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"THE GREAT WORK INDEED IN HAND": APOCALYPTIC HISTORY AND THE PROTESTANT
CAUSE IN SIR PHILIP SIDNEY'S NEW ARCADIA

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of the Ohio State University

By
Barbara A. Brumbaugh, M.A.

The Ohio State University
1997

Dissertation Committee:
Professor John N. King, Adviser
Professor David O. Frantz
Professor Lisa Klein

Approved by

Department of English
ABSTRACT

My dissertation presents a rereading of the New Arcadia as an apocalyptic allegory centrally concerned with--and rhetorically designed to critique and influence--debates on church reform and other religio-political issues specific to Sidney's Elizabethan culture. My opening chapter examines the highly politicized nature of Protestant exegesis of Revelation, probable religio-political motives for Sidney's treatment of apocalyptic issues, and the nature of and rationale for the allegorical methodology of the apocalyptic passages in the New Arcadia, which imitates that which Protestant exegetes attributed to Revelation. My second chapter surveys Sidney's use of generic patterns recurrent in Protestant apocalyptic literature and his reworkings of conventions, episodes, and structural patterns from classical and Renaissance epics. The retrospective narratives by Sidney's heroes, like those by Aeneas and Odysseus, are framed by accounts of two shipwrecks. The journeys narrated in the corresponding sections of the classical epics that Sidney imitates through this structural device had been heavily allegorized by commentators from the classical through Renaissance periods, increasing the probability that this segment of his own work would be read allegorically as well. Renaissance epics by Ariosto, Tasso, and Spenser all imitate the passage from the journey to the underworld in the Aeneid in which Anchises displays before Aeneas a pageant of his future descendants and describes the city they are destined to inherit. I show that Sidney's Asia Minor narratives imitate--and overgo--the procession of Roman heroes in Book 6 of the Aeneid: each is a seemingly prophetic but in fact retrospective history of the ascent of a carefully defined group of people, the forerunners, founders, and upholders of the Roman empire in Book 6 of the
Aeneid and the founders and preservers of the true Christian Church in the New Arcadia. Each history attempts simultaneously to define and shape the essential character and identity of its respective group, at least in part through exempla illustrating how past trials have been successfully overcome. Virgil and the Renaissance dynastic poets who imitated him typically looked back in their epics to past historical eras that could furnish analogical models for their own times. Through the allegorical history in the Asia Minor narratives, Sidney suggests that the Primitive Church should serve as a paradigm for reform in his time, a position popular among Protestants. Sidney overgoes Virgil in that the city promised Aeneas' descendants, Rome, would have been considered no rival to the city promised to Christians in Revelation, the New Jerusalem. Chapters 3 and 4 argue that Sidney presents through the retrospective Asia Minor narratives in Book II of the New Arcadia and in the opening episodes of Book I an apocalyptic and allegorical history of the Christian Church to the start of the Reformation. Revelation, defined by Protestants in Sidney's era as a prophetic church history, serves as a "ground-plot" or structural model for this section. Protestant commentators in Sidney's time attempted to demonstrate that Revelation's prophecies were being fulfilled through particular historical events according to a pattern that revealed beyond doubt that the Church of Rome had become by their time the Antichristian church of the Apocalypse and that their own separation from this church was, consequently, not only justified but demanded. My arguments in the second and third chapters are based primarily upon a series of distinctive images from Revelation that Protestant commentators like George Gifford, William Fulke, and Heinrich Bullinger associated with particular historical events, persons, groups, and tendencies important to the development of the Christian Church. These images, I show, appear in
the same relative chronological sequence in Sidney's narrative as would the corresponding images from Revelation, if the latter were arranged (from earliest to latest) according to the dates or historical periods assigned to them by these Protestant commentators. Chapters 5-7 provide examples of means through which the New Arcadia's allegorical history is extended in certain scenes after the princes' arrival in Arcadia to comment upon post-Reformation affairs. Chapter 5 argues that Sidney, through a series of imitations and reworkings of Erasmus' well-known colloquy "The Godly Feast," both commends Erasmus' initial contribution to setting the stage for the emergence of Protestantism and critiques his later failure to join Protestants in departing from the Church of Rome. Chapters 6 and 7 illustrate how, primarily by drawing upon recognized conventions and topoi and prevalent metaphors from Protestant literary and polemical works, Sidney builds upon this allegorical church history, with an increasing focus upon events and controversies within or directly related to England, whose established church he criticizes as merely half reformed.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am very grateful to my dissertation committee, Professors John N. King, David O. Frantz, and Lisa Klein for their intelligent and helpful comments upon my dissertation.

My indebtedness to my adviser’s excellent scholarship will be at least partially evident from my citations of his works.

I am very grateful, too, to Professors Mary Carruthers, John Gabel, and Lisa Klein for the outstanding teaching that sparked the interests in memory and in Sidney that first gave rise to this study. I would also like to thank Professor Joseph Lynch for truly superb teaching that, at a later stage in this project, confirmed and deepened my interest in church history.

I am extremely grateful as well to Professor Phoebe Spinrad for enthusiasm and encouragement concerning this project, from its early stages and continuously thereafter.

Finally, and most especially, I am immensely indebted to Professor David Frantz for generous and kind support beyond the call of duty throughout the very long period in which this dissertation was being composed.
VITA

February 2, 1963

1987

1987-1989

1989-present

Born - Altoona, PA

M.A. English, University of Delaware

Editor/ Writer

Institute for Scientific Information

Philadelphia, PA

Graduate Teaching and Research Associate, The Ohio State University

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: English
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INTRODUCTION

For over two centuries after its initial publication in 1593, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* by Sir Philip Sidney remained among the most influential and widely read works of English fiction. The work rapidly achieved exemplary status among Sidney's contemporaries, with Shakespeare and other writers turning to it frequently as a literary model and source of inspiration (Tennenhouse 18). E. M. W. Tillyard urged, "...it must be asserted with all possible emphasis that the *Fairie Queene* and *Arcadia* were for the Elizabethans not only the chief epics of the age, but its masterpieces in the whole of their literature. ... the works to be proud of and to put up as worthy competitors in a literary contest extending to all ages and all nations" (259).

Sidney, all agree, actively championed the formation of an international Protestant political and military league throughout his political career and died fighting on behalf of the Protestant "Cause." Yet, the extent to which issues specific to Protestantism (or even to Christianity) receive sustained attention in his most mature and expansive work of original fiction, the revised ("New") *Arcadia*, remains a subject of controversy among his critics, with most recent scholars concluding, largely on the basis of the book's nominally pre-Christian setting, that they are not direct or central thematic concerns. Although Sidney's book, according to C. S. Lewis, "gathers up what a whole generation wanted to say," its critics have traditionally assumed that the work has little or nothing to say about one of the central preoccupations of Sidney's era—the Protestant Reformation—the "Cause" to which Sidney devoted his career and in the defense of which he died. Such critics likewise endorse a fairly radical thematic disjunction between the work, Sidney's most
mature and expansive piece of original fiction, and the religious writings he chose to translate during the period in which he was revising the Arcadia—the Psalms, Philippe Du Plessis-Mornay’s De la Verite de la Religion Chrestienne, and the Sepmaine of Salluste du Bartas, among the most influential proponents of the international “divine poetry” movement of Sidney’s time, which attempted to move literary subject matter away from purely secular concerns toward more exclusively religious ones.

My dissertation challenges prevailing critical assumptions concerning Protestantism and the New Arcadia, offering a rereading of the work as an apocalyptic allegory centrally concerned with—and rhetorically designed to critique and influence—debates on church reform and other religio-political issues specific to Sidney’s Elizabethan culture. I reinterpret the New Arcadia as a “prophetic” work designed to demonstrate the implications of Scripture, particularly of Revelation, for Sidney’s contemporary society. I illuminate this thematic dimension of Sidney’s book by viewing it in relationship to Protestant Revelation commentaries and apocalyptic church histories and treatises on church reform by Philippe Du Plessis Mornay, a close friend of Sidney; George Gifford, Sidney’s death-bed confessor; and William Fulke, whose published Revelation commentary originated as a series of sermons delivered while Fulke served as chaplain to Sidney’s uncle, the Earl of Leicester; as well as by such influential Reformers as Heinrich Bullinger, John Foxe, John Bale, and others. Commentators like Gifford and Fulke discovered in Revelation scriptural sanction for militant opposition to the papal “Church of Antichrist.” The Apocalypse thus interpreted consequently supplied divine authorization for an international Protestant military and political league of the sort Sidney championed, and I argue that the New Arcadia advocates a similar ideological stance allegorically.

My study shares many similarities in approach and in conclusions concerning Sidney’s political positions with Blair Worden’s excellent study of the Old Arcadia, which did not appear until all of the chapters
included within this dissertation had been drafted. Like Worden, I focus almost exclusively upon Sidney's Protestant political concerns and how they manifest themselves within his fiction. I do not deny that in many cases there are also romance, Petrarchan, or other conventions at work in the passages I discuss, and I do not diminish their importance or interest. I do, though, find considering the New Arcadia's religio-political dimensions quite a large enough task in and of itself, one which I do not come close to completing even within this long dissertation. I do agree, too, however, with Worden's estimation that "without a knowledge of Sidney's political preoccupations ... we lose the guiding thread of his fiction" (xx). Though Worden is writing of the Old Arcadia, I believe that the statement holds for the New Arcadia as well.

Because my study centers upon interpreting the Arcadia in relationship to Sidney's religio-political beliefs and goals, as have those of Worden and of Andrew Weiner, it may seem surprising that it contains so little overlap with theirs. The opening sections of their works, especially Worden's, on Sidney's beliefs and values and the political and historical context and circumstances in which he composed the Arcadias allow me to turn my attention almost immediately to the New Arcadia, without having to repeat their efforts. (I do, though, need to illuminate in my first chapter the apocalyptic beliefs that I argue are crucial to an understanding of the revised Arcadia, an aspect of the times that no critic of the Arcadia whom I have encountered discusses at length.) Yet, the lack of overlap between my study and those of Worden and Weiner actually fits nicely with my thesis.

Nearly all of the passages that make of the 1590 text an apocalyptic and allegorical epic are new to this edition, revealing one clear pattern in Sidney's revisions. Sidney substantially rearranges the chronological sequence of several episodes from the original Arcadia that are retained in the revised version, so that the episodes fit within an over-arching apocalyptic church history in the revised work. Sidney not only
rearranges these episodes but also substantially revises depictions of events and characters within them, allowing them to acquire new allegorical significance.

The critique of irresponsible political leadership so crucial, as Worden demonstrates, to the Old Arcadia is only heightened by the apocalyptic framework Sidney adds to the revised Arcadia. (It will already be obvious that, as much as I admire Worden’s book, I cannot agree with his assessment that "political events are closer to the front of Sidney’s mind in the first version than in the second" [xxii].) Most of the extended sections of the New Arcadia that do not figure directly into my reading of the work are ones that appeared in the original version of the work. In revising his book, Sidney adds (as I demonstrate in Chapter 4) a dense concentration of apocalyptic imagery to its new opening scenes. This imagery refers the action allegorically to the early Reformation period and places his characters’ actions in an apocalyptic perspective. Soon after their arrival to Arcadia, though, Sidney’s heroes (as well as Arcadia’s king and queen) "fall" increasingly into idleness and under the sway of their passions, as had their counterparts from the Old Arcadia. In the revised Arcadia, however, the apocalyptic perspective begins to be recovered when the princes repeat through the Asia Minor narrative the history of their past trials and triumphs. I argue that these tales constitute an apocalyptic and allegorical church history, from shortly after the time of Christ to the outset of the Reformation, making the tale of "their" past that of every apocalyptically minded sixteenth-century ultra-Protestant. Being reminded of the sufferings and sacrifices of past members of the True Church, and of the continuing threat to the same posed by still-menacing and still-at-large enemies from the False Church, initiates the heroes’ recovery of a providential and apocalyptic perspective. Such a viewpoint is only fully regained, however, under the pressure of afflictions they suffer during
the captivity episode in Book 3, which I argue in Chapter 2 shares numerous similarities with Protestant apocalyptic drama.

