claims for the Christian poet as prophet are meant in absolute earnest – or nearly in absolute earnest.

There is an impatience and disdain which the Protestant mind can feel for any human verbal construction. Is the practice of poetry merely a concession by God to human weakness – like the sacraments, an elaboration of the clear and sufficient word of the Scriptures? If the best form of language is "good discipline deliuered plainly in way of precepts, or sermoned at large", and poetry at its best and most dependent is still "more darkely hid",³⁵ a "continued Allegory",³⁶ the defence of poetry

³² *The essayes of a prentise, in the diuine art of poesie*, sig. C1^r: "O Lord inſpyre my ſpirit and pen, to praiſe / Thy Name", sig. N3^r. This volume, printed (beautifully) in Edinburgh in 1584, is only half-heartedly anonymous, for there are seven commendatory poems by the author's courtiers, one in the form of an acrostic: JACOBVSSEXTVS (sig. A1^r). James' accompanying essay, 'A Schort treatise, conteining some reuſis . . . to be obseruit and eſchewit in Scottis Poésie' (sig. K1^r-N1^r), is merely technical in scope. *Aulicus Coquinariæ*, probably the work of Godfrey Goodman (London, 1650), p. 205.

³³ *The dramatic works of Thomas Dekker*, ed. Fredson Bowers, IV vols. (Cambridge, 1953), I, 299-395; I, 314; I, ii, ll.10-20. Harvey, *Works*, II, 103.

³⁴ Sabie, 'Pan's pipe', ed. Bright and Mustard, p. 443.

³⁵ Baldwin, *Canticles*, sig. "[A1]^v", "[A3]^v": "No doubt but it is a hie and miſticall matter, and more darkely hid than other partes of the ſcripture, by meanes of the wanton wordes: which alſo cauſe many to deny it to be gods worde. Whoſe error to redreſſe is the chief cauſe

must be founded on the weakness of the human will: "nothing [is] esteemed of, that is not delightfull".³⁷ Or does pagan literature have an active function in the Protestant dispensation?

The Bible itself is Delphic on this point, because its documents speak from two contexts: the obscure, culturally introverted nation state of the Old Testament; the small, sometimes syncretic sect, subsisting within universal Hellenistic civilisation, in the New – Paul even quotes the theology of the pagan poets.³⁸ Protestant exegesis excludes context as a means of determining significance, so almost any doctrine about the marriage of Christian and 'ethnic' civilisation, from Prynne's to Fotherby's, can be read from the Bible: I shall specify shortly three positions an English Protestant could take.

Moses' Law, which radical Protestantism allegorised as a model of proper, godly separateness, itself permits a child of God to take a Gentile woman, if he desires her and has captured her in war:

Then thou shalt bring her home to thine house, and
 shalt have her head, and pare her nailes,
 And she shall put off her garment that she was taken
 in, and she shall remaine in thine house, and bewaile
 her father & her mother a moneth long, and after that
 shalt thou go in vnto her, and marry her, and she shall
 be thy wife.³⁹

What does this imply about classical literature? Lancelot Andrewes understands that we are thus commanded to receive texts beyond the Bible. On the contrary, Luther thinks it a concession by God to the hard-hearted and promiscuous Israelites; the shaving, paring and mourning are "commanded for the sake of easing the shock of bringing a Gentile woman into the people of God":⁴⁰ secular literature is a permissible weakness, for

why I haue medled with the matter. And because the rediest way was to make a paraphrase, I haue attempted it: & that in meter, because they bee balades." The reader should "note the sentence more than the time", or better still wait for Baldwin's prose commentary or "exposition of the Metaphoricall wordes".

³⁶ Spenser's letter to Raleigh, *Works*, I, 167-70.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, sig. [¶A1]^v.

³⁸ Hutchinson, 'The image of bothe Churches', p. 178; Becon, *Works*, II, 382-3.

³⁹ Deuteronomy, xxi, 12-3 (GB).

⁴⁰ Andrewes, *Ninety-six sermons*, V, 63: likewise Abraham's taking of the Gentile Hagar in concubinage, although he is still faithfully married to Sarah, is a type of the proper treatment of Western, and largely pagan, culture, by the Protestant Christian. *Luther's Works*, IX, 211. Aquinas – *Summa Theologica*, I. II, cv, 4 ad 6; Suppl., lix, 1 ad 2 (III, 274

"thou haſt humiliated her".⁴¹ The Geneva Bible regards the rite as a purgation and regeneration for the Gentile woman, not the Israelite man, "signifying that her former life muſt be chāged before thei [*sic*] colde be ioyned to the people of God."⁴² Literature itself has to be transformed.

These three Protestant literary attitudes are already familiar in this study; let us call them, for momentary convenience and without prejudice, the liberal, indifferent, and psychic positions. I shall end with three witnesses to the way these attitudes work in literary philosophising: Thomas Drant for liberalism, George Puttenham for the indifferentism, and Calvin himself for the psychics.

Our liberal, the Elizabethan cleric, Thomas Drant was a theorist of Elizabethan poetics, the translator of Job and the *Iliad*, a prosodist and exponent of classical metres and forms in English verse, and an early influence on Sidney.⁴³ The young Spenser, in a letter to Harvey, defers to Drant and Sidney as allied arbiters of classicism into English literature, although Harvey in reply is less impressed, and later identifies Drant with Lyly as the perpetrators of the frivolous euphuistic style.⁴⁴

Drant, as a radical, moralising preacher, a *protégé* of Grindal and a member, like Spenser, of Leicester's circle,⁴⁵ is highly conscious of the

and 278, XVII, 265-7) – reads against the grain: conversion and physical abasement are performed voluntarily by the Gentile woman. It is the medieval attitude that classical works are prophetic, and *want* to be christianised.

⁴¹ Deuteronomy, xxi, 14 (GB). Andrew Willet, *A treatise of Salomons mariage* (London, 1612), pp. 2-10.

⁴² Gloss on Deuteronomy, xxi, 12. *BpsB* follows GB ("This declareth that ſhe ſhoulde be altered from her olde conuerſation, before the were made a member of Gods people").

⁴³ Drant's Job and *Iliad* are lost: Leicester Bradner, *Musae anglicanae: a history of Anglo-Latin poetry: 1500-1925* (New York, 1940), p. 58; Drant, *Prælus*, fol. 75, cit. Walton, IV, 307; William Ringler, 'Master Drant's Rules', *PQ*, XXIX (1958), 70-4. Drant was an early English exponent of acrostics, and even uses IESVSCHRIST to spine an acrostic in his *Two Sermons preached . . . in the yeare. 1569* (London, 1580), sig. L8^v.

⁴⁴ *The Works of Edmund Spenser*, VII, 330, 367; VIII, 422, 519. *Pierces Supererogation: or a new prayse of the Olde Asse* (London, 1593), p. 7 (this passage is mistranscribed in the Grosart's ed. of the *Works*, i, 23, 36): "I long ſithence founde by experience, how Dranting of Verſes, and Euphuing of ſentences, did edifie", a play on *ranting*, and on *decanting* (of new English wine into old metric wine skins?); 'dranting', meaning drawling or droning, is not noticed by the *OED* before the eighteenth century.

⁴⁵ *Præsvl. Eiuſdem Sylua* (London, 1575), a eulogy of Grindal; *Impii cuiusdam epigrammatis quod edidit Richardus Shaklockusin mortem* (London, 1565), sig. "C4^v. In the green ink MS. verses on the fly-leaf of the British Library's copy of *Præsvl*, which was Elizabeth's presentation copy, Drant is moved to protest "Oft in the church thy lawes I haue vphold", which suggests that he was suspected of non-conformity. John Buxton, *Sir Philip*

Protestant dilemma over classical literature. His most interesting work, therefore, is *A medicinable Morall, that is, the two Bookes of Horace his Satyres, Englyshed accordyng to the prescription of Saint Hierome. . . . The Wailings of the Prophet Hieremiah, done into Englyshe verse*.⁴⁶ Clearly, the combination is *risqué* in a Protestant poet, and so is the title, for a *medicinal* is a list of prescriptions for diseases: pagan poetry is being represented as efficacious in the same way, though not to the same degree, as the Bible. Drant appeals to the passage from Deuteronomy:

I haue done as the people of God were cōmanded to do with their captiue women that were hanfome and beautifull: I haue shaued of his [Horace's] heare, & pared of his nayles (that is) I haue wyped awaye all his vanitie and superfluities of matter.⁴⁷

Horace is true and even efficacious so far as he goes; the Christian poet, translator or exegete is merely better informed about religion and morality. Only about theology itself is it the case that "the Greke and Latin Poetes write forgeries . . . There is one God, but one".⁴⁸

That difference of knowledge is the point at which Puttenham's account of divine poetry in *The arte of English poesie* begins.⁴⁹ Christianity, because *not untrue*, does not embarrass poets with an incredible world-view. The Greek and Latin poets, "otherwise discrete and graue men, and teachers of wisedome to others", were burdened with the classical myth, which means either a "wittie deuise and fiction, made for a purpose, or a very notable and impudent lye", and in either case is inimical to good fiction. They were thus "after a sort restrained".⁵⁰ The Reformation thus has an important, though wholly negative *rôle* in

Sidney and the English Renaissance (London, 1964), pp. 116-8; Bradner, p. 58. Drant's angry sermons, include rather a curious philippic against "all the gorgeous waredrops that be héere in the Quéenes Court": the sartorial elite become "first *Mamonistes*, and [then] méere *Macheualistes*", while the Anabaptists are incipient nudists: *Sermons*, sig. D5^v-D6^r, F3^r, G7^v, K4^v; *DNB*, sub. 'Thomas Drant'; A. Williams, p. 219.

⁴⁶ London, 1566.

⁴⁷ Drant, *Morall*, sig. "A3^v.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, sig. I8^v.

⁴⁹ *The arte of English poesie. Cuntinued into three Bookes: the first of Poets and Poesie, the second of Proportion, the third of Ornament*, I, xii: 'In what forme of Poesie the gods of the Gentiles were prayſed and honored'; sig. E3^r-E4^v in the first edition (London, 1589), of which there is a Scholar Press facsimile (1968); pp. 27-30 in the modern edition, a bad, uncollated version by G.D. Willcock and Alice Walker (Cambridge, 1936).

⁵⁰ Puttenham, sig. E3^v, E3^r, E4^r.

English Renaissance poetry: the Renaissance art of English poesie is possible because the Reformation has freed the English imagination from the restraint of a superstitious belief. Puttenham thus has no notion of Protestantism offering positive aid to poetic inspiration, or even positive information; for, almost as much as for Cupitt, the anthropomorphic and poetic language of the Old Testament about the inscrutable and ineffable God seems to Puttenham to be incredible. "To him we can not exhibit ouermuch praiſe", but to attribute to Him such human, and therefore, imaginable, characteristics as hating, loving, anger or jealousy (whatever the Old Testament says), is to make Him "as in effect he ſhold be altogether *Anthropopathis*".⁵¹ Thus, in Puttenham's view, there are two distinct languages, the poetic and the dogmatic. Poetic and apprehensible language about God cannot be accepted rationally; and conversely, Protestant doctrine about God cannot be put into poetry, because by Protestant doctrine Puttenham seems to imply the systematic denial of divine presence, which I discussed in chapter three.

Anthropopathia, however, is precisely the term which Calvin uses to justify the portrayal of a petulant sky god of the Book of Genesis.

*Moses bringeth in GOD ſpeaking after the manner of men, by a figure called *Anthropopathia* [a figure, by whiche humane affections are attributed to God four our capacitie, at what time thoſe thinges which belong to him, are to us incomprehenſible.]; because otherwiſe he coulde not expreſſe that which was very neceſſarie to be knowen⁵².*

Anthropomorphism is thus merely a slip-cover, a hieroglyph; the informing Spirit unravels the Deity from the mythology in which it first ravelled him. Moses and his godly readers are each inspired to esoteric certainty. The reader is reassured in his certainty of God's omniscience, His "longe patience", and His providential justice in the Flood, despite Moses' literal account of an anthropomorphic Jehovah, full of spleen and

⁵¹*Ibid.* sig. E3^v, E4^r: "So as to the God of the Chriſtians, ſuch diuine praiſe might be verified: to th'other gods none, but figuratiuely or in miſticall ſenſe as hath bene ſaid."

⁵²Genesis vi, 5; *A Commentarie of John Caluine, vpon the firſt booke of Moſes called Geneſis: Tranſlated out of Latine into Engliſh, by Thomas Tymme, Miniſter* (London, 1578), p. 176 [the marginal gloss in square brackets]. Cited by *OED*, sub. 'Anthropopathis' (Tymme's is the first recorded use of the word in English letters).

limited in perception.⁵³ Moses believed in the impassive and omniscient God, and wrote of a tribal deity; we read of a tribal deity, but believe in an impassive and omniscient God. Thus radical Protestant understanding, because it takes all the Bible, even the Noah story, seriously, has to believe in the inspiration of the imagination, an authoritative hermeneutic, preternaturally ingrafted into the godly man's mind. To put this another way: the anthropomorphic and comprehensible traits which in the Bible are ascribed to God, are in Calvin's exegesis removed to the reader. God in the Genesis narrative is so angry when He suddenly notices the wickedness of men that He repents of making them and decides to exterminate them. In Calvin's account, we are meant suddenly to feel, in a moment of *aposiopesis*, the vileness of Noah's generation, and see, within the Genesis narrative, the necessity of universal condemnation. Personification, that is, the personification of God as the reader, is the pivotal characteristic of the Bible read by radical Protestant. As Sidney says of David's Psalms:

For what else is . . . his notable *prosopopoeias*, when he maketh you, as it were, see God coming in His majesty, . . . but a heavenly poesy, wherein almost he showeth himself a passionate lover of that unspeakable and everlasting beauty to be seen by the eyes of the mind, only cleared by faith?⁵⁴

Puttenham, on the contrary, when alluding to the poetry of the Psalter, only wants to think about the parallel with classical literature:

these hymns to the gods was the first forme of Poesie and the highest & the stateliest, & they were song by the Poets as priests, and by the people or whole congregation as we sing in our Churchs the Psalmes⁵⁵.

There are broadly three ways, therefore, for Protestants to think of the relationship of the Bible and literature. One, which I have called liberal, is to admit a continuity of kind between the Bible and other writing. All poetry is inspired, because the postlapsarian remnant of divine light within is necessary to its production. Thus Drant suggests that one reason

⁵³ Calvin, *A Commentary . . . upon . . . Genesis*, p. 176.

⁵⁴ *Apologie*, sig. E1^r.

⁵⁵ Puttenham, sig. E4^r.

the Bible has a special nature is the empirical one that we are compelled to read it: "if he be diuine, thou oughtest to reade hym, neither canst thou chuse thee."⁵⁶ The utter difference between the Bible and other texts is fundamentally a matter of practice, a social decision: and this view leads, as I argued in chapter five, away from Protestantism altogether.

The second position, which I have called indifferentist, denies any connection between the Bible and poetry: the truth of the doctrines of Christianity and the authority of literature are unconnected. This view must be inclined, in the long term, into an increasingly distant view of the revelation and authority of the Biblical text (which, after all, only a sustained and coherent act of imagination can make credible or consistent): it drifts in England towards latitudinarianism and deism.⁵⁷

The third position, which I have called psychic, annexes the Bible, or at least the process of reading the Bible, which is what matters, to the secondary imagination. William Baldwin's three-fold text in *The canticles or Balades of Salomon* provides a sort of diagram of what Protestant reading should be like. He prints the Great Bible text, "O that he would kyssse me with the kysses of hys mothe"; this is glossed in prose as the Church's cry to be "*deliuered* from corrupt kysses of the fleshly pleasures"; and then turned back into English meter as an expression of repugnance for all "wurkes of worldly myre".⁵⁸ Baldwin's preface claims that the poem has a spiritual power, and can effect the conversion of a man to Christ; and, at another point, that he is himself passive, and wholly faithful to the text.⁵⁹ These claims are compatible if one grants the presumptions of Calvinist exegesis. However, the secondary imagination is not so easily satisfied; for this sanctioned, imaginative elaboration of the naked text – especially if, as in Sidney, it is allied with the rhetoric of poetic idealism – must suggest the possibilities of a vast poetic treatment of the Bible, despite the apparent difficulties and dangers.

⁵⁶ Drant, *Moral*, sig. I8^v.

⁵⁷ Reventlow, pp. 217-220.

⁵⁸ Baldwin, *Canticles*, sig. ¶[A]1^r; italics mine.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, sig. ¶[A]1^v, ¶[A]3^v: misguided reading has made "many to deny . . . [the Song] to be gods worde. Whose errour to redresse is the chief cause why I haue medled with the matter. And because the rediest way was to make a paraphrase, I haue attempted it"

RETROSPECT

I am certain of nothing but the holiness of the Heart's affections, and the truth of imagination – What the imagination seizes as Beauty must be truth – whether it existed before or not

Keats, letter to Bailey, 22 November, 1817; *Letters*, I, 184.

TWO GENERAL impressions, both essentially historiographical, strike me from this research. One is of the importance of the English religious revolution for the book-writing English: the ubiquity of response, even in disparate provinces of thought, quite separate from the ecclesial reforms. Their world had turned slightly on its axis. The self-conscious modernity of their writing is a way of expressing how new they felt their mental world to be, now that the Catholic, Latin past since the fall of the Empire, had been diabolised. Innovation in religion, representing itself as a recovery of the classical past, implied a revolution in the historical imagination, and that changed the quality of an enormous range of ideas.

The second impression is of the complexity of response. In the generations before the Civil Wars, the English response to the Reform was definitively bifurcated, until in the 1640s the two halves were at war. But until late in our period, bifurcation was not obvious. There is a spectrum, from the uncompromising and consistent application of the new faith's radical implications, to the tentative or downright compromised. Whatever the larger value of literary evidence to history, this does seem clear from the spectral variety of tone in the writing of the period: the anachronistically early use of the party label *Puritan*, for Elizabethan and

even Jacobean toward the Left of the spectrum, is importantly misleading.

This study has concentrated on the relationship between the conscious and self-conscious self, and on the acquisition of knowledge, especially knowledge about the higher world; I have been concerned with the images used to express this relationship, and the notion of reading that results. These are issues I think typical of, and central to, radical Protestantism before 1630. But they are not typical of its spiritual heirs. After the permanent division in 1662 of English Protestant Christianity, radically Protestant Protestantism no longer had explain to itself the paradox of a national Church; Calvinism's implicit congregationalism could express itself, and so could the extreme separation, and even opposition, which the Protestant mind places between the divine and the created order – "nothing belonging to God's divinity is to be transferred to another."¹ Yet, before 1630, radical Protestantism was within the mainstream of English culture, and it did face dilemmas that seem almost quaint now, after the fact of 1662; and (on a different level) after the almost universal shift in ideas of the self and self-consciousness that follow from Descartes and British Empiricism.

Reading the radical Protestants with sympathy is a curious task, then: they tend to recede, rather than approach, with further acquaintance. Their unacknowledged assumptions about the self and about knowledge are difficult, most of all because they are not fixed, and there is a pull toward a purer and purer, and more self-sufficient, biblicism. Once the presence of God in the action of reading is admitted to the degree it is admitted within the Reformation English Church, it is hard to maintain as authoritative any proposition that refers to anything else. Other propositions, even in other fields, are provisional upon the rule of illumined exegesis. The divinisation of reading in the Protestant mind separates reading from other entities to the degree that the Bible can hardly connect with them, even propositionally. It is almost impossible to make a rational advance from the full doctrine of plenary inspiration to any other proposition: "the Principles, and the Conclusion, . . . be entirely the same".²

¹ *Institutes*, I, xii, 1

² Laud, *The conference*, p. 70.

Inspired, as a term for the text of the Bible, has no referent: it is a speech act. Literary criticism cannot get behind Protestantism's reading of the Bible, which is directly conditioned by the ideological action of calling the text *inspired*. Protestant ideology contains and controls criticism, and not *vice versa*.³ Projects like Frye's cannot work: to discuss what the early English Protestants did with the inspirational authority of the Bible, it is necessary to take a further step backwards, and explore what the assumptions of Protestant faith did to English Protestants. What is the extent of the authority of the literary critic in interpreting the Bible?⁴ In an historical account of the Reformation in England, it is slight: a literary historian's task is to discern the consequences of this exclusion.

English Protestantism was not merely a protest.⁵ Its trajectory, having cut through the presence of God in the sacraments and the Church, and having forbidden even the shadow of His presence in plastic images, moves toward an absolute separation of perceptible reality and the divine. God is present in only three, abstract, ways: in the inspiration, composition, transmission, translation and reception of the text of the Bible; in providence, which extends even to the eternal fate of the individual; and, obscurely, in private revelation, which is stylised to coincide with the orthodoxy of the Church. Latitudinarianism, and finally downright deism, is the English mind's route out of this dilemma in the course of the seventeenth century. But deism itself begins as a mutation of biblicism, for the mechanical and predictable God, who can be relied upon not to act outside the strict limits of the Old and New Testaments – that is, outside the distant past – becomes, by attrition, wholly inactive. The sacred space shrinks from the full range of Biblical narrative, shedding such difficult passages as the Fall and the Flood, until it includes covers only the first chapter of Genesis: and this creator God is as compatible with the creation myth of Ovid as of Genesis. The content of God's message to man

³ Fotherby, *Fovre sermons*, sig. E8^v; *The works of John Knox*, V, 112; GB, translators' preface, sig. . . 3^r; RM, I, 29 (p. 29); Broughton, *Advertisement*, sig. C4^r.