Like Worden, I argue that Sidney creates in his fiction "analogies between the Arcadian setting and the public world of" his own time (xxi). Like Worden, too, I quote extensively from other works by Sidney and his contemporaries in the twin beliefs that their own language allows us to better understand their thoughts and, especially, because "language is the register and proof of continuities within Sidney's fiction, and of correspondences between it and the public realm, which have gone unnoticed and which reveal central concerns of the Arcadia" (xxiii).

Why has the rereading of the New Arcadia that I propose remained unnoticed in the past? At least three contributing factors come readily to mind. First, the commentaries on Revelation by Gifford, Fulke, and others whose outlooks I consider most similar to Sidney's are not widely known and have not been reprinted in modern times. The interpretations they espouse seem remarkable and certainly nonintuitive to readers today. Our lack of familiarity with their (or, generally, anyone else's) "glosses" to the significance of details such as the position of an angel's feet make it less likely that we will notice or stop to consider the import of similar details and images in literary works. Even in Sidney's own time, moreover, interpretations of Revelation were evolving rapidly. Only relatively recently have important secondary studies, especially that of Katherine Firth, made us fully aware of the pervasiveness and political ramifications of apocalyptic habits of thought in the sixteenth century and of the full dimensions of the exegetes' historicizing applications of the Apocalypse's prophecies to specific historical events.

Second, from its first appearance, the 1593 Arcadia has been the version of the work most familiar to most readers. The supposed return of the princes to their Old Arcadian antics after the tragic suffering and the growth they experience in Book 3 (suggested by the 1593 editors'
grafting of the closing books of the *Old Arcadia* onto the revised work, which has generally been considered to be incomplete) confuses Sidney's purposes.

Third, Sidney, in imitating sources and drawing upon poetic and polemical conventions "digests" them so thoroughly and introduces them with such characteristic *sprezzatura* that they are apt to go unnoticed. He could only wish that "the diligent imitators of Tully and Demosthenes would "devour" the works of these masters "whole, and make them wholly theirs. . .." (*Defence* 70). The perfect "bee" of classical through Renaissance rhetorical theory, Sidney himself, though, assimilates sources and literary conventions so thoroughly that the "honey" of his finished works bears little superficial resemblance to the "flowers" by means of which they were, in part, created. Consequently, his imitations of even climactic battles from a work as familiar to his contemporaries as the *Aeneid* went unnoticed (at least as far as we have record) until the latter half of our own century, as I will discuss in Chapter 2.

Other rationales for and explanations of Sidney's allegorical methodology are explored in my first chapter.
1. C. S. Lewis 342; John Danby 52-3; and E. M. W. Tillyard 309, writing in the 1950s, found no conflict between the New Arcadia's pre-Christian setting and a concern with specifically Christian issues within the work. Walter R. Davis Map claimed that while the Aristotelian doctrine of the mean provides the moral standard in the first two books, a "Christian ethic takes over" with the captivity episode in Book 3 (76). Since Davis's study, Jon Lawry and Myron Turner have maintained without qualification that specifically Christian themes receive sustained attention in the revised Arcadia. Nancy Lindheim Structure 10 and Dorothy Connell 21 are among the majority of recent critics who deny that explicitly Christian issues are central to the work. Lindheim and Connell, though, are unusual among recent critics in not connecting their discussions of religion in the New Arcadia to D. P. Walker's influential article, "Ways of Dealing with Atheists: A Background to Pamela’s Refutation of Cecropia," reprinted in his Ancient Theology, which has caused most critics of the New Arcadia to begin their considerations of religious concerns in the work with the premises that Sidney's characters are literal "pagans" only and/or that any theological issues raised in the work are either directly related to the prisca theologia controversy or involve broad moral issues not specific to Christianity. Linking the New Arcadia and Sidney's friend, Philippe du Plessis de Morny's De la verite de la Religion Christian... (A Workke Concerning the Trewnesse of the Christian Religion), which Sidney translated at least in part, to the prisca theologia or "ancient theology," and reading Sidney's pre-Christian setting literally only, Walker concluded that several of Sidney's characters were "saved pagans" and that one might "reasonably suppose that Sidney approved of the Ancient Theology" (for example, Ancient, pp. 146, 135). Walker's approach was followed by William R. Elton 38 who also judged that Sidney "appeared to believe in the salvation of such heathens." Even critics who, counter to Lindheim and her supporters, acknowledge that religious issues are thematically central to the revised Arcadia continue to be influenced by Walker's suppositions. See, for example, Joan Rees, Sir Philip Sidney and "Arcadia" 48, 134; Thelma Greenfield 180, 183; M. J. Doherty 122; and Katherine Duncan-Jones Courtier Poet See Alan Sinfield, "Sidney du Plessis-Morny and the Pagans" and Andrew D. Weiner, "Expelling the Beast: Bruno's Adventures in England," for criticism of Walker's study.

2. Nor can I agree (as my sixth chapter, in particular, will make abundantly evident) with his opinion that Sidney's "Protestantism, as far as we can see, carries light credal baggage... Though its inmost truths can be understood best by the beneficiaries of Christian revelation, they are not (it seems) exclusive to them" (32).

3. Obviously, I do not agree with Worden that "providence supplies only the thinnest of threads" in the revised Arcadia (369).

4. As Elizabeth Dipple "Captivity Episode" and others have persuasively argued.
Chapter 1

Apocalyptic History, Protestant Politics, and Allegorical Methodology in the Revelation Commentaries

Chapters 3 and 4 of this dissertation present detailed evidence from the New Arcadia in support of my theory that Sidney presents through the Asia Minor narratives and the opening scenes of the work an apocalyptic and allegorical history of the Christian Church. The present chapter examines assumptions about Revelation in a carefully selected group of Protestant commentaries on the book, assumptions that are important to an understanding of Sidney's own use of apocalyptic imagery and allusions. Particular attention will be devoted to the historicizing mode of exegesis prevalent in these commentaries, to interpretations of the Apocalypse that would seem to impart scriptural authority to support for the political goals to which Sidney devoted much of his career, to the use of church history in general as a political weapon in contemporary debates between Protestants and supporters of the Church of Rome, and to assumptions about the nature of and rationale for the allegorical methodology within Revelation itself that a literary artist imitating and recreating aspects of the book within his or her own work might reasonably be expected to transfer to it. I concentrate upon images and passages from Revelation that I will argue do, in fact, inform Sidney's allegorical church history, although I do occasionally use other examples when they illustrate especially well dominant suppositions within the commentaries about the overall implications of the book's prophecies.
Revelation was consistently interpreted throughout the sixteenth century as prophesying "the course of church history," an assumption that constituted one of the "major themes of Tudor apocalyptic thought" (Bauckham 125). The most typical belief among commentators examined for this study (one that Firth labels "common") was that Revelation "was to be interpreted literally as a description of the history of the Church from the time of Christ" (Firth 249). In the Preface to his Revelation commentary, The Image of Both Churches, John Bale writes that within the Apocalypse the Church's "estate" is "from Christ's ascension to the end of the world under pleasant figures and elegant tropes decided, and nowhere else thoroughly but here." (Works 252). Revelation "containeth the universal troubles, persecutions and crosses, that the church suffered in the primitive spring, what it suffereth now, and what it shall suffer in the latter times by the subtle satellites of antichrist..." (Works 253). Heinrich Bullinger, whose commentary on Revelation was "exceedingly popular" and "standard" among English readers and strongly influenced the annotators of the Geneva Bible (Firth 9, 80), considered Revelation to provide "an abridgement of the story of the church" in which St. John sets down "those thinges, which shoulde be done in the Church from his tyme untill the judgement..." (B2", 106"). In the dedication of his English translation of Bullinger's commentary, John Daus affirms that the reader will discover therein "an ecclesiastical history of the troubles & persecutions of the Church, especially from the Apostles tyme, untill the last day, wherein Chryst, the head of the same shall come a righteous Judge to condemne Antichrist, and all Antichristian hipocrates..." (A3”). Similarly, William Fulke finds in the vision related by St. John in the fourth through eleventh chapters of Revelation "the state and condition of the Church... lively described and printed and painted out... of
what sorte it should be in the world, from that time, even unto the ende and consummation of all thinges" (25'-26').

Protestant commentators in Sidney's time attempted to demonstrate that Revelation's prophecies were being fulfilled through particular historical events according to a pattern that revealed beyond doubt that the Church of Rome had become by their time the Antichristian church of the Apocalypse and that their own separation from this church was, consequently, not only justified but demanded. Martin Luther's methodology for explicating Revelation was standard among the carefully selected group of commentators upon whom I focus; indeed, it has been said to embody "the essence of what had newly emerged as the Protestant historical interpretation of the Apocalypse. . ." (Zakai 20). Since, Luther reasons, Revelation prophesies future "tribulations and disasters for the Church. . . . the first and surest step toward finding its interpretation is to take from history the events and disasters that have come upon the Church before now and hold them up alongside of these pictures and so compare them with the words. If, then, the two were to fit and agree with each other, we could build on that. . ." (481). As Luther's suggestion that particular historical events from church history be matched with particular images from the Apocalypse suggests, Protestants aimed for specificity in their efforts to vindicate as conclusively as possible their own church through their politically charged exegesis of Revelation. As part of this agenda, Reformers attempted "systematic identification of persons or places described in prophecy with historical persons and events. . ." (Firth 250). Indeed, by the time John Foxe wrote his full-length commentary on Revelation, Eicasmi, left unfinished at his death but published by his son in 1587, he had identified "a single historical counterpart for every item in the prophetic symbolism. He treated the correlation of history and prophecy as a strictly one-to-one correspondence" (Bauckham 74, 87).
The "essential step" in the inauguration of the historical tradition in Protestant exegesis of Revelation was "an identification of the papacy with the Antichrist" (Firth 248). Commentators based this identification upon comparisons of the descriptions of the True and False Churches of the Apocalypse with the actions of the Church of Rome throughout its history, declaring that Rome's history fulfilled scriptural prophecies concerning the practices of Antichrist and his "members" upon earth (Firth 247-8). In her authoritative study, The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain 1530-1645, Katherine R. Firth concludes that from the time that Bale identified Antichrist "with the papacy in a historical scheme influenced by Joachim and based on the Book of Revelation. . . . the two most important characteristics of the Protestant tradition were a history of Antichrist and a periodization based on a succession of apocalyptic images" (248-9; emphases added). The first of these two central traits, the history of Antichrist, would be much more likely to be alluded to in an allegorical church history by literary artists via references to particular historical events held to mark critical stages in, for instance, the slow growth of the "mystery of iniquity," rather than by highly distinctive imbeded visual images. Such historical events would be familiar through works such as The Mysterie of Iniquitie by Sidney's close friend, the French Huguenot, Philippe Du Plessis Mornay, a 661 page history of the papacy organized according to a series of 65 specific "progressions" in this power of Antichrist prophecied in 2 Thessalonians 2. Many of the events cited as evidence in this history were discussed more briefly, but from a similar apocalyptic perspective, in Mornay's earlier Treatise of the Church. Such events had also previously been catalogued in works such as Bale's Pageant of the Popes and numerous other compendiums "of tyrannies and oppressions showing the actions of the papacy to be the actions of Antichrist. . ." (Firth 248).

The second primary characteristic of Protestant exegesis elucidated by Firth is, however, more crucial to my argument, especially since many
of the images involved are so unusual and because their sequencing into precise chronological alignment makes the appearance of any one of these distinctive images unlikely to be random and unrelated to apocalyptic historiography when those surrounding it also maintain required ordering. The regular disposition of the visionary symbols of Revelation—for example, the successive openings of the seven seals and blastings of seven trumpets by seven angels or the outpourings of the seven vials containing the seven last plagues by seven other angels—prompted searches for the evidence of the fulfillment of the corresponding prophesies in the linear unfolding of historical time: "the order of the text and the order of history," therefore, once again motivated the "sequential identification of image with event" (Firth 250). In order to show history as the fulfillment of prophecy, commentators aimed to match these chronologically sequential images from Revelation with particular historical events, individuals, and eras appearing in the same order. Because Renaissance Protestant commentators attempting to elucidate the mysteries of Revelation’s imagistic series often, like John Foxe, considered the history provided in Revelation to be "chronologically sequential" (Bauckham 87), it is essential to my argument that the apocalyptic images in the Asia Minor narratives and the opening pages of the New Arcadia appear in the same relative chronological sequence in Sidney’s narrative as would the corresponding images from Revelation, if the latter were arranged (from earliest to latest) according to the dates or historical periods assigned to them by the commentators upon whom I focus.

Comparing passages from the New Arcadia to corresponding sections from primary Protestant church histories, apocalyptic commentaries, and fictional and nonfictional discussions of church reform shows that Sidney uses symbols and "characters" from Revelation in the order and with the interpretations found in such works. Using images from Revelation in a precise order that would reveal allegorically the fulfillment of the book’s prophecies in subsequent events in the history of the church is a
narrative strategy that would likely have appealed to Sidney, who advised his brother Robert that in the study of history "your method must be to have seriem temporum very exactly. . ." (Sidney 291).

It is crucial to recognize, as Firth reminds us, that the simple identification of the pope with Antichrist, for example, does not in and of itself necessarily equate "with a historical interpretation of the prophecies." It is only when "the identification is taken further, and asserts that the revelation of" events believed to fulfill particular prophecies "at one time rather than at another is particularly significant" that "we are dealing with the first signs of the apocalyptic tradition in Protestant historiography" (7). The Protestant solution to demonstrating their contention "that Scripture and history were two sources of truth as certain as the authority of the Church," was to make the two one; Revelation constituted a crucial proof text in this argument. Reformers had demonstrated the biases and outright untruths in papist histories, so history's authority derived from "its correspondence with the principles of Scripture," especially "in so far as it illustrated the fulfilment of prophecy" (Firth 248).

As Firth (248-9) emphasizes and as the previously quoted passage from Luther makes clear, this method of exegesis assumed that scriptural prophecy and histories were mutually dependent sources and that the two should be read one alongside the other, though, of course, Scripture was accorded ultimate authority. Bale states these methodological assumptions explicitly in his preface to The Image of Both Churches: Revelation "is a full clearance to all the chronicles and most notable histories which hath been wrote since Christ's ascension, opening the true natures of their ages, times, and seasons." The individual who will "diligently search them over, conferring the one with the other, time with time, and age with age, shall perceive most wonderful causes." What is in Revelation "only propounded in effect, and promised to follow in" due course is, in the chronicles, "evidently seen by all ages fulfilled."
Yet, "Bale cautions, "is the text a light to the chronicles, and not the chronicles to the text" (Works 253). Foxe, too, in a prefatory letter to the Acts and Monuments, assumes that as Revelation "containeth a prophetical history of the church, so likewise it requireth by histories to be opened" (1:xxx).

It is essential to realize how widely held such beliefs about the fulfillment of biblical prophecy by events within historical time were among Sidney's contemporaries. As Firth concludes, during the Renaissance, "a Protestant version" of these assumptions "distinguished itself in both substance and method, and enjoyed in Britain a consensus and respectability denied it on the continent" (Firth 1-2).

Moreover, the "expectation of the End" reached its summit in the 1580s, when Sidney was revising the Arcadia (Bauckham 125). The "two most popular books of Elizabethan and early Stuart England, the Geneva Bible and Foxe's Acts and Monuments," which the Sidney family owned (Hannay 25), transmitted their apocalyptic assumptions to the widest possible audience of readers, with the authoritative annotations to the former communicating the apocalyptic viewpoints of Bullinger and Bale, particularly, "to generations of Bible readers from all levels of society" (Christianson 36, 39). Revelation itself was among the most frequently chosen books of the Bible by Elizabethans who composed and translated commentaries (Bauckham 137). Sidney is known to have been a voracious reader. Yet, familiarity with explications of Revelation's imagery and its import was not dependent upon direct, personal perusal of written commentaries, for the commentaries themselves were often based upon sermon series. Patrons of godly, Puritan-leaning preachers, such as Sidney and his uncle, the Earl of Leicester, would be especially likely to attend sermons of this sort, particularly, as will be illustrated later in this chapter, given the highly politicized interpretations advanced in commentaries by individuals with some documented contact with the Sidney or Leicester circles, such as William Fulke and George Gifford, interpretations that seemed to furnish
scriptural support for the goals of the Protestant "Cause" to which Sidney devoted his career. Fulke's commentary originated as a series of sermons he began in 1569 in the Leicester household, as the family chaplain, sermons that attracted "many of the higher nobility" in addition to the immediate family (Firth 85; Bauckham 132). The commentaries of George Gifford and Bullinger, as well, were based upon sermons. Gifford, one of Sidney's chaplains, was present at Sidney's death and received a "routine" bequest of twenty pounds in the codicil to his will. A preacher deprived of his benefice for nonconformity in 1584, Gifford was, according to Archbishop Whitgift, a known "ringleader" of the Puritans (Collinson Elizabethan 265; 267).

Both the specific chronological ties by which Protestant exegetes linked particular figures from Revelation to particular historical developments and the interpretation of Revelation's prophecies as evidence of God's backing of the Reformation are well illustrated by their commentary upon the "mightie angel" of Revelation 10, a chapter that, as is shown in my fourth chapter, Sidney highlights allegorically in the New Arcadia. This figure is strongly linked to such precisely datable phenomena as the invention of the printing press and campaigns by Protestants and their forerunners to increase lay literacy and individual Bible reading. Many commentators connect the angel of Rev. 10 to "the worthy invention and godly benefite of Printing, never commended inough." Explicating the specific detail of the open book that the angel commands St. John to eat, Bullinger declares that printing opens books in the sense that it dispatches "them abroad into the world in despite of all the enemies of Gods trueth, and scattereth them abroad in every corner of the world. So that where men can not heare preachers, to them come godly booke not without fruite" (130'). No doubt the enemies of the truth Bullinger had in mind were primarily supporters of the Church of Rome, whom Protestants caricatured as fearful of the loss of power to their own institution that would follow when well-intentioned Christians learned,
through individual study of Revelation and other godly texts, that the Roman Church's practices confirmed its Antichristian identity.

The open book that the angel adjures St. John to devour is linked by Thomas Brightman as well to the "art of printing Bookes," discovered "through the great blessing of God." Once God had thereby roused "men . . . out of their dead sleepe," they applied "all their force, to profite more and more in the truth that was now kindled in the world." Demonstrating an acute attention to textual detail typical of these commentators, Brightman, in expounding the angel's injunction to "eat" the book, is prompted to exclaim that, such was the astonishing "industry of those men . . . , and their increase in all kinde of knowledge was so speedy, specially of divine thinges, that a man might worthily say they did rather devour than read Bookes" (438). The invention of the printing press, together with the not-unrelated remarkable strides of the humanists, had been specifically designed by God to pave the way for the Reformation.

In Eicasmi, John Foxe interprets the book presented to St. John as Scripture and the action as figuring "the restoration of Scripture to the church"; because Foxe viewed a renewed emphasis upon learning, and, particularly, the development of printing as the means through which Scripture was returned to its rightful position in the church, the vision prophesied events just prior to the Reformation (Firth 103). Foxe proclaimed printing a weapon provided by God to aid in the overthrow of the papacy: "...by the grace of God and gift of printing, first came forth learning; by learning came light, to judge and discern the errors of the pope from the truth of God's word..." (Foxe A&M 4: 7). Foxe had much company in judging "the revival of learning somewhat miraculous and not unconnected with reform of religion" (Firth 104).^5

Gifford, whose commentary on Rev. 10 is, typically, especially politicized, connects the vision to Protestant efforts to place the Bible into the hands of all believers, suggesting a date approximate with the
outset of the Reformation. The bright angel (Christ) imparts "the Gospel" (the little book) to St. John, "dispelling the darkness and errors which came by the smoke of the pit, scattering and destroying the stinging locusts, reforming his Church, and gathering great multitudes of his Saints together" (181). The word reforming is probably not randomly selected, and the new gatherings of large groups of "Saints" most likely refer to Reformed churches. Prior to the angel's coming, the locusts (nearly always associated by Protestants with papistry, as will be discussed shortly) were "of wonderful power, Antichrist held all the kings in Europe in awe, and exercised his tyranny at pleasure. . . ." the condition predominating prior to the Reformation. The book the angel carries is open "to signify that it is to be looked upon of all men, and openly taught unto all the servants of God." The book's small size identifies it as the Bible, in contrast to "the huge volumes of the ordinances and decrees in the popish Church. . . ." The Bible "was shut up in the poperie, and lay buried in a strange tongue": in the Roman Church "no man taught it," preferring instead "mens decrees and inventions," so that "all lyes and fables were preached by the popish clergie, and beleived of the people. The laitie (as they call them) were in no wise to meddle with" Scripture. Whereas 40 years in the past the Bible had not been "in the hands of any," by the time Gifford was writing, one could find it "open in the hands of thousand thousands, and tenne thousand thousands of Gods people," who from it "learne to know God, and to worship him aright in spirit and in trueth." Gifford even links the vision, in which (in his interpretation), "the light of the Gospell began to peepe out, and to disclose the founes of poperie," with the years 1516 or 1517, when "Martin Luther began to call some matters into question touching poperie" (184).

These Protestant commentators consider worthy of comment and fraught with significance even minute imagistic details, which they cite to justify and uphold their own political and theological interpretations of
the Apocalypse. The position of one of the feet (meaningfully, of course, the right one) of the angel of Rev. 10 upon the sea and the other upon the earth (10:2) is invoked to corroborate the Protestants’ association of the "little boke" that the angel presents to St. John and commands him to "eat" with their own efforts to increase the literacy levels of the laity so that more individual believers would be able to read and study the Bible on their own. Bale, for whom the "little boke" John eats is "God’s word," links the angel’s diversely situated feet to Protestant attempts to educate all classes: "As well shall the weak people receive this verity as the strong, the poor as the rich, the low as the high . . . , the beggar as the king, the unlearned as the learned, the labouring man as the priest. . . ." (Works 370). As this example illustrates, even seemingly casual descriptive details are often viewed as carrying important political ramifications. Granted, the exegetes might be more than usually attentive readers; however, their commentaries were extremely popular among British Protestants. Renaissance visual and literary artists exposed to considerations that often extended for several pages upon the possible significations of details such as the positioning of this angel’s feet would, therefore, have such visual details—which most modern readers likely pass over with little thought or attention—reinforced within their memories, especially when the artists had, as Sidney did, strong, documented interests that might have led them to close study and imitation of such politically charged texts as Revelation and its commentaries. Once again, poets employing visual images from Revelation within their literary works might expect their own audiences to recognize, and perhaps even attach particular significance to, such textual details, regardless of how microscopic and insignificant they seem to us. The particularity in which the commentators expound the prophecies leads to thoroughgoing familiarity with the texts they construe, as even modern readers who have perused several of their commentaries can attest. The familiarity of Sidney’s contemporaries with descriptive details from
Revelation would, moreover, have been reinforced by exposure to popular visual art. For instance, woodcuts to various Renaissance editions of the Apocalypse portray the angel of Rev. 10 with one pillar-like leg based upon the shore and the other upon the water.

Perhaps not surprisingly, given the symbolic support for the goals of the Reformation assigned to the figure by Protestant commentators, Gifford, in the brief summary "Argument" preceding his long commentary on Revelation, singles out the angel of Rev. 10 for special attention, claiming that its oath makes "most evident" the overall promise of the fourth through eleventh chapters of Revelation (n.p.): "that the great day of judgement is at hand. . . ." (184). While standing upon the earth and sea, the angel "...sware by him that liveth for evermore, which created heaven, . . . that time shulde be no more. But in the daies of the voyce of the seventh Angel, when he shal beginne to blowe the trumpet, even the mysterie of God shalbe finished. . . ." (Rev. 10:6-7). This oath, Gifford tells his readers, "is for our instruction chiefly, which live in this last age of the world: that we may be warned that the last day is at hand" (184). A Protestant author aiming to include within his or her literary work the ordered succession of images from Revelation that demonstrated that the book's prophecies were being fulfilled would, therefore, have ample motivation to include this angel, with its marked visual features (its unusual posture, for example) and its strong ties in Protestant exegesis to literacy and to precisely datable chronological events.