⁴ Frye, *The Great Code*, pp. 212-4.

⁵ Despite the Elizabethan Henry Smith's quaint definition – "He who can swear that the Pope is Antichrist and that flesh is good on Fridays is a Protestant" – in a book republished at the Revolution, *Transubstantiation Examined and Confuted, in two sermons on the Lords Supper, Reach'd in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1688), p. 416.

is now almost synonymous with reason and morality: specifically Christian revelation becomes peripheral, and the old classical materialists, rather than mere sceptics like Sextus, are rehabilitated.

During the Interregnum, when the collapse of legitimate government freed the presses, the antique spokesmen for materialism, especially Lucretius, were finally, with great hesitation, translated into English. His translators apologise for their author, but in terms that make it clear that the moralist essence of Lucretius is much the same as the essence of Christianity, as read by the new religious mood. Lucretius' contradiction of Christian metaphysics is trifling, or a misunderstanding. John Evelyn defends Lucretius' denial of providence and what he calls "some other sublime points of speculative *Theologie*", because "he persuades to a life the most exact and *Moral*", and that is far more tangible.⁶ Thomas Creech's full translation in 1682 argues that there can be no scandal or shock in Lucretius' lack of Protestant faith, because Hobbes reproduces that lack, and indeed modern poets enlarge on it:

there is nothing in our *Poet*, but what is heard every day from the *Pulpit* and the *Desk*; The Stage continually improves his *Rants* and *Softness*;⁷

whereas Lucretius remains the spokesman for concrete goodness in this world.

All this is very different from Bacon: Bacon, it will be remembered, numbered the Epicurean school as allies, but as allies against the idealism of Plato. The sacred space in Bacon's thought did not shrink, but was separated from the observable world. The partial and shadowy vision of truth described in Plato we apprehend directly, earthly things empirically, heavenly things by the eye of faith. Such knowledge is immediate and real; as Cowley says of Bacon,

From words, which are but pictures of the thought,
(Though we our thoughts from them perversely drew)
To things, the mind's right object, he it brought.⁸

⁶ 'The Interpreter's Preface', *An essay on the first book of T. Lucretius Carus de rerum natura*, tr. John Evelyn (London, 1656), sig. [A8]^r.

⁷ Thomas Creech's Preface to his *De Natura Rerum: Done into English Verse, with Notes* (Oxford, 1682), sig. A3^r.

⁸ Abraham Cowley, 'Bacon', *Essays, plays and sundry verses*, ed. A.R. Waller (Cambridge, 1906), p. 26.

The mode of religious knowledge is not abstraction, but observation; the imaginary objects it perceives are real. Religious untruth is therefore particularly hateful:

the . . . vice or disease of learning, which concerneth deceit or untruth, is the foulest; as that which doth destroy the essential form of knowledge, which is nothing but a representation of truth⁹

The legends of medieval Catholicism are intolerable, whatever their moral effect, because to imagine a religious untruth is to erect an idol alongside the living God, in the imagination. The Church at first tolerated such things,

holding them up as divine poesies; yet after a period of time, when the mist began to clear up, they grew to be esteemed but as old wives' tales, impostures of the clergy, illusions of spirits, and badges of Antichrist¹⁰.

Bacon therefore cannot have a programme for a Protestant poetic.

Nevertheless, the assertion of the *energia* and reality of religious imagination is an exhausting assertion, and within English Protestantism there is a common desire to have the Protestant imagination vindicated *against* the authority of literature, whose masters are pagan or Catholic. Gosson and Stubbes are a result on one side. On the other are the odd series of attempts at a Protestant account of the nature of things, which lie outside the scope of this study. But it is curious how compelling the desire is: John Norden, famous in his day as a geographer, and a little famous for his long series of devotional poems, felt driven to wholly unsuccessful epic attempts.¹¹ This could also be said of John Davies of Hereford's *Microcosmos*,¹² Robert Anton's *Philosophers Satyrs*;¹³ Thomas

⁹ *Adv.*, I, iv, 8.

¹⁰ *Adv.*, I, iv, 9.

¹¹ *A pensive mans practise: London 1584.* (Amsterdam, 1971). *A progress of piety, whose jesses lead into the harbour of heavenly heart's ease* (PS, 1847). *The fathers legacie. With precepts Morall, and prayers Diuine* (London: John Harriot, 1625). *A good companion for a christian, Directing him in the way to God* (London, 1632). *Vicissitudo rerum, an Elegiacall Poeme of the interchangeable Coourses and Varietie of Things in this World* (London, 1600); reissued as *A store-house of varieties, Briefly discoufing the Change and Alteration of things in this world* (London, 1601); repr. in facsimile as *Vicissitudo Rerum: 1600*, intr. D.C. Collins (London, 1931). *The labyrinth of mans life. Or vertues delight and enuies opposite* (London, 1614).

Heywood's *The hierarchie of the blessed Angells. Their Names, orders and Offices: The fall of Lucifer with his Angells*,¹⁴ Phineas Fletcher's *Purple Island*.¹⁵

The most important works in this tradition are Sir John Davies' *Orchestra* and *Nosce teipsum*. Davies has a curious charm, which preserves him. Nevertheless, the exercise of defending all knowledge by contemplating one's own inner life is a doctrinally tendentious undertaking; at the time, he managed to inspire a counter-poem (still in manuscript) by one Robert Chambers, *A second Knowe thy selfe, In wh. the former is warned deeper Confyderacion*. This urges the claims of more rigorous, and as it were Baconian, assertion of Protestant truth.¹⁶ Subsequent reworkings of Davies – a version in the 1650s called *A work For none but Angels & men*,¹⁷ and another in the 1680s, called *The Delphick Oracle Expounded, as a looking glass for the soul*¹⁸ – propel the work further toward a purely inward defence of Protestant truth. There was even an evangelical version by a journalist called William Ravenhill: himself "one of the Children of Disobedience, and a bold Adventurer in Folly", until converted by reading Davies. His edition, *Nosce teipsum or, a leading-step to the knowledge of our Selves, as the Surest Foundation to true Religion in all Persuasions. In a brief Discourse of Man's being Made and Undone, in order to his more Happy Recovery. . . . By an Unworthy (but Happy) Profelite of Religion and Morality*,¹⁹ brings the imaginative

¹² *The complete works of John Davies of Hereford (15..-1618) for the first time collected*, ed. Alexander B. Grosart, II vols. (privately pr., 1878).

¹³ London, 1616.

¹⁴ London, 1635; A.M. Clark, *Thomas Heywood: Playwright and Miscellanist* (Oxford, 1931).

¹⁵ *The Purple island, or the isle of man: together with piscatories eclogs and other poetical miscellanies* (Cambridge, 1633); there is a facsimile repr. (Amsterdam, 1971).

¹⁶ BM: MS. Royal 18 A. Ixix. R.H. Bowers promised an ed. in his short article, 'An Elizabethan manuscript "continuation" of Sir John Davies' *Nosce teipsum*', *MP*, Iviii (1960), 11-19, but this does not seem to have appeared. Chambers is certainly worth printing.

¹⁷ *A work For none but Angels & men. That is, To be able to look into, and to know our selves. Or a book Shewing what the Soule Is, Subsisting and having its operations without the Body* (London, 1653), was of the second part of the poem only; an expanded version included the alarming first section, 'Of Humane knowledge', on the impossibility of knowledge (London, 1658).

¹⁸ *The Original, Nature, and Immortality of the soul. A poem* (London, 1697).

¹⁹ London, 1689; DNB and GEC entries on Elizabeth, Countess of Radnor, to whom the book is dedicated, *sub* 'Radnor'.

defence of Protestantism to its full tide.

These writers are all, in a small way, precursors of *Paradise Lost*, which is among other things a defence of the truth of Protestantism, since to justify the ways of God means in the first place to justify what he has persuaded men to believe in the Bible. Milton's bold and explicit invocation of the Spirit to be his muse thus fits in with his Nestorianism, his congregationalism, his extreme view of inspiration, his notion of an internal scripture: Milton is carrying the impulses of English Protestantism further than Protestant theology and Protestant poetry did before him. There is nothing remarkable in itself about a Protestant invocation of God to inspire a poet; as small a writer as Barnaby Rich could say the same ("I will not implore the assistance of the *Muses*, or *Apollo*, but of the high and most mightie God").²⁰ But Milton takes the conceit very seriously; as opposed to the heathen classical works disparaged in Book IV of *Paradise Regained*, Milton's grand epic announces itself as an extension of the revelation of the Bible. The things it presents to the imagination are true, not just because they elaborate truths found explicitly in the Bible, but because religious belief is a matter of such inward vision.

Truths of the reason are demonstrable and public; truths from the passions are irrefutable, but private. Truths from the imagination are in the middle ground. The imagination, in the sixteenth century (and again for the Romantics) was essentially a tool of perception, rather than, as for the Enlightenment (and, I suppose, for us) a way of responding to experience. Can the presbyterian government of the primitive Church, or the strictly metaphorical character of *Hoc est meum corpus*, or the predestinarian economy of God, or the other truths apparent to the Protestant reader of the Bible, be intellectual errors? No, because they are truths which he *sees*; belief is a matter not of words, but of things, or rather of perceptions of the imagination that are as real as perceived objects, but as certain as inner experience.

I end this discussion of Protestant imagination, as I began, with Newman, because Newman's explicit philosophy of the religious

²⁰ Rich, *Faultes, Faults, And nothing else but Faultes*, fol. 29^r.

imagination converges in some significant ways with the impulses of the early English Protestants. I mean in particular Newman's idea of the religious authority of literature. If the imagination or "living idea" guarantees and shepherds our thought, what are we to say of thought shepherded in a different direction by the same faculty? To God "must be ascribed the . . . imagination of the poet"; and "His shadow . . . is dimly discerned in the ode or the epic, as in troubled water". The kinship between the arts ("the principles [that] . . . belong to the Imagination") and the inspiration of the dogmatic imagination, is so close that it gives Newman, and the Elizabethan radicals, qualms. The dogmatic imagination is kin to, and even depends upon, the creative imagination. Newman admits that when strong, and freed from the tutelage of religion, literature and the other arts have the potential for usurping theology's monarchy, precisely because "genius has breathed upon their natural elements".²¹

This is not an insoluble problem for Newman: it simply means that it is expedient for the arts, particularly for literature, to be under the tutelage, and more importantly still the economic patronage, of the Church.²² The danger to the individual from his little inner god of creative imagination is relieved by his union with the grand, corporate, public imagination.

In Part II, I showed how early English Protestantism tries to bring the works of the secondary imagination, primarily images but also, fitfully, literature, under the patronage and tutelage of religion. Its view of doctrine and of the Church is almost wholly different from Newman's, and yet ideas about the relationship between creative imagination and dogma in Part II were often reminiscent of Newman.