The commentary on Rev. 10 has important implications as to the variety of "proof" my own study will be able to offer for my theory of the apocalyptic church history within the New Arcadia. It should be noted from the outset that there is no necessary connection between the open book in Revelation and the invention of the printing press or between the disparate surfaces upon which the angel's feet rest and Protestant literacy campaigns. Yet, undeniably, Protestant commentators confidently
advanced these imposed interpretations, nevertheless. Similarly, we may not be able to demonstrate a necessary connection between a character from the New Arcadia standing with one foot on land and one foot on sea and the identical posture of the angel from Revelation. Yet, if the character from the New Arcadia is also associated with lay literacy, as was the angel of Rev. 10 in Protestant commentary, then our level of confidence as to a connection increases. And the dating by the commentators of the vision of Rev. 10 to the early Reformation and the period immediately preceding it implies that the section of the New Arcadia corresponding to it must maintain a specific chronological sequence in relationship to other dated images from the Apocalypse within the work, as is discussed at length below.

Another set of visions from Revelation assigned by the commentators to a particular historical interval appears in chapters 15 and 16, which depict the "seven last plagues" by which "is fulfilled the wrath of God" (15:1). These plagues prophesy "the overthrow of Antichrist & his forces," for "which divine worke the preparation is described in" the fifteenth chapter and "the execution" in the sixteenth (1602 Geneva gloss). Not surprisingly, Protestant exegetes interpret this defeat of Antichrist’s forces as prophetic of the triumph of their own cause, again a datable, historical phenomenon. This victory over the powers of Antichrist is celebrated in advance, as St. John, in his vision of Rev. 15:2-3, beholds "...a glassie sea, mingled with fyre, and them that had gotten victorie of the beast, and of his image, and of his marke, ... stand at the glassie sea, having the harpes of God, And they sung the song of Moses the servant of God, and the song of the Lambe. ..."

The beast the individuals glorifying God in Rev. 15:2-3 have thwarted was nearly always interpreted by Protestants as the Bishop of Rome and his church. Gifford, for instance, writes that the victorious referred to in this verse are those who "stedfastly cleave to the holy word of God ...", keeping themselves free from Idolatrie, and
superstition, and from all the abominations of the Romish beast. . . ." (Revelation 300). Maintaining a political focus typical for him, Gifford views the chapters as constituting an allegory prophetic of God's "recompence," to be dealt "here in this world," upon "that idolatrous and blooudie kingdome [that] ruled long, and with mightie tyrannie oppressed the people of God. . ." (Revelation 299). Gifford uses the past tense to signify the height of this kingdom's power because a significant triumph over the "beast" had already been achieved with the rapid spread of Protestant theology, whose adherants did not recognize the Roman Church's decrees as authoritative.

Other images in chapters 15 and 16 were interpreted as prophetic of the success of the Reformation as well, so that they strengthen the chronological linkage of the last plagues to the challenge to the papacy posed by Protestants and their predecessors. For example, the plague of 16:10, in which ". . .the fift Angel powred out his vial upon the throne of the beast, & his kingdome waxed darke . . . ," is interpreted by Fulke to have been accomplished ". . .when as through the preachers of the gospell the controversie concerning the power of Rome was first moved, which at length being discussed by the authoritie of the scriptures, the Antichristian pride & arrogancie of the beast was made manifest to the worlde," so that "then his kingdome waxed darcke. And that glorie of the popishe kingdome, by which through mad pride he had exalted himselfe above all Churches, yea above the scriptures, is altogether darkened. . . , so that everie where verie manie men doe renounce the aucthoritie of the Byshop of Rome, princes do expell and drive his aucthoritie oute of there Dominions. . ." (105').

Protestant artists could suggest that these divinely prophesied "plagues" were being inflicted upon the Church of Rome and its forces at specific historical moments in a providential scheme by incorporating St. John's distinctive visual images into their texts at the appropriate points in their own narrative sequences.
Another of Revelation's striking visual image delineates the impact of the second plague, described as follows in 16:3: "And the second Angel powred out his vial upon the sea, and it became as the blood of a dead man: and everie living thing dyed in the sea." Gifford connects the blood in this verse to the wars stirred up by "the popish kingdoms," commenting, "There hath beene much bloudshed in all ages, and among all nations, but most horrible in the kingdoms of the poperie, and especially of latter times. The Popes themselves (as histories do report) have been the chief raisers up of warres in setting the kings at variance. . . ." (Revelation 308). Bullinger concurs, concluding, "... so must there no warre be moved, but by popes of Rome, Byshops, and Prelates" (220').

Since nearly all commentators recognized the last plagues of Rev. 15 and 16 as types of the Old Testament plagues against the Egyptians, Protestant artists would be likely, as I will argue is the case with Sidney, to introduce Exodus typology into their literary treatments of the last plagues from Revelation. Because those having obtained victory over the beast in Rev. 15:2-3 sing the "song of Moses" as they "stand at the glassie sea, " safe from the plagues to be poured upon the wicked, Protestant commentators wrote that "the preservation of the good" prefigured in these verses was "likened to the safe passage of the children of Israel through the red sea, in which their enemies which pursued them were all overwhelmed and drowned" (Gifford Revelation 299). The plagues are targeted specifically against "Antichrist and his crew . . ., particularly . . . upon the Princes and ringleaders of wickednesse of the worlde. . . ." (1602 Geneva Bible gloss to Rev. 16:1). Fulke shows that the plagues are the work of providence, in revenge of the "great slaughters the pride of the Roman byshopes hath caused. . . .": the author of Divine Justice ". . .in the meane time turneth the calamitie upon his owne head & maketh the sea bloudie with the slayne carkases of the Papistes" (103').
These Protestant commentators not only connect individual images from Revelation to specific historical phenomena but also sometimes attempt to establish causal links between one image and another. Apart from the more expected linkages between, on the one hand, events within a sequential series—such as the openings of the seven seals, the outpourings of the seven last plagues, or the soundings of the seven trumpets—and, on the other hand, a series of historical events occurring in a similar order or in conjunction to one another, exegetes at times also attempt to establish rationales related to historical chronology to explain the placement of images from one chapter of Revelation to the next. This tendency has been hinted at in the passage from Gifford quoted previously in which he claims that the mighty angel is purposefully located in chapter ten, just "after the kingdom of Antichrist, & that horrible murthering armie of the Turkes," which had grown strong in chapters eight and nine. This angel scatters the "locusts, reforming his Church, and gathering great multitudes of his Saints together." As has been shown, Gifford dates the vision to the early Reformation, leading him to comment, "This vision is fulfilled, or at the least begun to be fulfilled in our dayes..." (Revelation 18). The use of specific textual details from Revelation to justify this interpretation, which was typical of other commentators as well, will now be illustrated in more detail.

After the sounding of the sixth trumpet in Rev. 9, St. John beholds in his vision, a multitude of "horsemen of warre," whose riders wear "fyrie habbergions" (9:16-7). From the horses' mouths issue "forthe fyre and smoke and brimstone." Advancing the usual Protestant interpretation, Bullinger writes, "The sixt conflict or fight is of Mahometrie by the Saracenes, Turkes and Tartarians, most cruelly foughten and with much wo" (Apocalypse 121'). Foxe, too, in both Acts & Monuments and Eicasmi, linked the sixth trumpet to the Turks (Firth 95-6). Bullinger justifies the interpretation through the details of verse 17: "The Mahometanes burne
with fire & brimstone: for hardly is there any other nation, which hath
so wasted the world with fire, as this. Which way so ever they turne
them, all thynges burne with a light fire, all is full of smoke. . . "
(Apocalypse 125°).

Also after the sounding of the sixth trumpet, and just prior to the
appearance of the horsemen, four "angels" are loosed, being "prepared at
an houre, at a day, at a moneth, & at a yere, to slay the third parte of
men" (9:14-5). The 1560 Geneva Bible glosses these angels as "the enemies
of the East countrey, which shulde afflict the Church of God, as did the
Arabians, Sarasines, Turkes & Tartarians," and indicates that their
preparation "at an houre" "signifieth the great readines of the enemies." This
sudden appearance, along with the "fyrie habbergions" of the
horsemen, is likewise used by the commentators as evidence that Turks,
Saracens and Tartarians are prophesied in the vision: "They are by & by
in armour, and come unlooked for, they invade, and spede their matters
most luckely" (Bullinger Apocalypse 124°).

The locusts that issue from the smoke arising from the "bottomles
pit" in Rev. 9:3-4, only to be scattered by the angel of Rev. 10,
suggested to Protestant readers primarily ecclesiastical representatives
and other agents of the Church of Rome: "Locustes are false teachers,
heretikes, and worldlie sutil Prelates, with Monkes, Freres, Cardinals,
Patriarkes, Archebishops, Bishops, Doctors, Baschelers & masters which
forsake Christ to mainteine false doctrine" (1560 Geneva gloss). Bullinger,
too, connects the locusts to the "craftes, deceite, willinesse
and practice" of the "Popes Legates, Ambassadours, Priestes, and religious
persons. . ." (119°). Pulke finds it "verie like that by the locustes is
signified all the rablement of Romish masse priestes, Monkes, and
especially of begging fryers" (55°-56°).

The visions just prior to Rev. 10, therefore, prophesy successes of
the "wicked . . . specially in the fifte and sixte trumpet, to wit, under
Papistrie and Mahometrie," but in chapter ten the "mightie Angell, the
Lord Christ himselfe was brought in to oppose "that Antichrist the pope and Mahomet," who had flourished under the fifth and sixth trumpets (Bullinger *Apocalypse* 128"-129"), as Reformers believed that Christ's backing assured the success of Reformers against these forces in their own times. The afflictions and travails described under the fifth and sixth trumpets in Revelation were "utterly after the same sorte, that we see them vexed at this day, under the most unhappie papistrie and mohometrie." The "Lorde Chryst hymselfe," appears just when he does to prevent despair, lest any doubt of the ultimate success of the Reformation. As was examined earlier, Protestant commentators linked the angel of Rev. 10 to the success of the Protestant Cause in other ways as well, as with their remarks on the providential invention of the printing press. Christ's "solemne othe that doubtlesse an end of all these thinges should come" (*Apocalypse* A7") assures the faithful of the imminent End, when the True religion would triumph eternally over the False.

Luther's commentary on chapters 8-10 demonstrates that such efforts to establish linkages between various chapters from the Apocalypse, as well as to tie images from Revelation to particular historical individuals or events, emerged early in Protestant exegesis. Luther's interpretation of images from these chapters also affords dramatic evidence as to how quickly patterns of exegesis were changing, even among sixteenth-century Reformers.

The interchapter linkages Luther, like later Protestant interpreters, forges among the images are apparent in his interpretations of the two woes of Rev. 9 and of the mighty angel of Rev. 10. The first of two woes in Rev. 9, imposed by the fifth of a series of seven angels, "is Arius, the great heretic, and his companions, who plagued the Church so terribly everywhere. . . ." The sixth angel, and second woe, is "the shameful Mohammed, with his companions, the Saracens, who inflicted a great plague on the Church, with their doctrines and with the sword." The connection of this sixth plague to Muhammad and/or his later followers
remained, as we have seen, fairly standard among later commentators. Yet, Luther's interpretation of the angel of Rev. 10 differs significantly from that advanced by later Protestant commentators. Luther views this angel as purposefully accompanying the angel prophetic of Muhammad: "Along with this angel, in order that this woe may be all the greater, comes the strong angel with the rainbow and the bitter book, that is the holy papacy, with its great spiritual show, the masses." As we have seen, later Protestant commentators, in great contrast to Luther, link this angel and the book it commands St. John to devour to the invention of the printing press and other advancements in learning believed to have set the stage in the providential drama for the Reformation. The vision of this angel is interpreted by them as having been placed deliberately after the plagues of chapters 8 and 9 in order to comfort true believers. Luther does, though, like later commentators, view the "comforting pictures" of the two witnesses (to be discussed shortly) and of the woman clothed with the sun in Rev. 11 and 12 as intentionally situated "between these evil woes and plagues" to reassure the faithful "that some pious teachers and Christians are to continue. . ." (482-3).

Another vision from Revelation politicized by the commentators in part through claims that its details are prophetic of historical events related to the Reformation is the proclaiming by an angel in Rev. 18 that Babylon has fallen. This angel figures those "faithfull ministers of the Gospell" (Protestants, of course) who "publish with mightie zeale that Rome is great Babell, and that her dominion over the kingdomes of the earth is come to an end." Though "the papistes labour with tooth and naile, omitting no treacherous practise to recover her fall, and to restore her againe to her former dignitie," this angel's announcement allows true preachers and ministers of the Gospel to declare with the absolute certainty deriving from Scriptural authority "that Rome shall never recover her fall, the pope shall never bee esteemed againe. . ." (Gifford Revelation 342).
The images and texts from Revelation examined thus far were assigned by the Protestant commentators under consideration marked ties to particular chronological intervals. However, a more complicated variant of this mode of exegesis appears in commentary upon other passages. An individual figure or text from Revelation may, while maintaining a very definite association with one historical interval, also be assigned a more general interpretation that spans all chronological periods understood to be comprehended within the Apocalypse's ecclesiastical history. Richard Bauckham has observed a similar pattern in apocalyptic writings by Bale and Foxe, in which the "allegory seems to slide between the universal and the particular." The single figure Hierologus in Foxe's Christus Triumphans, for example, could stand as a figure for "Reformation preaching generally," while at the same time displaying at some stages in his career characteristics causing him to be "unmistakably . . . identified with one of the Oxford martyrs, probably Latimer" (81). This tendency is evident even in very early Protestant exegesis. Luther, for example, first linked each of the four bad angels of Rev. 8 to a specific historical individual, then compared it to other, more generalized groups that exerted similarly malign influences. For instance, the third is identified as "...Origen, who embittered and corrupted the Scriptures with philosophy and reason, as the universities have hitherto done among us" (482).

Sidney's allegorical technique within the sections of the New Arcadia that I argue comprise a church history is quite similar, so that a given character may function as a broad representative of an allegorical figure such as Antichrist while simultaneously sharing strong and specific parallels to one or more historical individuals.

The "two witnesses" of Rev. 11, the commentary upon whom exemplifies this second pattern in exegesis, will figure importantly in the New Arcadia. The Protestant commentators examined for this study sometimes define the "witnesses" through broad, functional attributes not limited to
any particular chronological era. Yet, much more frequently and more strongly, the "witnesses" maintain decided chronological ties to the period just prior to the Reformation and to early Reformers. Even when the exegetes begin by characterizing the witnesses according to spiritual and behavioral attributes available in all eras, the particular individuals they list as examples are overwhelmingly and almost exclusively either persons viewed by Protestants as proto-Reformers or early Reformers.

At least initially, Protestants like Bullinger, Gifford, and Bale identify the witnesses not so much with any single historical period but with a mission: true "witnesses" throughout the ages battle against Antichrist according to the dictates prescribed in the Word. To Bullinger, the witnesses embody God's promise to supply "preachers, which shall mainteyne and defende the truth of the Gospell, and the glory of Christ, and assayle Antichrist, and destroy his Kingdome, and avaunce the salvation of the faythfull" (141\(^\text{r}^\text{d}\) ). In expounding the mystery signified by the specification of two prophets, Bullinger writes that God "will geve so many ministers as shall suffice, which shall both builde up his Church and also plucke downe and rent asunder the kyngdome of Antichrist" (143\(^\text{r}^\text{d}\) ).

Bullinger's militant language in describing the witnesses' resistance to and eventual triumph over Antichrist suggests the latent attraction of the figures for advocates of a Protestant political and military alliance, such as Sidney. When the witnesses are introduced, Bullinger proclaims that now the "army of Christ is mustered," to counter "the fight of Antichrist" and his forces "agaynst God and his Christ, and agaynst his Church" that had been figured in chapters 8 and 9 (142\(^\text{r}^\text{d}\) ). Gifford advances an interpretation similar to Bullinger's, writing that in the allegory of the two witnesses the careful reader finds a "historie of the builders" of the True Church, "that is the faithfull ministers of the Gospell, not onely of those . . . in these last times . . . . but also of those which were rased up, and withstood Antichrist all the time of his
ragne, even when his power was at the greatest. . . " (Revelation 188). Their story confirms that God never leaves his Church "without true teachers," defined as those who "resist the tyrannous proceedings of Antichrist"; whether they preach under "persecuting Emperours" or "when the Poperie bare sway," bona fide witnesses "impugne the great Antichrist, and his wicked clergie" (191).

While these commentators may commence with such inclusive, functional definitions of the witnesses, they generally introduce narrower ones as their discussions proceed, and their examples of specific historical individuals who meet their criteria nearly always focus on those they viewed as "proto-Protestants" and on early Reformers. In Eicasmi, for instance, Foxe interprets the witnesses as representative of all "the 'protestants' of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries" (Firth 103) who were seen as paving the way for the Reformation. Bale, discussing Revelation 11, offers several extensive lists of true "witnesses" falsely condemned as heretics by the Church of Rome, including Sir John Oldcastle, John Frith, Thomas Bilney, Sir William Thorpe, and others. Even Antichristians are, according to Bale, compelled to recognize the "heavenly knowledge" that characterizes witnesses such as Wyclif, Hus, Jerome of Prague, Savonarola, and Tyndale (Works 394, 398). Bale designates as witnesses almost exclusively individuals who testified (preferably against the papacy) shortly prior to the Reformation or during its early stages. In summarizing his conclusions upon the witnesses, Bullinger calls them "the preachers of the Gospell, which shall fight agaynst Antichrist, in that last age before the judgment, and byulde up the church and confirme the belevers" (146'), an explanation that, as our discussion later in this chapter of political interpretations of Rev. 19 will suggest, would have been connected by contemporaries with strife between papists and Reformers, though Bullinger does proceed to remind that the battle has been underway during "all that tyme wherein the Byshop of Rome hath usurped, and taken upon him authoritie over all churches. . .
Bullinger's lists of witnesses, too, is dominated by Protestants and those seen as having set the stage for their success, including Hus, Jerome of Prague, Valla, Savonarola (151''), "Mirandula, . . ., Erasmus, Luther, Zwinglius, Oecolampadius, Melancthon, and innumerable others, in whom the spirit of uttering it selfe after mens talent, set forth the Scriptures, detected the Romishe wickednes, and rebuked the vices of all states, but specially of the clergie," inspiring fear among the "Romyshe sort" (151').

Similarly, in citing examples of witnesses, Gifford alludes generally to those who maintained true doctrine under "heathen Emperours," but the numerous specific individuals he names acted from 1158 onward. Many of these individuals had been imprisoned or put to death for their testimony against the papacy. Their numbers become greater after 1350, when "the Lord raised up divers learned men, which openly and boldly impugned the Church of Rome" (193), including the author of the "complaint of the plowman" and Petrarch, "who calleth Rome the whore of Babylon, the mother of error, the temple of heresie" (193-4). The notable daring of Mathew of Paris in composing in 1370 "a large booke of Antichrist, and not[ing] the Pope to bee the same. . ." (194), exemplifies the particular variety of heroism that secured one's place upon such registers of "witnesses." A similar respect for godly learning applied to the destruction of Antichrist's power leads Gifford to praise as a witness "Arnoldus de nova villa, a Spanyard, a man famously learned and a great writer," who, about 1250, "impugned the errors of the popish Church, and taught that the Pope led the people to hell," causing him to be "condemned as a heretike" (193). As one would expect, Gifford devotes special attention to Hus and to Wicklif, who about 1371 commenced "openly to deal against the Pope and popish doctrine," during a period in which "the popish kingdome of Antichrist" had "risen up unto very great strength and crueltie." He cites Oldcastle ("the Lord Cobham") as among the many in England upon whom God had shed his light through Wicklif's books and
preaching. Witnesses Gifford lists as fighting between their time and that of Luther\(^5\) (after whom God raised "sundry others to pull downe Antichrist, and to deliver his poore Church from grievous thraldome and miserable bondage") include Jerome of Prague, Savonarola, those "called . . . at that time Lollards," and Pico della Mirandola (194-5). On Fulke's roster of witnesses, likewise, proto-Reformers and their heirs predominate: Wicklif, Hus, Jerome of Prague, and "the poore people of" Lyons in France, as well as Luther and Calvin (69' , 70').\(^4\)

The strongest single chronological association of the witnesses is with proto-Reformers like Wyclif and Hus, particularly those put to death for testifying against the papacy. Martyrology fits nicely with the textual detail in Revelation 11:7 that, after the witnesses "have finished their testimonie, the beast that cometh out of the botomlesse pit, shal make warre against them, and shall overcome them, and kill them." This beast was commonly identified by Protestants as "the Pope which hathe his power out of hel and cometh thence" (Geneva Bible gloss to 11:7).\(^17\) After being slain by the beast, the witnesses "lie dead in the streets of the great citie, which spiritually is called Sodom or Egypt. . ." (11:8). The "great citie" in the streets of which the dead witnesses lie is glossed in the Geneva Bible as "the whole jurisdiction of the Pope, which is compared to Sodom for their abominable sinne, and to Egypt because the true libertie to serve God is taken away from the faithful."\(^18\) This interpretation fits most precisely with individuals martyred within lands controlled by the beast, rather than with those later Reformers who testified primarily within officially Protestant domains.

Foxe, therefore, was confident enough to identify the three and a half days for which the witnesses lie dead in the streets as a specific reference to the Council of Constance, which met from early December 1414 to early May 1418 and which condemned Hus (Firth 103). Bullinger, too, repeats references to Hus and Jerome of Prague and their condemnation by the Council of Constance elsewhere in his commentary on chapter 11, apart
from his previously cited primary list of witnesses, although he also mentions individuals martyred during the return to "the Romishe religion" under Queen Mary in England (150'). Gifford, likewise, in his most extensive list of witnesses, refers to the "popish Councell of Constance," which exhumed and burned Wicklif's bones over four decades after his burial and condemned and burned Hus and Jerome of Prague.

Accordingly, the strongest candidates for witnesses are those who combine martyrdom and testimony against the Church of Rome, primarily, though not necessarily, within its own dominion. Apart from well-known individuals, groups of less famous believers may enter the lists of witnesses in this fashion. Gifford, for instance, on his register, notes that about 1390 "many were put to death for the Gospell, refusing the doctrine and worship of the Romish Church": 36 citizens of Maguntia were burned, and 24 in Paris were condemned to death, while in "the province of Narbane," 140 "chose rather to suffer all torments then to receive the Romish religion, and to deny the truth of the most glorious Gospell" (194).

The inclusion upon lists of witnesses of later Reformers is sometimes prompted by clever exegesis of Rev. 11:11, paraphrased by Bale as follows: "Many more arise our of their ashes. . . . And the same witnesses they are again, giving the same testimony, though they be not the same persons. The same living spirit have they, confessing the same verity. . . ." (Works 396). Commenting upon the same verse from Revelation, Gifford writes that the "spirit" shared by witnesses manifests itself in their fundamental occupation: ". . .uttering and maintaining the same truth, & the same cause against Antichrist, and pulling downe his usurped power" (207). Gifford views the "resurrection" from the ashes of the witnesses in Revelation 11:11 as having first been "fulfilled when God raised up his noble instruments and most worthie servants master Luther, master Calvin, Peter Martir, Bucer, and many other" (207). Foxe, too,
viewed the resurrection of the witnesses as signifying "that the teachings of Hus and Jerome would be taken up by others" (Firth 103).

It is crucial to Sidney's use of characters representative of the "witnesses" within his allegorical church history that Protestant exegetes relied upon these figures from Revelation to defend their claims that their own church was the True Church figured forth in the Apocalypse. The small number of sincere and devout testifiers suggested by the specified number of two witnesses sometimes caused these forgotten "characters" from Revelation to be cited as evidence by Protestant church historians attempting to respond to "one great mighty objection, wherewith" papists sought to "choke" the Protestant cause: "seeing the church of Christ is the spouse of Christ, how could it be that Christ himself should forsake his spouse, and suffer her to continue in damnable errors so many hundred years?," as Protestants claimed had been the case with the visible church dominated by the Antichristian papacy, to which Western Christians had no alternative prior to the Reformation. William Fulke, whose phrasing of the charge has just been quoted, responds in his "Sermon Proving Babylon to be Rome" (1570), "Why, Christ himself declareth that the deceits and errors of false prophets should be so great, . . . there should be such a miserable dispersion, that scarce two true professors of his name should remain together in one place."

Although "even at the height of Antichrist's power God never left his true church without some true preachers of the Word," their fate during the period of papal dominion, Reformers claimed, had often been that of the two witnesses (Bauckham 122), to be "most cruelly slain of Antichrist" for their "constancy of faith" and "liberty of preaching."