Newman's own rule is that some fundamental principle often accounts for parallel notions in otherwise widely dispersed thinking; "what is apparently arbitrary in rival . . . schools of thought, is after all rigidly determined by the original hypothesis."²³ The connecting hypothesis, or rather axiom, would seem to be extreme imaginative

²¹ Newman, *Discourse*, pp. 95-6.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Newman, 'The Theory of Developments', *Fifteen sermons*, sec. 17, p. 326.

realism: that is, both Newman and the Puritans assume that the interior things they experience as vividly real are real, and the primary ground of reality. Newman is reacting against the Empiricist axiom that perception and object, even in metaphysical matters, are distinct and discontinuous. He is certain that the secondary imagination has direct access to "a higher world", without which language would be impossible: for we can all use general nouns, although our perception of the characteristic of particular is never in itself enough to arrive at a definition.²⁴ Our reason and senses cannot account for that knowledge of things necessary to the action of our reason and senses. Our knowledge of them is not by the indirect medium of perception and object, but by direct apprehension. They are inherently within us, as well as without.

Clearly Newman is not altogether idiosyncratic, but part of a tendency in theological one might call Romantic, extending from Blake to Northrop Frye. Mansel's famous and notorious Bampton Lectures of 1858, for instance, asserted the irreducible, arational truth of revelation, and lamented

the melancholy spectacle of the household of humanity divided against itself, the reason against the feelings and the feelings against the reason, and the dim half-unconsciousness of the shadow of the infinite frowning down on both.²⁵

This imagined "dim half-unconsciousness" cannot be dissolved into a rational supposition, nor into emotional experience; it is assumed to have an infinite reality, at least at one remove, in a way that the reason and feelings do not. Its existence is the ground for faith both in reason and revelation. Mansel's hero for the proper organisation of the faculties in religious belief is therefore, justly enough, Bacon, whose strict, artificial division of the light of nature and divine revelation protected the preeminent rôle of the imagination in religion, with its "similitudes,

²⁴ Newman, *An essay on the development of Christian doctrine*, p. 35: "with all our intimate knowledge of animal life and of the structure of particular animals, we have not arrived at a true definition of any one of them, but are forced to enumerate properties and accidents by way of description" This astonishing, apparently naïve, assumption actually grew in Newman's mind rather slowly: Jean Guittou, *La philosophie de Newman: Essai sur l'idée de développement* (Paris, 1933), pp. 121-46; Nicholas Lash in *Newman on development: The search for an explanation in history* (London, 1975), pp. 48, and *passim*.

²⁵ H.L. Mansel, *The limits of religious thought* (Oxford, 1858), p. 25

types, parables, visions, dreams."²⁶

I said a few pages back that the radical Protestant doctrine of the sacred text virtually excludes any positive doctrine about anything beyond the text; as Reventlow concludes, in his study of *The Authority of the Bible and the Rise of the Modern World*, English biblicism was the father of English deism because it excluded God from any function in the world. Reading the Bible floods the mind with light, but because "this Inbred Light of Scripture is a thing coincident with Scripture it selfe",²⁷ its own illumination cannot consistently reach beyond the act of reading. Ego-centred theology reasonably and naturally issues in a denial of any divine activity that is both inside the world and outside the mind.

Nonetheless, this natural development can be arrested and redirected. I have drawn attention in the last three chapters to attempts to reconcile Protestant doctrine, expressed and defended in didactic terms, but arrived at imaginatively, with orthodox theological formulæ, with *ratio recta*, and with public Church order. The inner light is employed not creatively, but in the defence of reformed orthodoxy against doubters to the Left and Right. The natural end of Reformation biblicism is deism; but the immediate destination is orthodox adherence, and even certainty. Reforming the imagination obliterates the possibility of effective doubt. As Hooker himself concedes,

the mind of man desireth evermore to know the truth according to the most infallible certainty which the nature of things can yield. The greatest assurance generally with all men is that which we have by plain aspect and intuitive beholding.²⁸

Imaginative assertion is weightier than syllogistic reasoning, even "strong and invincible demonstration".²⁹ It is this desire to know without doubt that therefore drives Protestantism from didactic contention to an "earnest desire to draw all things under . . . Scripture", even though this requires "much pains to be taken in abating the estimation and credit of man."³⁰

²⁶ Mansel, pp. 25-60; *Adv.* II, iv, 5; II, xii, 1.

²⁷ Laud, *The conference*, p. 70.

²⁸ Lawes, II, vii, 5.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*, II, vii, 1; also, 3; 6; 8-9.

There is thus necessarily a tension between the desire for certainty, and the desire for demonstration, analogous to the difference between knowledge of oneself and knowledge of the world outside oneself. This was already clear in Davies' *Nosce teipsum*. Davies induces the imagination's "Curious eye" to look inward; it can imagine (vaguely and even negatively) and therefore "see" unboundedness; and the axiom of imaginative realism states that unboundedness, particularly unboundedness in time, must be real. Davies tells the soul it must be immortal because it can, in this sense, "view the beames of thine owne forme divine".³¹

A similar tension about literature exists in Newman: it is expedient for orthodoxy to discipline the creative imagination; but it is impossible for imagination to stray very far. For instance, it is unthinkable for "the systems of atheism or Pantheism" to have "prevailed in the literature of nations",³² because the imagination is not only a useful defence, but the font of belief; and the creative imagination implies both its own finite and separate existence, and the possibility of an imagined infinitude. Monotheism is in Newman's view the *mode* of the imagination. This idea is perhaps present in a shadowy way behind much of the writing quoted in Part III, where I turned to the contradictory desire for an argued defence of Protestantism, and for the invocation of imaginative certainty, in Protestant literature. Before 1662, this tussle could not be resolved.

When it was published, *Paradise Lost* was in a sense already out of date as radical Protestant literature. The Puritans had definitively lost their battle, the thorough second Reformation of the Church. From 1662, the history of radical Protestantism in this country is of a long retreat inwards, towards pietism, enthusiasm and spiritualism. *Pilgrim's progress* is a better guide to this new *rôle* for the Protestant imagination, because in it the Elect are no longer concerned with imaging God out of invisible distance and vindicating their imagination against the sceptical voice, but with imagining themselves in their *rôle* as regenerate pilgrims away from the public sphere.

³¹ NT, 1913-14.

³² Newman, *Discourse*, pp. 95-6

In the great Dissenting epic of the next generation, *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, Crusoe's solitude and uncertainty on the island is an outward expression of the universal Protestant predicament. He finds within himself, and without any possibility of deceitful, scholastic, idolatrous human authority intervening, the matter for natural theology, in his own imaginative brooding over his life; and in the Bible which God (predictably) supplies for him, the matter for regeneration.³³ But Crusoe does not merely recover the sum of Protestant belief; all faith is revelation. Defoe could therefore publish a sequel called, in all seriousness, *Serious Reflections during the Life and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe: With his Visions of the Angelick World*.³⁴ The Nonconformist reading public finds in Defoe's novel a sort of Scripture: the biblicism of the radical Protestant has become cumulative, and points towards Arnold's notion of the canonisation of literature in Anglo-Saxon culture. The book of the people of the book expands its province, and creates further sacred literature beyond itself. Sacred space shrinks to the self-conscious, spiritualised imagination, but then sorties out from that citadel, in the first place over vernacular literature. As one of Defoe's Anglican detractors observes, in a rather dim counter-blow to *Robinson Crusoe* called *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Mr D— De F— of London, Hosier*:

There is not an old woman that can go the price of it, but buys thy *Life and Adventures* and leaves it as a legacy, with *Pilgrim's Progress*, the *Practice of Piety* and *God's Revenge against Murder* to her prosperity.³⁵

³³ *Robinson Crusoe*, ed. Angus Ross (London, 1719, 1965), pp. 107-9.

³⁴ Angus Ross' intr. to his ed., p. 10

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

Bibliographies

Wherein it is largely evidenced by sundry texts of Scripture; of the whole Primitive Church, both under the Law and the Gospell; of 55 Synodes and Councils; of 71 Fathers and Christian Writers, before the yeare of our Lord 1200; of about 50 foraigne and domestique Protestant and Popish Authors, since; of 40 Heathen Philosophers, Historians, Poets

William Prynne, *Histrio-mastix* (1633), title-page.

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With older editions I have generally included the shelf-mark, shown within square brackets, which is to the Bodleian Library's copy unless another library is indicated: either by the name of an Oxford College; or by *Mirfield*, for the Library of the Community of the Resurrection, Mirfield, West Yorkshire; or by *BL* (for the British Library).

The STC or Wing number is included only when I have relied upon these catalogues for bibliographical information that is not apparent from the book itself.

Bold type indicates the abbreviated citations I have used throughout the footnotes for books either mentioned often, or with intractably complicated bibliographies. These, and the abbreviations for periodicals, are listed above, *v-viii*.

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Spedding's edition (hereafter Sp.) is standard, which is a shame, because it is in many ways unsatisfactory. The drastic modernisation of accidentals sometimes obscures or distorts the meaning, and in any case the conventions Sp. imposes are themselves dated: so we have a mid-Victorian text in its looks, and sometimes in its voice. Nor is Sp. altogether complete, and for certain texts I have relied upon Benjamin Farrington's collection (noted *sub.* Farrington, in the secondary bibliography).

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Resuscitatio: Or, bringing into Publick light several pieces of the works Civil, Historical, Philosophical, and Theological, Hitherto sleeping With his Lordships Life. Ed. William Rawley.

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A Disswasive From poperie . . . by vvhich every Papist, not wilfully blinded, may be brought to the truth, and euery Protestant confirmed in the same

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London: Cuthbert Burby, 1603. [Pamph. I (13)]

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London: Nicholas Bourne, 1640. [8° T. 48 Th.]

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London: Thomæ Marsh, 1565. [BL: 1070 l. 3]

A medicinable Morall, that is, the two Bookes of Horace his Satyres, Englyshed accordyng to the prescription of saint Hierome. . . . The Wailyngs of the Prophet Hieremiah, done into Englyshe verse. Also Epigrammes.
London: Thomas Marsh, 1566. [Douce HH 253]

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London: Thomas Marsh, 1567. [Malone 324]

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[Malone 62 (5)]

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London: R. Parker et al., 1714.

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This prebent Boke named the Ship of folys . . . was translated . . . out of Laten / frenche / and Doche into the Englyshe tonge by Alexander Barclay Preste

London: Richard Pynjon, 1508.

[Douce BB 710]

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Oxford: A. & J. Churchill, 1704.

[1 g 37]

The prayers of Erasmus. Tr. Charles Simeon Coldwell.

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[138 i. 121]

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The answeere vnto the Nine Points of Controuersy, Proposed by our late Soueraigne (of Famous Memory) vnto M. Fisher of the Society of Iesus. And the reioynder Vnto the reply of D. Francis VWhite Minister

[St. Omer: English College Press], 1626.