Gifford, too, in his commentary on the witnesses, interprets their small number as signifying that we must not "depende upon the greater multitude in the ministrie, but upon those which purely teach the trueth, and lead a godly life agreeable to the same. . . . " He proceeds immediately to specify the political implications of the prophecy for
contemporary religio-political debates: "The papists brag much of their multitudes," thereby aiming to "oppresse the faithfull ministers of Christ" (i.e., the Protestants and their forerunners) "as being fewe in number." Yet the prophecy of the persecuted but righteous witnesses demonstrates that a greater number of followers does not necessarily equate with righteousness in the eyes of God: "...what if the devil and Antichrist have two thousand servants, for every two true servants of the Lord? are they the lesse to be regarded?" (195-6). Protestant commentators argued that whereas Rome boasted of the "universality and unity" of its church, forcing "all nations to drink of the furious wine of her fornication," the authentic but invisible "church of Christ" remained a "small flock," one that, as had been prophesied in Revelation, had been "driven into the wilderness, out of the sight of the world" (William Fulke, qtd. in Bauckham 338). One important goal of the "antiquarian researches" of Foxe, Bale, and other Protestant church historians was to compile historical evidence for a "reconstructed line of medieval witnesses against the tyranny of Antichrist," though, ultimately, believers accepted as "a matter of faith rather than historical evidence that 'Christ hath never wanted his spouse in earth, though the blinde worlde can not always see her, or when they see her, will not acknowledge her to be his spouse, but persecute her, as if she were an adulteresse'" (Bauckham 122; qtng. William Fulke). Mornay similarly charges that the False Church bases its claim for power and authority upon "outwarde markes," such as "antiquitie, multitude, succession of places and persons, by miracles..." etc.; whereas, the True Church is, in fact, recognizable by "pure and syncere administration of the word and Sacraments" (Treatise 50). He likewise draws upon the "little flocke" argument, noting that the Scriptures "expressely" predict "that the Church of God for a long time by reason of the persecution of Antichrist, shall retire herself into the wilderness..." (Treatise 59).
Bullinger, too, cites the vision of the witnesses as evidence for the continuity of pure doctrine among opponents of the papacy during periods in which it was dominated by Antichrist. St. John's account of the witnesses demonstrates "how the ministers of Christ shall preach all that tyme, wherin Antichrist shal persecute." Histories reveal "that the most vertuous and best learned men, have in all ages, now for the space of these seven hundred yeares and more constantly resisted the popes enterprises, and their great abominations, & the craftie jugglinges and seducynes of Monkes and Friers" (144f.). The more general interpretation of the witnesses as figures for "all faithfull preachers and pastours of all tymes, which offer themselves to resist Antichrist and heretickes," affords the political advantage of allowing Protestants to use the figures as evidence that Scripture had prophecied a continuity of faith and doctrine among small groups of true believers throughout the church's history, even when the visible church was dominated by agents of Antichrist.

The tentative identification of characters as witnesses by their location at the appropriate temporal sequence in Sidney's allegorical church history, as well as by such primary features of their story as dying in the streets within the dominion of Antichristian (papist) characters, and at their instigation, may be further confirmed, as will be demonstrated in my next chapter, by clusters of other details from their portrayal in Revelation, such as their being poorly appareled, details that acquired political significance in Protestant exegesis and, consequently, were not as apt to remain unnoticed by fervent Reformers as they are by individuals who read the Apocalypse without attached commentary today (the witnesses' apparel, for instance, was linked to the vestments controversies).

Once again, though, while no single feature within the New Arcadia may, in and of itself, provide conclusive evidence of the allegorical-church-history theory, it is the parallel clustering of the same specific
details in Revelation and in the New Arcadia (the specific attributes of the witnesses, for example), together with the chronological sequencing of the major images and prophecies in relationship to one another, that most strongly confirms my reading. We will see in my next chapter, for instance, that the release of Antichrist after a thousand year imprisonment was often timed by British Protestants, such as Foxe in his later writings, as concurrent with the persecution of forerunners of the Protestant movement such as Wyclif and Hus, two of the figures who appear most frequently on their lists of witnesses. These chronological links make it highly significant that, as is shown in my next chapter, the character I identify as the primary representative of Antichrist in the Asia Minor narratives is released from "a miserable prison" where he had been sentenced to be "devoured by a monstrous beast" (compared to several of the same animals as the apocalyptic monsters of Rev. 13:2 and Daniel 7:6) on "a day appointed" and that his release is directly related causally to the death of the characters most strongly identifiable as "witnesses." Moreover, these allusions to passages in Revelation timed by the commentators to the period just prior to the Reformation, which appear late in the Asia Minor narratives, are followed chronologically in Sidney's narratives by apocalyptic images that appear on the opening pages of the New Arcadia and that I have shown that the exegetes dated to the outset of the Reformation, so that the appropriate sequencing is, once again, maintained.

We have seen that British Protestants in Sidney's time had come to consider the main body of Revelation primarily as a church history imparted as an ordered series of images. Individual images had acquired, or were in the process of acquiring, strong chronological associations linking them to specific historical events, eras, and individuals. While more general interpretations for the figures continue to be mentioned as well, they are generally less prominent and less amply developed. Even
though Firth and others emphasize that Reformers thought about Revelation as a succession of images, one might still object that if Sidney had wanted to be sure that his readers noted the significance of the images in his own work, he should have labelled them explicitly for his readers or, perhaps, have quoted verses from Revelation along with the images. One obvious reason he would not choose to cite Revelation openly would be that, as has been discussed, most Protestants of his time interpreted Revelation as prophetic of events in the history of the Christian Church after it was imparted to St. John, and Sidney maintains the decorum of the nominally pre-Christian setting he transferred from the Old Arcadia to the New Arcadia.

Beyond this simple motivation, however, it would not be unusual that a Renaissance artist like Sidney planning an allegorical church history with Revelation as a primary structural model would not only adopt the book’s images but also imitate the allegorical methodology ascribed to it by contemporary Protestant commentators, who believed this methodology a purposeful design of the Holy Ghost. As Spenser and Milton looked to prophetic books of Scripture “not just for subject matter and imagery but for artistic models as well” (Wittreich Visionary xx), so Sidney turned especially to the “heavenly book” of Revelation, considered by many in the Renaissance the “very complete sum and whole knitting up . . . of the universal verities of the bible” (Bale Works 252).

We should begin by noting that artists imitating Revelation could easily justify a focus upon the book’s visual images rather than its linguistic features. Martin Luther, for instance, begins his 1545 preface to Revelation by distinguishing several different varieties of prophecy used within the Church. One variety, which “foretells things to come which are not previously contained in Scripture,” itself contains three subtypes. Of these subvarieties, one “does it in express words, without symbols and figures,” while a second “does this with symbols, but sets alongside them their interpretation in express words.” A third, which
includes Revelation, "does it without either words or interpretations" (480; emphasis added). A poetic "maker" aiming to imitate the methodology of his or her "heavenly maker" in this third variety of prophecy would, therefore, do so most closely by not explicitly labelling or interpreting the prophetic images within his or her own work. This third type of prophecy remains "concealed and dumb" until a "sure interpretation" is agreed upon (Luther 480); as we have seen, the methodology through which Luther and many later Renaissance Protestant commentators preferred to force this "dumb prophecy" to reveal its secrets was to match the book's sequential images with historical events occurring in the same order.

It is, of course, just this lack of explicit labelling of the images within St. John's vision that allowed Revelation to become the potent political tool that it did, as the shifting interpretations of individual images that have already been briefly illustrated were imposed upon it. Luther himself, in his earlier 1522 Preface to Revelation, condemned the book precisely because of its reliance upon images rather than explicit, evangelical instruction: "...it befits the apostolic office to speak of Christ and His deeds without figures and visions; but there is no prophet in the Old Testament, to say nothing of the New, who deals so out and out with visions and figures" (488). The exasperated Luther at this earlier point in his career, before he had helped to develop an interpretation of the book that would allow it to function as a political weapon against the Church of Rome, declared that he could "nohow detect that the Holy Spirit produced it" (489).

The Protestant understanding of the literary and artistic methodology through which the history of the church to be found within Revelation was communicated—a methodology which an artist undertaking the project I have proposed for Sidney might logically be expected at least to consider imitating—was that of an allegory that did not contain within itself explicit interpretations of its own images. Correct exegesis of the work was dependent upon knowledge of the historical development of the
Church upon earth. Even Puritan commentators like Gifford accept that in Revelation, as in the Song of Solomon—not coincidentally two of the biblical books to which Protestants managed to impart the most highly politicized interpretations—an exclusively literal level of understanding will in no way suffice. Gifford periodically, therefore, cautions his readers: "...ye must know that this booke uttereth almost all things mystically," and "...ye know that in this booke things are to be taken mystically" (Gifford Revelation 200, 240). "...[I]t is a matter with one consent acknowledged, that the Revelation doth still require necessarily a Revelation..." (A27) wrote Brightman near the start of his own commentary, eager to meet the challenge.

As in other visionary and figurative biblical passages, the Holy Ghost communicated wisdom under the veil of allegory because the diligence and thought required when readers sense that a purely literal understanding is wholly inadequate eventually motivate readers to attain to a deeper form of knowledge. The process of searching out this meaning eventually ravishes the diligent with delight at the skill and aptness of the allegorical methodology and imprints the message communicated thereby more deeply in the memory—all traditional explanations for the success of the allegorical approach within literary works as well, of course.

The Protestant commentators focused upon for this study frequently remind their own readers of the benefits of the visionary and allegorical modes. Bullinger, for instance, reminds that God, from the beginning, "propounded divine matters, and such as concerned our salvation, as it were under a vayle, and under figures..." Paradoxically, such an approach was designed not "to darken or obscure" God's messages "but rather to unfolde them and set them foorth. For this manner of declaring invisible thinges by visible: is more fit to teache, more meete to move, more apt for perspecuitie, and most convenient and requisite, that things may be more deeply imprinted in mynde, and the lesse fall out of the same" (Bullinger Apocalipse "Preface" B2'). Visions and figurative speech
maximize human intellectual and sensory capacities, not only presenting words to the ears but also setting matters "forth to be seen of the eye, and after a sorte be fixed in the memory" (Bullinger Apocalipse "Preface B8"). A characteristic passage in Revelation is set forth in the form of "a very goodly vision," according to Bullinger, "...to the intent that it might be more lyvely, and printed more deeply in our brestes..." (Apocalipse 106"). According to "his wonted maner," St. John will set forth matters in the form of a "heavenly vision," which is "wholy as it were painted to be sene of our eyes...that he might not seme onely to tell the thyng to our eares, but also to shew it forth to be sene of our eyes, to the intent it might be more deeply printed in our myndes" (Bullinger Apocalipse 282"). Similarly, commentators often emphasize the visual and dramatic nature of the ecclesiastical history prophesied in the Apocalypse. In his Revelation commentary, Eicasmi, Foxe lauds the book's contents as "of greatest usefulness and necessity for the church," revealing as they do "the mystery and universal history of the church, as if on a public stage one should produce dramas" (qtd. in Olsen 93).

Particularly since Protestant commentators were frequently defensive about charges by some Roman Catholics against Revelation's obscurity, they emphasized, as Bullinger does in an above-quoted passage, that veiled symbolism does not equate with incomprehensibility, but, contrarily, eventually effects deeper and more long-lasting knowledge for diligent readers. Commentators stress that it is precisely perseverance and labor that separate superficial and derisive scorers of Revelation from students who profit from the educative process ensuing from persistent efforts to comprehend its visionary mode. Fulke, for instance, openly counters charges of ambiguity and inaccessibility with reminders of the benefits and rewards of the allegorical approach for readers willing to expend the labor it demands. Commenting upon the heavenly command that John "...Seale not the wordes of the prophecie of his boke..." (Rev. 22:10), Fulke writes that the verse refutes "most abundantlye...the
follye of those, which thinke that nothinge is conteyned in this booke, but doubtfull and darke speakings, oute of whiche we can drawe nothinge that is certeyne or determinate." Revelation's prophecies "are not sealed, but that the godly and diligent reader may understande very many thinges very profitable to be known. For the holy ghost committeth nothin to writing in vaine, so that we come soberly and reverentlye, as it is meete to so great misteryes to expounde the same" (149'). The painstaking thought required to arrive at a true understanding of the Apocalypse is itself essential to the book's lasting impact upon its fit audience. As Bullinger declares, the Apocalypse relies so heavily upon "figurative speaches, taken for the most part out of the Prophètes, and by a privie comparison brought out of the holy storie," so "that all thynges might be more full of Majestie, and that every man should more diligently, search for the sense of so excellent a matter, which beyng found once, ought to be kept and retained in perfect memorie" (227').