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The Purple island, or the isle of man: together with piscatories eclogs and other poeticall miscellanies. . . . By F.P.

Cambridge: prs. Univ., 1633.

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Mosaicall philosophy: Grounded upon the essentiall truth or eternal sapience. Written first in Latin, and afterwards thus rendered into English.

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[Ashmole 1703]

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justificatione, Purgatorio . . . et Eucharistia. . . . cum versione Anglica [by G.H.F.]. II vols. [L.A.-C.T.]
Oxford: Parker, 1850-6.

Fotherby, Martin, Bishop of Salisbury

Fovre sermons Whereunto is added, An answere concerning the use of the Crosse in Baptisme
London: C.K[night]. and W.C.[otton]., 1608. [STC 11206; Th 4° F 3 BS]

Atheomastix: Clearing foure Truthes, Against Atheists and Infidels: 1. That, There is a God. 2. That, There is but one God. 3. That, Jehouah, our God, is that one God. 4. That, The Holy Scripture is the word of that God. All of them proued, by Naturall Reasons, and Secular Authorities; for the reducing of Infidels: and, by Scriptures, and Fathers, for the confirming of Christians
London: Nicholas Okes, 1622. [G 8 3 Th (2)]

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Foxe *The acts and monuments of John Foxe. With a life and defence of the martyrologist.* III vols. Ed. George Townsend. Third ed. ed. Josiah Pratt.
London: George Seeley, 1870.

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[*A Mirrour. To know thyselfe.* (Running title: title-page missing.)]
[Antwerp: M. Crom, 1536 (?)]. [8° 1 65 Art. (3)]

'A treatise made by the Jayd Iohn Frith whiles he was prisoner in the Tower of London. Anno. M.D. xxxij. called a Myrroure or glasse to know thy selfe.' *The Whole workes of W. Tyndall, Iohn Frith, and Doc. Barnes . . .*, [ed. by John Foxe], fols. 83-90.
London: John Daye, 1573. [Antiq. d E 1572/1]

– also Foxe's anthology, in the bibliography of collected works.

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Cambridge University Press, 1848.

Anti-prognosticon: that is to say, an Inuective agaynst the vayne and vnprofitable predictions of the Astrologians Translated out of Latine into Englishe.
London: Henry Sutton, 1560. [Ashm. 302 (3)]

A defense of the sincere and true Translations of the holie scriptures into the English tong, against the manifolde cavils of Gregory Martin. . . . Wherevnto is added a briefe confutation of all such quarrels and cauils. . . .
London: George Bishop, 1583.

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T. G.

The friers chronicle: or, the true legend of priests and monkes lives.
London: Robert Mylbourne, 1623. [Wood D 24]

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'Memoirs of the Mission in England of the Capuchin Friars . . . 1630 to 1669', tr. by Thomas Birch in his *The Court and Times of Charles the First* II vols.
London: Henry Colburn, 1848.

Giffard, George

A Discourse of the Subtill Practises of Deuilles by VVitches and Sorcerers With an Aunswer vnto diuers friuolous Reasons which some doe make to prooue that the Deuils did not make those Aperations in any bodily shape.
London: Toby Cooke, 1587. [Wood B 20 (2)]

A dialogve concerning vitches and witchcrafts. In which is layed open how craftily the Diuell deceiueth not onely the VVitches, but many other

London: Arthur Johnson, 1603. [Wood B 20 (6)]

Glanvill, Joseph

A blow at Modern Sadducism in some Philosophical Considerations about Witchcraft. . . . Fourth ed.
London: James Collins, 1668. [Vet. A£ f 839]

Scepsis scientifica: or, Confest ignorance the way to science; in an essay of the vanity of dogmatizing and confident opinion. Ed. John Owen.

London: Kegan Paul, 1885. [3977 f 1]

Goffe, Thomas

The raging turke, or Baiazet the second.
London: Richard Meighen, 1631. [Malone 177 (6)]

The covragious turke, Or, Amvrath the First. A Tragedie.
London: Richard Meighen, 1632. [Malone 185 (3)]

The tragedy of Orestes
London: Richard Meighen, 1633. [Malone 227 (4)]

Golding, Arthur, (tr. and ed.)

The Rare and Singular worke of Pomponius Mela, That excellent and worthy Cosmographer, of the situation of the world, most orderly prepared, and deuided euery parte by itselfe: with the Longitude and Latitude of euerie Kingdome, Regent, Province, Riuers, Mountaines, Cities and Countries: Wherevnto is added, that learned worke of Iulius Solinus Polyhistor, with a necesarie Table for thys Booke: Right pleafant and profitable for Marchaunts, Mariners, and Trauellers.
London: Thomas Hacket, 1590. [Malone 320]

– also Golding's translations of Theodore Beza's *A tragedie of Abraham's sacrifice*, Calvin's sermons on Galatians and Ephesians,

Philippe de Mornay's *A Worke concerning the Truenesse of Christian Religion*, and Ovid's *Metamorphosis*.

Goodman, Godfrey, Bishop of Gloucester

The fall of man, or the corruption of nature, proved by the light of our naturall Reason. Being the first ground and occasion of our Christian Faith and religion, may likewise serue for the first step and degree of the naturall mans conuerfion.

London: Joseph Browne, 1616.

[Mansfield 232]

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Aulicus Coquinariix: Or a vindication in answer to a pamphlet, entitvled The Court and Character of King James. Pretended to be penned by Sir A[rthur].W[ilson]. and published since his death, 1650.

London: Henry Seile, 1650.

[Wood 263]

Gosson, Stephen

Salzburg Studies in English Literature . . . Elizabethan Studies: Editor: Dr. James Hogg: 4: Markets of Bawdrie: The dramatic criticism of Stephen Gosson. Ed. Arthur F. Kinney.

Salzburg: Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur, 1974.

The S[c]hoole of Abuse, Conteining a pleasaunt inuectiue against Poets, Pipers, Plaiers, Iesters, and such like Caterpillars of a Commonwealthe; . . . overthrowing their Bulwarks, by Prophane, [sic] Writers, Naturall reason, and common experience

London: Thomas Woodcocke, 1579.

[Malone 475]

The Ephemerides of Phiato, deuided into three Bookes.... The third, The defence of a Curtezan overthrowen. And a short Apologie of the Schoole of Abuse, against Poets, Pipers, Players, & their Excusers.

London: Thomas Dawson, 1579.

[Mason A.A. 46]

[*Playes confuted in fiue actions, prouing that they are not to be suffred in a christian common weale . . .* (Title-page missing from the Bodleian's copy)].

London: T. Gosson, 1582.

[STC 12095; Malone 476]

The Trumpet of VVarre. A Sermon preached at Paules Crosse the seuenth of Maie 1598.

London: I[ohn]. O[xenbridge]., [1598].

[STC 12099; 8° B. 180 Th. (3)]

Grafton, Richard

A Chronicle at large and meere History of the affayres of Englande and Kinges of the same, deduced from the Creation of the worlde

London: Henry Denham, 1569.

[4° BS 162]

Grindal, Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury

The Remains Ed. William Nicholson. (PS.)

Cambridge University Press, 1853.

Habermann, Johann

The Enimie of Securitie or A daily exercise of godlie meditations,

- drawne out of . . . holie Scriptures . . . in the German and Latine toongs, by . . . M. John Avenar, publike Professor of the Hebrue toong . . . Witeberge. Tr. Thomas Rogers.*
London: Peter Short, 1596. [Vet. A 1 g 6]
- Hakewill, George
An apologie of the povver and providence of God in the government of the world. Or An Examination and censure of the common errovr touching natvres perpetvall and vniversall decay, divided into foure bookes by G.H.
Oxford: John Lichfield, William Turner, pr. Univ., 1627. [1419 c 1]
- Harding, John
An answeere to maister Iuelles chalenge
Louvain: J. Bogard, 1564.
- A confutation of a booke intiutled An apologie for the church of England*
Antwerp: [J. Laet], 1565. [STC 12762]
- A Reioindre to M. Iewel's Replie*
Antwerpe: Ioannis Foulteri, 1566. [STC 12760; 4 H 43 Th.]
Reprinted in facsimile as *A Reioindre to M. Iewels Replie 1566*. Ed. D.M. Rogers (ERL, no. 303).
Menston, Yorkshire: Scolar Press, 1976. [11127 e 53 (303)]
- A Reioindre to M. Iewel's replie against the sacrifice of the Masse.*
Louvain: Ioannem Foulterum, 1567. [STC 12761; 4 H 44 Th.]
Reprinted in facsimile as *A Reioindre to M. Iewels Replie against the Sacrifice of the Masse 1567*. Ed. D.M. Rogers (ERL, no. 38).
Menston, Yorkshire: Scolar Press, 1970. [11127 d 9 (38)]
- A detection of sundrie foule erroours, vttered by M. Jewel . . .*
[Antwerp: Æ. Diest, 1565.] [STC 12763.5]
- Harvey, Gabriel
The Huth Library. The works of Gabriel Harvey, DCL. Ed. Alexander B. Grosart. II vols.
Privately printed, 1884.
- Pierces Supererogation Or a new praise of the old asse. A preparative to certaine larger Discourses, intituled Nashes S. fame.*
London: Iohn Wolfe, 1593.
- Hemmingsen, Niels
The faith of the Church Militant, Moste effectualie described in this exposition of the 84. Pfalme, by that reuered Pastor . . . [at] Haffine in Denmark, Nicholas Hemmingivs. A treatise written as to the instruction of the ignorant in the groundes of religion, so to the confutation of the Iewes, the Turkes, Atheists, Papiſts, Heathens, and al other aduersaries of the trueth whatsoever. Translated out of Latine into English, &c. by Thomas Rogers.
London: Andrew Maunsel, 1581. [Mason AA 219]
- Hermes Trismegistus
Hermetica: the ancient Greek and Latin writings which contain

religious or philosophical teachings ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus. Ed. and tr. Walter Scott. IV vols.
Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924-36. [C. Gr. H. 115]

The divine Pymander of Hermes Mercurius Trismegstus, In XVII. Books. Translated formerly out of the Arabick into Greek, and thence into Latine, and Dutch, and now out of the Original into English; By that Learned Divine Doctor [John] Everard. Preface by J.F.
London: Tho. Brewster and Greg. Moule, 1650. [Ashm. 300; STC 1565]

The divine Pymander Translated . . . by Dr. Everard (1680)
Ed. & preliminary essay by Hargrave Jennings.
London: George Redway, 1884. [267625 e. 2]

Heywood, Thomas

The hierarchie of the blessed Angells. Their Names, orders and Offices: The fall of Lucifer with his Angells.
London: Adam Islip, 1635. [Douce H. 236]

Hill, Thomas

The Contemplation of Mankinde, contayning a singlar discourse after the Art of Physiognomie by a worthie Grecian named Melampus. Tr. Thomas Hyll.
London: William Seres, 1571. [Antiq. f E 1571]

Hobbes, Thomas

Hobbes *The English Works of Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury: now first collected* Ed. Sir William Molesworth, Bart. XI vols.
London: John Bohn, 1839-45.

Holland, Henry

A treatise against vitchcraft: or A Dialogue, wherein the greatest doubts concerning that finne, are briefly answered
Cambridge: John Legatt, pr. Univ., 1590. [Wood B 20 (3)]

Hooker, Richard

The works of that learned and judicious divine Mr. Richard Hooker with an account of his life and death by Isaac Walton. Ed. John Keble. Rev. R.W. Church and F. Paget. Seventh edition. III vols.
Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1888.

Lawes *The Folger Library Edition of the The Works of Richard Hooker.* Gen. ed. W. Speed Hill. IV vols.
Harvard University Press (The Belknap Press), 1977-82.

Of the lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie. Eyght Bookes.
London: Iohn Windet, 1594. [G. 52 Th.]
Reprinted as *Of the lawes of ecclesiasticall politie: London (1594).*
(EE: no. 94.)
Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1971.

Hooper, John, Bishop of Gloucester

Hooper, I *Early writings of Bishop Hooper* Ed. Samuel Carr. (PS.)

Cambridge University Press, 1843.

Hooper, II *Later writings of Bishop Hooper, together with his letters and other pieces.* Ed. Charles Nevinson. (PS.)
Cambridge University Press, 1843.

Huarte Navarro, Juan

Examen de Ingenios. The examination of mens Wits . . . By John Huarte. Translated out of the Spanish tongue by M. Camillo, Camiili [sic], Englished out of his Italian, by R.[ichard] C.[arew,] Esquire.

London: Richard Watkins, 1594

H.[ull], I.[ohn]

The vnmasking of the politiqve atheist.

London: Ralph Howell, 1602.

[Antiq. f E 1602/2]

Saint Peters prophesie of these last daies. Discovering the iniquity of the time, and atheisme of the age. Prouing the Burning of the world, manifesting, the Iudgement to come, and confirming the Resurrection of the dead, &c.

London: Nathaniel Fosbrooke, 1610.

[101 f 30]

Christ His proclamation to Salvation.

London: Benjamin Lightfoote, 1613.

[8° H 22 Th]

An exposition vpon a part of the Lamentations of Jeremie: lectured at Corke in Ireland

London: Bernard Alsop, 1618.

[4° H 30 Th]

Hume, Alexander

Hymnes, or Sacred Songs; wherein the right Vse of Poesie may be espied.

Edinburgh: Robert Walde-graue, 1599.

Hunnis, William

A hyve foll Of Hunnye: Contayning the Firste Booke of Moses, called Genesis. Tornyed into english Meetre by William Hunnis

London: Thomas Marsh, 1578.

[Malone H 93]

Seven Sobs of a Sorrowfull Soule for Sinne. Comprehending those P[salmes] of the Princlie Prophet David, commonlie called P[œ]nitentiall Wherevnto is also annexed his Handfull of Honifuckles; . . . newlie printed and augmented.

London: Henrie Denham, 1583.

[STC 13975; BL: C37a 7]

Seven Sobs of a Sorrowfull Soule for Sinne: Comprehending those Ieuen P[salmes] . . . commonlie called P[œ]nitentiall . . . reduced into meetre by William Hunnis [with other works] newlie printed and augmented.

London: H[umfrey] Lownes, 1609.

[Antiq. f E 84 (2)]

Hunnies Recreations: Conteining foure godlie and compendious discourses, intituled Adams banishment. Christ his Crib. The lost Sheepe. The complaint of old Age. . . .[and other pieces].

London: W. Iaggard, 1595.

[BL: C 53 a 27 (1)]

Hutchinson, Roger

The Works of Roger Hutchinson Ed. John Bruce. (PS.)
Cambridge University Press, 1842.

The Image of God, or laie mans boke, in which the right knowledge of God is disclosed, and diuerse doubtbes besides the principal matter, made by Roger Hutchinson 1550.

London: John Day, 1560.

[8° L 26 (1) Th]

The Image of God or boke of a true Christian, wherin the right knowledge of God, of Christ, and of the Holy Ghost is disclosed, and diuers reasons of heretiques agaynst the Godhead are dissolued: Newly corrected, and faythfully amended [by John Day].

London: John Day, 1580.

[Deyner D 16]

Hutton, Thomas, et al.

Reasons for the refusal of subscription to the Book of Common Praier . . . vvith an msverre [sic] by Thomas Hutton. [Vol. I.]
Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1605.

[Brasenose. STC 14035]

Reasons for the refusal [Vol. II.]

London: Iohn Windet, 1606.

[Brasenose. STC 14036]

Jackson, John, (ed. and tr.)

The soule is Immortall: Or, Certaine Discourses defending the immortalitie of the Soule, against the limmes of Sathan: to wit, Saduces, Anabaptists, Atheists, and such

London: Robert Boulton, 1611.

[8° E 32 (3) Th]

James VI and I, King of England, Scotland and Ireland

The essays of a prentise, in the divine art of poesie.

Edinburgh: Thomas Vantroullier, 1584.

[BL: G 11237]

Daemonologie, in forme Of a Dialogue, Diuided into three Bookes.

Edinburgh: Robert Walde-graue, pr. K., 1597. [BL: G 19130]

Reprinted as *Iames I: Daemonologie: Edinburgh, 1597.* (EE: no. 94.)

Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1969.

Triplici nodo, triplex cuneu. Or An Apologie for the oath of Allegiance, Against the two Breues of Pope Paulvs Quintvs

London: Robert Barker, pr. K., 1607.

[BL: 861 f 21 (3)]

James, Thomas

The Iesuits Downefall, threatened against them by the secular Priests for their wicked liues, accursed manners, Hereticall doctrine, and more than Machiavellian Policie. Together with the life of Father Parsons an Englishe Iesuite.

Oxford: John Barnes, 1612.

[Wood D. 24 (2)]

Jewel, John, Bishop of Salisbury

The works of the very learned J. Jewel, . . . And a briefe discourse of his life [by D. Featley].

London: J. Norton, 1609.

[STC 14579]

Jewel *The Works of John Jewel . . .* Ed. John Ayre. IV vols. (PS.)
Cambridge University Press, 1845-50.

The true copies of the letter between John Bisshop of Sarum and D. Cole [about the sermon of challenge]
London: John Day, [1560]. [STC 14612]

An apologie or answeare in defence of the Churche of Englande. [Tr. Lady Ann Bacon.]
London: [R. Wolfe], 1564. [STC 14529]

A replie vnto M. Hardinges answeare.
London: H. Wykes, 1565. [STC 14606]

A defence of the Apologie of the Churche of Englande, an answeare to a certain booke by M. Hardinge .
London: H. Wykes, 1567. [STC 14600.5]*

Certaine Sermons Preached before the Queenes Maiestie
London: Christopher Barker, pr. Q., 1583. [Vet. A 1 f 76]

Knox, John

The works of John Knox. Ed. David Laing. VI vols.
Edinburgh: Thomas George Stevenson, 1864. [Soc 113 d 41-6]

La Peyrère, Isaac

Men before Adam. Or A Discourse upon the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth Verses of the Fifth Chapter of Romans.
London: n.p., 1656. [Wood 889 (2)]

A theological systeme Upon that Presupposition, That Men were before Adam.
London: n.p., 1656. [Wood 889 (3)]

Laud, William, Archbishop of Canterbury

The works of the Most Reverend Father in God, William Laud,

* There were two simultaneous controversies waged by Jewel and Harding: the series of books begun by Jewel's famous sermon, which challenged papists to prove the apostolic antiquity of the most controversial sacramental usages (particularly reservation); and the exchange over Jewel's *Apologia ecclesiae anglicanae*, one of the most important defences of the Elizabethan Settlement, which went through nine editions in its original Latin (STC 14581-8), and six more in English and Greek (STC 14590-5). This is difficult, and a number of modern writers have confused books; I list the two series with Harding's counter-blows underlined. Sedulous care has to be taken to distinguish Jewel's *A Reioindre to M. Jewels Replie 1566*, which is cited in the footnotes as *A Reioindre (1566)*, from *A Reioindre to M. Jewels Replie against the Sacrifice of the Masse*, which I always cite as *Reioindre (1567)*.

THE CHALLENGE

APOLOGIA CONTROVERSY

1559 *Challenge*

1562

1564 *Answer*

1565 *Replie*

1566 *Reioindre*

1567 *Reioindre . . . on . . . Masse*

1568

Apologia

(tr. into Eng. by Lady Bacon, 1564)

Confutation

Defence

Detection

D.D.: sometimes Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. VII vols. Ed. William Scott (vols. I-II) and James Bliss (vols. III-VII). [L.A.-C.T.] Oxford: Parker, 1846-1860.

The history of the troubles and tryal of The Most Reverend Father in God, and Blessed Martyr, William Laud Wrote by Himself, during his Imprisonment in the Tower. . . . Ed. Henry Wharton. London: Ri.[chard] Chiswell, 1695. [Douce L. subt. 79]

The Second Volume Of the remains of thf [sic] Most Reverend Father in God, And Blessed Martyr, William Laud Coll. Henry Wharton, ed. Edmund Wharton. London: Sam.[uel] Keble, et al., 1700. [F 2.5 Th.]

Lavaterus, Lewes

Of ghostes and spirites walking by nyght, and of strange noyses, crackes, and sundry forewarnynges [1570]. Tr. with a preface by R[ichard]. H[arrison]. London: Richard Watkyns, 1572. [Wood B 20 (1)]

Le Roy, Louis

De la vicissitude ov varietie des choses en l'v nivers, et concurrence des armes et des lettres pas les premieres et plus illustres nations du monde Par Loys le Roy dict Regius Paris: Pierre l'Huilier, 1576. [A. 5 16 Art]

Of the interchangeable course, or variety of things in the whole world; and the concurrence of armes and Learning, through the first and famourest Nations. . . . Moreover, whether it b[e] true or no, that there can be nothing sayd, which hath not bin said heretofore: And that we ought by our owne Inuentions to augment the doctrine of the Auncients. . . . Tr. R[obert]. A[shley.] London: Charles Yetsweirt, 1594. [Tanner 360]

Lively, Edward

A true chronologie of the times of the Persian Monarchie Written by Edward Livelie, Reader of the holie tongue in Cambridge. London: Thomas Man, John Parker, and Rafe Jackson, 1597. [Wood 143]

Lucretius

An essay on the first book of T. Lucretius Carus de rerum natura. Tr. John Evelyn. London: Gabriel Bedle and Thomas Collins, 1656. [Art. 8° L. 17 BS]

T. Lucretius Carus the Epicurean Philosopher, His Six Books De Natura Rerum: Done into English Verse, with Notes [by Thomas Creech]. Oxford: Anthony Stephens, 1682. [90 b. 11]

Lucretius His Six Books Of Epicurean Philosophy: And Manilius His Five Books, Containing a System of the Ancient Astronomy and astrology. Together with The Philosophy of the Stoicks. Both Translated into English Verse with Notes, By Mr. Thomas Creech.