The confidence of these Protestant commentators that the truths imparted via Revelation are attainable, though not without grappling, echoes traditional assumptions about allegory voiced by poets and critics like Boccaccio, who writes in The Genealogy of the Gentile Gods that even when poets seem "obscure," they are "invariably explicable" by diligent readers, for "Surely no one can believe that poets invidiously veil the truth with fiction, either to deprive the reader of the hidden sense, or to appear the more clever. . . ." They aim "rather to make truths which would otherwise cheapen by exposure the object of strong intellectual effort and various interpretation, that in ultimate discovery they shall be more precious. In a far higher degree is this the method of the Holy Spirit. . . ." (60).

The sheer length of these Protestant Revelation commentaries (Gifford's, for instance, runs 454 pages, while Bullinger's occupies 317 folio pages) attests to the intellectual energy, as well as physical labor, exegetes expended upon the book. They believed that their labors
were not in vain but verified beyond doubt that their own church was the True Church of the Apocalypse. While the commentators achieved a broad consensus upon such fundamental and politically charged issues as the identity of the papacy with Antichrist, the sheer number of their commentaries, as well as the previously discussed tendency of their exegesis to vacillate "between the universal and the particular," shows that they did allow for some degree of the multiplicity in interpretation assumed by Boccaccio. Again, the labor Protestant commentators expended upon their expositions of Revelation, supplying their readers with a mass of historical information, references to the opinions of previous commentators, and appropriate insights from other scriptural passages, suggests that they evidently agreed with Boccaccio that toil and industry were prerequisites for those who seek to comprehend mysteries communicated under the veil of allegory: to "those who would appreciate poetry, and unwind its difficult involutions," Boccaccio advises, "You must read, you must persevere, you must sit up nights, you must inquire, and exert the utmost power of your mind. If one way does not lead to the desired meaning, take another; if obstacles arise, then still another; until, if your strength holds out, you will find that clear which at first looked dark" (62). Boccaccio's quotation of Petrarch's beliefs on the benefits of allegory, are, too, remarkably similar to those the Protestant commentators ascribe to Revelation: poetry's superficial obscurities "are not intended to hinder those who wish to understand, but rather propose a delightful task, and are designed to enhance the reader's pleasure and support his memory. What we acquire with difficulty and keep with care is always the dearer to us..." (61-2).

Thus, Sidney's choice to "figure forth" within the Asia Minor narratives an apocalyptic church history that is allegorical and without internal explication would find sanction not only from Luther's assumption that Revelation's prophecy takes the form of images and symbols without explicit authorial explications but also from traditional assumptions as
to the educational benefits of allegory both in literary works and in the Apocalypse. Thus far, our attention to justifications for the veiled communication of Scripture has been limited primarily to those by Protestant commentators upon Revelation. Yet, nearly identical defenses were also advanced for the seeming obscurity of other passages in Scripture as well, though such passages tended to be less densely concentrated elsewhere in the Bible than they are in the Apocalypse. A good example—which clearly and compellingly summarizes the benefits deriving from artistic techniques that a poetic maker drawing upon the literary wisdom of his heavenly maker might be expected to imitate—is offered within Zwingli's *Short Pathway to the Understanding of the Scriptures*. Within a section bearing the marginal gloss, "Why god dothe use so often tropes, figures, & parables," Zwingli explains that God has "...in tymes past, set fourth certain pointes of hys doctrype, under fygures and darke saiyinges, & nowe, moste specially by Christ, under parables & symilitudes" primarily because He "would commend unto us, with some pleasantnes of wordes, the misteries of hys wil, to thend, that men beyng possessed, holden and ravished, with the greadines of hys word, & kindled with a firie hertes desire, shuld with a greater admiration, wonder and marvail at his secrete and hidden misteries." God in his supreme wisdom and rhetorical acumen adjusted the presentation of his message to the psychological tendencies of the beings he had created: "...it is so ordained by nature, that the thinges which are set fourth, beynge savoured with the pleasautnes of similitudes, and swete sharpenes of proverbes, and darke saiynge, do swetely & with a certain delectation and plesure, allure & draw the minde of man." In addition, truths "that are hidden & covered, be more greadely sought oute. For, it deliteth men to penetrate and pearce, with importune dyligence, into the knowledge of them..." Once again, the divine maker and his earthly imitators recognize that the discovery process demanded by such literary techniques ensures lasting appreciation for the truths they communicate, for, "...
those thynges, whych have bene gotten out, by great study diligently and industrious inqusitoryon, by theym, whome the darke sense of the proverbes, hath stirred & moved, the more that they have travayled in the sekynge them oute, the more in estimation are they wonte too be with us" (F2'-F3').

My theory as to an allegorical church history within the New Arcadia, structured importantly according to a sequence of datable images from and allusions to Revelation, is open to objections such as Rosemond Tuve's claims: "No great known story or myth is 'signified' or imaged in a later allegory merely to let us recognize it, and certify that its parts are there" (411), and, "Allegory is not a fancy way to tell history, even divine history, over and over again" (404-5). Yet, in the dedicatory epistle of his apocalyptic drama Christus Triumphans, Foxe states explicitly, "It was enough for me, following only the Apocalyptic history, to transfer as far as possible from the sacred writings into the theatre those things which pertain primarily to ecclesiastical affairs" (Two Latin 209). In all probability, Tuve would label Foxe's play "bad allegory"; however, her objections as to a lack of reasonable motives for recreating in allegorical form a "divine history" upon whose interpretation all parties agreed is not equally valid for the Apocalypse. The "true" interpretations of both Revelation and the history of the church that it was believed to prophesy evoked strenuous controversy in the sixteenth century, particularly between Protestants and Roman Catholics.

Reformers believed that the indictment of the Church of Rome they had discovered in Revelation was incontrovertible. For instance, "all the papists in the world cannot deny" that "Rome was builded upon seven mountains" (Gifford Revelation 333). Since "very children know what the Seven hilled citie is," the identity of the seven-headed beast that figured this city was beyond question Rome. Even the "sleightes" of the Jesuits could not escape this conclusion, so that chapter 17 provided "a key to open the closet of the mysteries of" Revelation. The angel of Rev.
"expounded" to John that the seven heads of the beast in this vision represented seven mountains expressly "that the people of God might know for certaintie" and "not rest upon . . . conjectures, but have the exposition of god himselfe" (Gifford Revelation 323). Demonstrating detailed fulfillment of the prophecies of Revelation in contemporary culture constituted a political act: as David Norbrook has observed: ". . . the more specifically Antichrist was identified with the Papacy, the more sanction Scripture seemed to give for political action to further the overthrow of the corrupt institution. . ." (38). In support of this project, commentators fervently endeavored to identify "institutional embodiments" of symbols and "spiritual qualities" in Revelation; consequently, "The tendency in exegesis was towards increasing particularity. . ." (122).28

Protestants asserted that attacks upon the canonicity of Revelation by supporters of the papacy were self-interested: ". . . the devill hath made all the assaultes he could againste the authoritie of this prophecie, that the subtillties of Antichrist mighte the better be cloked which in this revelation are clearly discovered" (Fulke 151'). Protestants claimed that Jesuits were so eager to dismiss Revelation because "it painteth out their kingdome" so precisely that "they would not have men see how fully the papisme is described in this booke to be Antichristianisme. . ." (Revelation 438).29 Reformers could argue that papists were merely confirming their Antichristian identity in failing to acknowledge the clear attack upon the Roman Church in Revelation, for the very "spirite of Antichrist" was to "forbidde those thinges to be knowne which the holye ghost hath delivered to that entente they should bee knowne" (Fulke 335'). The papists opposed making the Scriptures in general available to the people "in a knowne language" because they "detect and bewray their treacheries," yet, of all others they cannot abide that" Revelation "should be made knowne or expounded publikely" (Gifford Revelation 2).
Even among Protestants, interpretations of Revelation were still evolving relatively rapidly during Sidney's lifetime. An allegorical rendering of church history structured upon Revelation, with its images linked to particular historical events, was a political and controversial creation. Creating a politicized, allegorical history of this sort would enact the Protestant assumption that "...books are God's weapons against Rome" (Johnson 84).

Church history itself was a potent political weapon as exploited by both Protestants and the Church of Rome in sixteenth-century religious controversy. In the dedicatory epistle to Queen Elizabeth in the 1570 edition of his massive ecclesiastical history Acts and Monuments, Foxe describes the violent response elicited by his own history: "certaine evil-disposed persons, of intemperate tongues, adversaries to good proceedings, would not" allow him to rest after he had completed the first edition of his masterwork, continuing in their "fuming and fretting, and raising up such miserable exclamations at the first appearing of the book, as was wonderful to hear." The political implications of his history were evident to the supporters of the papacy who felt compelled to denounce it: "Such blustering and striving was then against that poor book through all quarters of England, even to the gates of Louvain, so that no English Papist, almost in all the realm, thought himself a perfect catholic, unless he had cast some word or other to give that book a blow" (Prefaces vi).

The urgency still attached to acquiring and propagating a "correct" understanding of church history comes out clearly in Foxe's justification of his motives in undertaking the Acts and Monuments, detailed in an epistle "To the True and Faithful Congregation of Christ's Universal Church," prefacing the 1570 edition of the work. His own labors are directed toward furnishing the "part of diligence" that "had so long been unsupplied in this my country church of England" (Acts I.xviii). Many of the misimpressions created by generations of historians clearly biased
toward the papacy remained to be corrected: ". . . .considering the multitude of chronicles and story-writers, both in England and out of England, of whom the most part have been either monks, or clients to the see of Rome, it grieved me to behold how partially they handled their stories." In their writings, issues central to "the state of Christ's church" were either omitted "or if any mention thereof were inserted, yet were all things drawn to the honour specially of the church of Rome, or else to the favour of their own sect of religion" (I.xviii). Reading of correct (from the Protestant perspective) histories is, he claims, "much necessary in the church. . . ." since knowledge of past abuses committed in the name of history by the pope and his supporters could help to prevent their future recurrence. The "manifest experience" of "these desolate later times of the church," demonstrates that "the bishops of Rome, under colour of antiquity, have turned truth into heresy, and brought such new-found devices of strange doctrine and religion, as, in the former age of the church were never heard of before, and all through ignorance of times and for lack of true history." If histories unbiased by devotion to the papacy had been available or "if times had been well searched," corrupt doctrine and practices introduced by the Roman Church--for example, "transubstantiation, elevation and adoration of the sacrament, auricular confession, forced vows of the priests not to marry, veneration of images, private and satisfactory masses . . . . , with all the rout of their ceremonies and weeds of superstition overgrowing now the church"--might have been recognized as "new-nothings lately coined in the mint of Rome, without any stamp of antiquity, as" his own history demonstrated (I.xix). Foxe's own first aim is to hinder further abuse and manipulation of " . . . the simple flock of Christ, especially the unlearned sort. . . ." His fellow countrymen and women remained easy targets, "all for ignorance of history, not knowing the course of times and true descent of the church. . . ." (I. xviii).
Foxe is particularly concerned to portray the pitiable fortunes of the poor oppressed and persecuted church of Christ, which had been ignored by previous chroniclers. Though this oft-persecuted church was the only "true" one, it had "been of long season trodden under foot by enemies, neglected in the world, not regarded in histories, and almost scarce visible or known to worldly eyes. . ." (I.xix). Protestant commentators on Revelation shared his goal, for that book "fully answered that devilish and blinde objection of the Papistes, which so sore troubleth the consciences of the ignorante: namely that the Churche of Rome having continued so many hundred yeares, and bene so generall, and hathe had from time to time a succession of Byshoppes, and alwaies remayned visible in the eyes of the worlde, can not be but the true Church." The papists maintained "that this Churche of oures was not any where to be founde within an hundred or two hundred yeares paste, and therefore can not be the true Catholike Churche of Christ" (Fulke; Gifford's dedicatory epistle v'). It will be recalled that the "two witnesses" of Rev. 11 were considered to furnish crucial scriptural support for the Protestant interpretation of church history in which a continuity of apostolic doctrine superceded the papacy's claim to authority through a visible succession of power from one Bishop of Rome to the next. Another crucial text in the Protestant defense was the woman (understood to signify the True Church) forced to flee into the wilderness in Rev. 12. In Fulke's view, "...it is certeine by this place, that the Church of Rome is not signified by this woman, which was never banished and driven into the wildernes, from the eies of men." The vision, therefore, furnished a key Protestant response to "adversaries whiche aske us where our Church was before these two or three hundred yeares" (79'). Protestant histories tracing a continuous line of true witnesses who had protested abuses of the papacy in the centuries since it had become openly corrupt could prevent Christians informed by them from becoming "so far beguiled" as to believe that current Romish doctrine was of considerable
"antiquity" or that it had never been "impugned before the time of Luther and Zuinglius. . ." (Foxe Acts I.xxiii).