- to which is Added The Several Parts of Lucretius, English'd by Mr. [John] Dryden.*
'The booksellers of London and Westminster', 1700. [Vet A3 e. 1150]
- Luther, Martin
Luther's Works. Gen. eds. Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmut T. Lehman.
LV vols.
St. Louis: Concordia, and Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1958-67.
- Machiavelli, Niccolò
The works of the famous Nicolas Machiavel, citizen and secretary of Florence. Written Originally in Italian, and from thence newly and faithfully translated into English.
London: John Starkey, 1675. [A 2.19 Art]
- Markham, Iarvis (or Gervase)
The Poem of Poems. Or, Sions muse, Contayning the diuine Song of King Salomon, deuided into eight Eclogues.
London: Mathew Lowne, 1611. [Marlowe 436]
- Marston, John
The Malcontent. Ed. George K. Hunter. (The Revels Plays. Gen. ed. F. David Hoeniger.)
London: Methuen, 1975.
- 'Martin Mar-prelate'
The Marprelate Tracts: 1588, 1589. Ed. William Pierce.
London: Clarke, 1911.
- Martin, Gregory
A discoverie of the manifold corruptions of the holy scriptures by the Heretikes of our daies, specially the English Sectaries . . . in their English Bibles used and authorised since the time of the Schisme.
Rheims: John Fogny, 1582. [Douce MM 215]
- also his translation of the New Testament, in section (vi) of this bibliography.
- Martyr, Peter
The Common Places of the most famous and renowned [sic] Diuine Doctor Peter Martyr, diuided into foure principall parts. . . . Translated and partlie gathered by Anthonie Marten
London: Henrie Denham, et al., 1583. [5 ~~D~~ 118]
- M[axwell]., I[ames].
The Laudable Life, And Deplorable Death, of our late peerlesse Prince Henry
London: Thomas Pauier, 1612. [Malone 290 (4)]
- Montaigne, Michel Eyquem, Seigneur de
The complete works of Montaigne: Essays: Travel Journal: Letters: newly trans. by Donald M. Frame.
London: Hamish Hamilton, [1958].
- Essayes written in French by Michael Lord of Montaigne, Knight of the Order of S. Michael, Gentleman of the French Kings Chamber:*

done into English according to the last French edition by Iohn Florio.

London: Edward Blount and William Barret, 1613. [Magdalen]

Essays. Tr. J.M. Cohen.
Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1958.

M[orduant], H.

The strange fortune of Alerane: Or, My Ladies Toy.
[London, V.S. for author (?)], 1605. [Lincoln]

More, Sir George

A demonstration of God in his workes. Againste all such as eyther in word or life deny there is a God.
London: Thomas Charde, 1597. [Bliss A 183]

More, George

A true Discourse concerning the certaine possession and dispossessiō of persons in one familie in Lancashire, which also may serue as part of an Answer to a fayned and false Discouerie which speaketh very much euill, aswell of this, as of the rest of those great and mightie workes of God which be of the like excellent nature. By George More, Minister and Preacher of the worde of God, and now (for bearing witnesse unto this, and iustifying the rest) a prisoner in the Clinke, where he hath cōtinued almost for the space of two yeares.
[London]: n.d., 1600. [Gough Lancashire 8]

More, S. Thomas

More *The Yale Edition of The Complete Works of St. Thomas More.*
Ed. Louis L. Martz, et al. XVI vols.
Yale University Press, 1962- .

(tr.)

The lyfe of Johan Picus Erle of Myrandula
London: Wynkyn de Worde, [c. 1525]. [Gough Oxon 116 (2)]
Reprinted as *The Lyfe of Johan Picus Erle of Myrandula.* London: c. 1525. (EE: no. 884.)
Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1977.

Mornay, Philippe de, Seigneur de Plessie

A Worke concerning the Trunesse of Christian Religion, written in French: Against Atheists, Epicures, Paynims, Iewes, Mahumetists, and other Infidels. By Philip of Mornay Lord of Plesie Marlie. Begunne to be translated into English by that honourable and worthy Gentleman, Syr Philip Sidney Knight, and at his request finished by Arthur Golding. Third edition.
London: George Potter, 1604. [Vet A2 e 170]

A worke concerning the trunefbe of Christian religion Fourth edition.
London: George Purslowe, 1617. [Th 4° m 52]

A discourse of life and death: written in French, by Phil. Mornay. Done into English by the Countesse of Pembroke.

- London: Mathew Lownes, 1608. [Vet A2 f 266]
- [Morton, Thomas]
A treatise on the threefolde state of man: wherein is handled . . . His created Holinesse . . . Sinfulnesse . . . Renewed holinesse.
 London: Robert Dexter and Ralph Jackson, 1596. [Antiq f E 1596.4]
- A treatise of the Nature of God.*
 London: Robert Dexter, 1599. [8° M 154 Th]
- [Munday, Andrew (?)]
A second and third blast of retrait from plaies and Theatres: the one . . . by a reuerend Byshop [Salvianus of Massilia] dead long since; the other by a worshipful and zealous Gentleman now aliueby Anglo-phile Eutheo
 [London: Henry Denham, 1580. [STC 21677]
- Nashe, Thomas
The Huth Library. The complete works of Thomas Nashe. In four [sic] volumes. . . . Ed. Alexander B. Grosart. VI vols. Privately printed, 1883-5.
The Works of Thomas Nashe edited from the original texts. Ed. Ronald B. McKerrow. V vols. London: A. H. Bullen, 1904-10.
An Almond for a Parrat, Or Cuthbert Curry-knaues Almes. Fit for the knaue Martin [Marprelate]
 Imprinted at a Place, not farre from a Place, by the A[[signes of Signior Some-body [London?: c. 1585]. [BL: C 37 d 45]
- Christs teares over Ierusalem. Whereunto is annexed, a comparative admonition to London.*
 London: Andrewe Wise, 1593. [4° K 35 Th BS]
 Reprinted as *Christ's tears over Jerusalem: 1593.*
 Menston, Yorkshire: Scolar Press, 1970.
- Haue with you to Saffron-walden, Or, Gabriell Harveys Hunt is vp.*
 London: John Danter, 1594. [Douce N 242 (1)]
- The Unfortunate Traveller And other works.* Ed. J.B. Steane. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971.
- Pierce Pennilessse his Supplication to the Diuell.*
 London: Nicholas Ling, 1595. [Douce N 242 (1)]
- Norden, John
Speculum Britanniae. The first parte: By the travaile and view of Iohn Norden Anno 1593.
 [London: Eliot's Court Press, 1593]. [STC 18635]
- Major poems
Vicissitudo rerum, an Elegiacall Poeme of the interchangeable Courses and Varietie of Things in this World.
 London: Simon Stafford, 1600. [Malone 341]

Reissued as *A store-houſe of varieties, Briefly diſcouſing the Change and Alteration of things in this world.*

London: [Simon Stafford?], 1601. [Malone 290 (1)]

Reprinted in facsimile as *Shakespeare Association Facsimiles No. 4: J. Norden: Vicissitudo Rerum: 1600.* Intr. D.C. Collins.

London: Shakespeare Association, 1931.

The labyrinth of mans life. Or vertues delight and enuies oppoſite.

London: Iohn Bvdge, 1614. [4° A 36 Art (3)]

Devotional works

A pensive mans practise: London 1584. (EE: no. 401.)

Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1971.

A progress of piety, whose jesses lead into the harbour of heavenly heart's ease (PS.)

Cambridge University Press, 1847.

The fathers legacie. With precepts Morall, and prayers Diuine. Fitted for all ſorts, both yong and old, times and ſeaſons: Morning, Noone and Night.

London: Iohn Harriot, 1625. [8° P 210 Th]

A good companion for a christian, Directing him in the way to God, being Meditations and Prayers for euery day in the weake: and Graces before and after meate.

London: Richard Collins, 1632. [Bliss A 192]

Northumberland, Henry Percy, 9th Earl of

'Instructions by Henry ninth Earl of Northumberland to his son Algernon Percy' Ed. J.H. Markland. *Archaeologia*, XXVII (1838), 306-58. [BL: 13894 (1-6)]

Advice to his son: by Henry Percy Ninth Earl of Northumberland (1609). Ed. G.B. Harrison.

London: Benn, 1930.

Nowell, Alexander

A catechism written in Latin by Alexander Nowell, Dean of St Paul's: together with the same catechism translated into English by Thomas Norton. . . . Ed. G.E. Corrie. (PS.)

Cambridge University Press, 1853.

Ocland, Christopher

Anglorum prælia. Ab Anno Domini. 1327. Anno numirùm primo inclytiß. Principe Eduardi eius nominis tertij, vßque ad annum Do. 1558. . . .

London: Henry Bynneman, 1580. [4° M 23 (5)]

Anglorum prælia. . . . Second ed.

London: Henry Bynneman, 1582. [Douce O 53]

Item: de pacatissimo Angliæ ſtatu imperante Elizabetha compendiosa narratio . . . Regiæ Majestatis Conſiliarii in omnibus hujus regni ſcholis prelegenda pueris præſcripserunt. Expanded ed.

London: [Ralph Newberry, 1582. [BM: 1069519]

EIPHNAPXIA: sive Elizabetha
London: Christophorus Bakerus, 1582. [4° G 6140]

*The valiant actes and victorious battailes of the English nation . . . a
compendious declaration written by C.O. Tr. I[ohn] S[harrock].*
London: Robert Walde-graue, 1585. [BL: C 141 c 2]

*The pope's Farwel; Or Queen Ann's Dream. Containing a true
Prognostick of her owne Death, Together with the exterpation of
Popery out of these Realms . . . by Queen Elizabeth . . . Being
Translated out of a Book written in her Reign, and by her allowed
to be Printed Together with some few Remarques Upon the
Late Plot, or Non-Con-Conspiracy.*
[London]: J.M. for T.W., [1680].

Ormerod, Oliver

*The picture of a Puritane: or, A Relation of the opinions, qualities,
and practises of the Anabaptists in Germanie, and of the Puritanes
in England Whereunto is annexed a short treatise, entituled
Puritano-papismus: or a discouerie of Puritan-Papisme.*
London: Nathaniel Fosbroke, 1605. [Pamph. C 3]

Ovid

Ovidii: Metamorphoseon: Libri XV
Venice: Ioan. Gryphium, 1563. [Auct. S. 5. 5.]

Pvb. Ovidii Nasonis: Metamorphoseon: libri XV.
Frankfurt-im-Main (Francofvrtiad Mœnum), n.p. 1571. [Douce O 43]

*The xv. Bookes of P. Ouidius Naso, entytuled Metamorphosis,
translated oute of Latin into english meeter, by Arthur Golding
Gentleman, A worke very pleasaunt and delectable.*
London: William Seres, 1567. [Malone 321 (a)]

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London: J. Daij [John Daye], 1572 [-74]. [STC 19292]

The life off the 70. Archbishopp off Canterbury presently Sittinge Englished [from the anonymous Latin *Historiola*, by J. Stubbs?] / *and to be added to the 69. lately Sett forth in Latin. This numbere of seuenty is so compleat a number as it is a great pitie ther shold be one more*
[Zürich (?): C. Foschauer (?)], 1574. [STC 19292a; BL: 11985]

Parsons, Robert, SJ

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Faithfully and familiarly set downe, according to the Authors owne
experience.*
London: Peter Short, 1594. [4° B 62 Art]
- The jevvel house of Art and Nature* By D.B. Gent.
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maners, and whatsoeuer els concerneth the good and happie life
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London: George Bishop and Ralph Newberry, 1586. [Antiq. e E 67]
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Bookes The fourth part neuer before published in English*
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London: Thomas Adams, 1618. [L 111 Art.]

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A gorgeous Gallery, of gallant Inuentions
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Sir Walter Raleigh's observations, Touching Trade and Commerce with the Hollander With other Passages of high Concernment.
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Rastell, John

*A new boke of purgatory: Whiche is a dyaloge & dysputacyon
betweene one Comynge an Almayne a Christen man: & one
Gyngemyn a turke of Machoinett [sic] law: dysputyng by naturall
reason and good philosophe: whether there be a purgatorye or no
purgatorye. . . . The fyrst dyaloge . . . of the merueylous exystens of
god: The seconde . . . of the immortalte of mannys soule: The
thyrde . . . of purgatory.*
[London]: John Rastell, 1530. [Mason Z 163]

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Favltes, Favlts, And nothing else but Favltes.
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Flora's fortune. The second part and finishing of the Fisher-mans Tale

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The fisherman's tale, of the famous life, and love of Cassender, [sic] a Grecian knight. In two parts. Founded on a story used by Shakespeare in The Winter's Tale. Printed from an early Manuscript Copy preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

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the Westerne parts of the World Never before till now published according to the Authours Originall Copie.

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[STC 21718; Christ Church: Hyp M 79 (1)]

Scot, Reginald

The discoverie of witchcraft, Wherein the lewde dealing of witches and witchmongers is notablie detected, the knauerie of coniuorers, the impietie of inchantors, the follie of soothsaiers, the impudent falshood of coulenors, the infidelitie of atheists, the pestilent practises of Pythonists and many other things opened Heerevnto is added a treatise vpon the nature and substance of spirits and diuels, &c.

[London: W. Brome,] 1584.

[STC 21864; 4° S 53 Th]

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[100 q 139]

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Miscellaneous prose of Sir Philip Sidney. Ed. Katherine Duncan-Jones and Jan van Dorsten.

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[Wood 116]

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Arcadia *The countess of Pembroke's Arcadia The original quarto edition (1590) in photographic facsimile* Ed. H. Oskar Sommer.
London: Kegan Paul, 1891. [2698 c 13]

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N.p.: n.p., [c.1650] [8° H 57 a&b Art]

Transubstantiation Examin'd and Confuted, in two sermons on the Lords Supper, Preach'd in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.
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Aut Deus, aut nihil. God or nothing. Or a Logicall Method deducing from the Actual Being of what we evidently experience, the unavoidable necessity of a God By Vincent Hattecliffe [Spencer's pseudonym] of *Corpus Christi* Cambridge.
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Memorials of . . . Thomas Cranmer, sometime lord Archbishop of Canterbury. III vols.
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The First Archbishop of Canterbury in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. Under whose Primacy and Influence the Reformation of Religion was happily Effected; And the Church of England Restored, and Established upon the Principles whereon it stands to this Day.
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Annals of the Reformation and establishment of religion . . . during Queen Elizabeth's happy reign New ed. IV vols.
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The Dove, and the Serpent. . . . points and principles, as tend either to Conversation, or Negotiation.
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A fol and plaine declaration of ecclesiastical Discipline out of the word of God, and of the declining of the Church of England from the same. [Tr. from the Latin by Thomas Cartwright.]
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Doctrinal treatises and Introductions to different portions of The Holy Scriptures Ed. Henry Walter. (PS.)
Cambridge University Press, 1848.

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– See also Foxe's anthology, in section v.

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London: John Tisadle, [1559]. [8° F 60 Th (2)]

A stronge battery against the Idolatrous inuocation of the deed Saintes
London: Thomas Hacket, 1562. [8° F 60 Th (3)]

Warre, James

The touchstone of truth. Wherin . . . Error is confuted That one of mean capacity . . . may bee able to argue with any Papist
London: Thomas Jones, 1630. [Antiq f E 1630/3]

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Workes IV vols.
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The portraiture of the image of God in Man
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An answere to a certeine booke, written by M. William Rainolds
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Tanner 620]

Disputatio de sacra scriptura, contra huius temporis Papistas
Cambridge: Thomas Thomas, pr. Univ., 1588. [1. d. 266]

A disputation on holy scripture, against the papists, especially Bellarmine and Stapleton. Tr. and ed. William Fitzgerald. (PS.)
Cambridge University Press, 1849.

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A treatise of Salomons mariage, or a congratulation for the happie and hopefull mariage betweene . . . Fredericke the V. Countie Palatine of Rhine . . . and . . the Ladie Elizabeth, sole daughter unto . . James
London: Thomas Man the elder, William Welby, 1612. [KK 42 Jur]

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Miscellaneous Works of George Wither V vols.
[London?]: Spenser Society, 1872-7.

A preparation to the Pfalter
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Exercises vpon the first psalme. Both in Prose and Verse.
[London?]: Spenser Society, 1882.

'A preface to the Reader . . .', in *The nature of man. a learned and usefull Tract, written in Greek by Nemesius, surnamed the Philosopher; sometime Bishop of a City in Phœnicia, and one of the most ancient fathers of the Church. Englished, And divided into Sections, with briefs of their principall.*
London: Henry Taunton, 1636. [Tanner 472]

– also his emblem book, in section viii.

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Athenæ Oxoniensis: an exact history of all the writers and bishops who have had their education in the University of Oxford (A facsimile of the London edition of 1813[-20].) IV vols. (The Sources of Science, No. 55, gen. ed. Harry Woolf.)
New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1967.

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A newve anatomie of vvhole man, aswell of his body, as of his Soule: Declaring the condition and constitution of the same, in his first creation, corruption, regeneration, and glorification.
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Restitutia; Or, titles, extracts, and characters of Old Books in English literature, revived.

London: Longman: 1815.

Foxe, John, (ed.)

The Whole workes of W. Tyndall, Iohn Frith, and Doc. Barnes, three worthy Martyrs, and principall teachers of this Church of Englande

London: John Daye, 1573.

[Antiq. d E 1572/1]

Robinson, Hastings, (tr. and ed.)

Original Letters relative to the English Reformation . . . chiefly from the archives of Zurich. II vols. (PS.)

Cambridge University Press, 1846-7.

Anonymous

[An interlude on the history of Jacob and Esau.]

London: Henry Sutton, 1557.

[New College; STC 14326.5]

A newe mery and wittie comedie or enterlude . . . treating vpon the historie of Iacob and Esau.

London: Henry Bynneman, 1568.

[King's 294; STC 14327]

Reprinted as *The Tudor Facsimile Texts: Jacob and Esau: 1568*. Ed. John S. Farmer.

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An epistle of the persecution of Catholickes in England. Translated ovvt of frenche into Englishe . . . by G.T.

Douai: n.p., [c.1590].

[Tanner 45]

The wonderful discoverie of the Witchcrafts of Margaret and Phillip Flower

London: J. Barnes, 1619.

[Th 4 W 11]

The Pedigree of Popery; Or, The Genealogie of Antichrist.

[Broadsheet.]

[London?]: n.p., 1688.

A treatise, wherin are Strict Observations Upon That detestable and most shocking Sin [sic] of Sodomy, Blasphemy, and Atheism. . . .

London: A. Moare, 1728.

[G Pamph. 1309 (6)]

vi. Bibles

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Oxford University Press, 1911.

Greek

The Greek Testament Ed. Henry Alford. Fifth ed. IV vols.
London: Rivington, 1880.

Vulgate

Vulgate *Biblia sacra: iuxta vulgatam versionem.* Ed. Bonifatio Fischer, OSB, et al., rev. Robertus Weber, OSB. II vols.
Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1975.
[T. Bibl. 181]

Great Bible (1539)

GtB *The Byble in Englyshe, that is to saye the content of all the holy scripture . . . truly translated*
London: Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch, 1539.
[Bib Eng 1539 b 1]

Calvin's French translation (1551)

La Bible, Qui est toute la saincte Escriture
Geneva: Iehan Crespin, 1551. [AA 171 Th Seld]

Geneva Bible (1560)

The bible and holy scriptures conteyned in the olde and newe Testament. Translated according to the Ebrue and Greke, and conferred With the best traslation in diuers languages. With moste profitable annotations vpon all the hard places
London: Rouland Hall, 1560. [STC 2093]

GB Reprinted in facsimile as *The Geneva Bible: A facsimile of the 1560 edition: With an introduction by Lloyd E. Berry.*
Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969.

The Bible, That is, The holy Scriptures contained in the Old and New Testament. . . .
London: Robert Barker, pr. Q., 1602. [Bib Eng 1602 b 1]

The bible: Translated according to the Hebrew and Greke . . . With most profitable Annotations vpon all the hard places, and other things of great importance, as may appeare in the Epistle to the Reader. . . .
London: Robert Barker, pr. K., 1615. [Bib Eng 1615 b 2]

- Geneva Bible with L. Tomson's New Testament notes*
The bible
 London: C. Barker, 1637. [STC 2174]
- The bible*
 Amsterdam: Thomas Crafoorth, 1637.
- Bishops' Bible (1568)*
BpsB *The. holie. Bible. conteynyng the olde Testament and the newe.*
 [Folio first edition.]
 London: Richard Iugge [Jagge], pr. Q., 1568. [Bib. Eng. 1568 b. 2;
 STC 2099]
- Bps72** *The. holie. Bible.* [Folio third edition.]
 London: Richarde Iugge, pr. Q., 1572. [Bib. Eng. 1572 b.;
 STC 2107]
- The holy Byble, conteynyng the olde Testament and the newe. set
 foorth by auctoritie.*
 [London:] Richard Iagge, pr. Q., 1574. [Bib. Eng. 1574 b. 1]
- Rheims-Douai (1582)*
*The newve testament of Iesus Christ, translated faithfully into
 English, out of the authentical Latin [by Gregory Martin]. . .
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