Indeed, the most probable motives a highly politicized Protestant such as Sidney would have held for using Revelation's imagery in his fiction are absolutely inseparable from the fact that his contemporary coreligionists believed that the book provided an ecclesiastical history that vindicated their own church and condemned the one headed by the papacy. Especially in the commentaries of Gifford and Fulke, a number of the prophecies were interpreted in ways that would lend support to the Protestant political and military league that Sidney spent most of his career attempting to foster.10

For example, Gifford views the kings assembled with the beast in Rev. 19 as prophetic of the opposing league controlled by the papacy: "They joyne close and fast together, they have entered into a league, which they call the holy league, and bound themselves by othe and vowe, to roote out all those that professe the holy gospell which they call heresie" (Revelation 383). He follows this statement with an open call for a Protestant league of the sort Sidney championed: "It is greatly to be wished that all kings and princes and churches which have renounced that idolatrous tyrannie of Antichrist, and imbraced the holy gospell, would joyne as firmly against them" (383). Gifford attempts to shame those of his audience in a position to create or join such an alliance into action, asking, about those assembled with the beast, ". . .shall they be so diligent, and so forward in so bad a cause, even to fight against Christ, & that to serve the devil to their eternal destruction? And shal not we be as readie and forward to stand in the defence of the holy worship and glorie of the Lord our God, seeing it shall be unto our everlasting salvation" (384). Blunting the power of these Antichristian forces would require constant vigilence, true faith, and substantial resources, the resources Sidney devoted much of his career, usually
without success, endeavoring to raise on behalf of a Protestant political league.

Revelation's prophecies were interpreted as providing not only divine sanction but outright scriptural commands actively to defend the Gospel and battle against its enemies. Paraphrasing the lessons of Rev. 18, Gifford cautions, "...the servants of God are not only to remove and to separate themselves from great Babylon: but also to execute vengeance upon her: for the Lord God that judgeth and casteth her down, doth it by instruments" (Revelation 3:46). Gifford interprets Rev. 18:6, "Rewarde her, even as she hath rewarded you, and give her double according to her workes...", as support for aggressive retaliation upon the Roman Church: "...it is a thing most highly pleasing God, when his servants seeke revenge even to the full upon this Romish whore, for all the evill which she hath wrought unto the Church. And to assure us of this, the Lord from heaven willeth to reward her, and that double, yea even to the full, for the evill which shee hath done to the holy worshippers of God" (3:46).

Gifford warns that this command to oppose God's enemies speaks directly to a group Sidney himself viewed as negligent in its defense of the "Cause": Protestant princes: "princes, and civil magistrates" are duty-bound to avenge the "Saints" and "Martyrs of Christ" murdered by Rome and "are much to be blamed if herein they be negligent. Down with her, make no doubt, the Lord from heaven doth will ye. And how, shall the christian princes answere it before God, if they neglect this holy worke?" (3:46). Those in less powerful positions, though, could still help to execute vengeance against the Antichristians within their own spheres. The Roman policy of condemning "all as heretikes which reject her abominations" could be avenged by Protestant ministers, who are bound to "disclose and to paint...foorth to the world" Rome's "whoredomes and most filthie trecheries. They are to manifest that her doctrine and worship, is the doctrine and worship of divels: that the Kings, and
Princes, and people, may hate and abhorre her” (346-7). Private individuals should not only be willing to "destroy and pull . . . downe" Rome at the behest of their princes but also, "as farre as private men may, to lay her open in speech, to help to withdraw such from her societie as be seduced." Whatever their calling, therefore, "all the servants of God both high and lowe" are in Revelation "called upon from heaven, to set upon great Babell the mother of whoredomes and abominations of the earth, & to be revenged upon her for al the evill which she hath done to the Church of God." Gifford labels this project "holy worke" and "the worke which the lord from heaven doth call men unto" (347).

Fulke, similarly, interprets Rev. 18 as commanding "true worshippers of God" not only to "departe farre away from" the "fellowshippe" of the Babylonish Roman church but also to "take due vengeaunce upon her . . ." (118^f). Once "the abomination of the whore" has been revealed, God's true servants are to "shew themselves ministers of the most Just vengeance of God, in tormenting her in most miserable manner. . ." (118^f). Fulke even cautions against misplaced compassion: "...here is no place of mercy, but her sinnes are to be weighed in the equall balance of Justice, with her torments, and loke whatsoever she hath deserved, she oughte to suffer. . ." (119^f).

The final battle of Christ and his soldiers against the beast and "the kings of the earth, and their warriers gathered together" will demand, according to Gifford’s interpretation of Rev. 19, "not only a spirituall slaughter, but also a killing of their bodies here upon earth with the sword in warres" (Gifford Revelation 380). While acknowledging that the vision may prophesy primarily "a spiritual slaughter," Gifford hastens to add a more politically charged interpretation as well: "... but yet the other slaughter is not excluded: for the word of God doth disclose them, and make them appeare so abominable, that the Christian princes shall in the defence of the Gospell make warre upon, and slay thousands of thousands of them, and let them lye as meate for the fowles

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of the aire." Christ and His instruments "will overthrow them every way: for many of them shall have their bloud shed upon the earth, and they shall all be slaine eternally" (382). In the battle envisioned in this chapter, he whose "name is called, THE WORDE OF GOD," who rides a white horse (19:11-3), figures "the ministrie of the Gospel," by whose light "the truth of Christ, and the power of his grace are caried and spread swiftly over the large dominions of Antichrist, and doe disclose all his errors and filthy abominations, and so overcommeth and destroyeth the beast." The battle depicted in Rev. 19 is once again assigned to a particular historical interval, having "begun already somewhat before our time," and being "now in fighting," it "shall continue and proceede, casting those enemies downe more and more, even to the day of judgement" (377).

That Sidney might use apocalyptic imagery and allusions within his literary work to advocate the sort of activist violence that Gifford and Fulke claim within their commentaries that Revelation commands is likely a disturbing possibility to those of us who would prefer to imagine a more "humanistic" author. Yet, we must keep in mind that Sidney did, after all, devote his career to attempting to form a strong Protestant military and political alliance and himself died on the battlefield. His letters suggest little sorrow for violence against supporters of the papacy. In response to Languet's expression of fear that Italy might be threatened by "the Turk," Sidney responds, "...if this should come to pass, what could be more desirable? First of all, that rotten member will be removed, which has now so long infected the whole Christian body; and the forge in which, as your observe, are wrought the moving springs of all these ills, will be swept away." The "princes of Christendom" would in response "be forced to wake up from their deep sleep" and Languet's French "countrymen, who are now cutting each other's throats, will be driven to join forces and stand fast against the common foe," i.e. the Turks, the other primary representative of Antichrist, aside from the papacy, in Protestant
Sidney's next comment, though, shows that he viewed the papists as the greater danger, "...I am convinced that this baneful Italy would so contaminate the very Turks, would so ensnare them with all its vile allurements, that they would soon fall down of themselves from their high place; and this, if I am not mistaken, we shall see in our days" (Correspondence 54). Sidney's final comment suggests that he expected major changes in the order of Christendom within his own times.

Sidney's tendency to view the religious controversies of his time in terms of a militant apocalyptic struggle between the True and False Churches is likewise strongly suggested by a long and evidently strikingly effective oration that, as lord governor of Flushing, shortly before his death, he addressed to "so many of his soldiery ... as could hear him." According to John Stow, Sidney roused his men for the battle by declaring to them the "cause they had in hand, as God's cause, under, and for whom they fought, for hir Majesty"; he proclaimed to the troops "that he needed not to show, against whom they fought, men of false religion, enemies to God and his church: against Antichrist, and against a people whose unkindness both in nature and in life did so excell, that God would not leave them unpunished" (1244-5).

In considering Sidney's possible advocacy of violence, it is well to bear in mind his first-hand witness at an influential age of the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre in Paris, during which many of his recent friends and acquaintances were openly slaughtered or forced to hasten from the city to preserve their lives. As John Buxton remarks, "We can hardly wonder that after such an introduction, at the age of seventeen, to the ferocity of the Papists, Sidney should have regarded them as the enemies of all civilized and humane existence" (53). Moreover, a number of Sidney's friends and contacts are known to have championed militant defence of the "True Religion." Carlos Eire has called Sidney's close friend Mornay, who also was forced to flee Paris for his life in the wake of the Bartholomew's Day massacre, "among the most forceful advocates of
armed resistance against idolatry," adding, "It would be very difficult to find another orthodox French Calvinist who wrote more aggressively against governments that supported idolatry" (301).

Gifford, another of Sidney's acquaintances, likewise endorses activist, militaristic opposition to Antichristianity, viewing a proper understanding of Revelation as essential to those who defended the Gospel on the battlefield. Gifford's Revelation commentary was dedicated to the Earl of Essex, whose relationship to Sidney David Norbrook has wittily summarized, "Sidney had effectively declared Essex his military heir by bequeathing him his sword, and Essex sealed the association by marrying Sidney's widow" (129). In this dedication, Gifford underscored to Essex the importance to the "noble warrior" of being "wholly directed by the counsel of the Lord God in all his affairs. . ." (Bauckham 353). The contemporary church stood "in great need" of worthy defenders "in these days, being in the middest of these fierce and terrible wars, which this Revelation so long since hath prophecied of, and foreshadowed" (Bauckham 354). Warriors and would-be warriors like Sidney, as well as the Christian princes he attempted to inspire, could, according to Gifford, find the appropriate response to Antichrist's desecrations prescribed in the Apocalypse: the "armies of Christ" portrayed in Revelation "are men upon the earth, even the godly kings, princes, nobles, and worthy captains, which with the material sword defend the Gospel, and the ministers and preachers of the truth, which with the spiritual sword fight against Antichrist" (Bauckham 357-8).

Protestant confidence that most of Revelation's prophecies had already been fulfilled made the commands for the future they derived from it seem particularly compelling. And it was precisely the linkage of the Apocalypse's images to particular historical events that constituted the primary "proof" that prophecies assigned to the past had, indeed, been fulfilled. Through the ordered apocalyptic images and allusions in the allegorical church history within the New Arcadia, Sidney, too, could
suggest that, since Revelation's prophecies concerning the past had been fulfilled, by implication, its predictions for the future would come to pass as well. As Firth has written, "Apocalyptic history is visionary history. It is concerned as much with projections of the future as with understanding of the past" (251). From a broad perspective, Sidney could thereby be seen as afforning the importance of providence in shaping human life and history, a project many critics have recognized in other aspects of Sidney's fictions.¹²

Perhaps of more immediate concern, the militant stance against the Church of Rome that commentators like Gifford and Fulke ascribed to Revelation would be seen as comprising scriptural sanction for the Protestant League that Sidney himself advocated. It might be objected that if the historical pattern prophesied in the Apocalypse is so certain, then the obligation of each individual to promote the "Cause" of the True Church within "worldly" political affairs seems unnecessary, or " . . . if things come to passe by necessitie, then it is vaine to use any meanes for the effecting of them, for Gods will must bee done, doe wee what we will." William Perkins, though, in his commentary on the opening chapters of Revelation, supplies the response to his own paraphrase of this objection, which he labels a product of "mans corrupt reason: . . . as God hath appointed what things must come to passe; so hee hath appointed the meanes how they shall be effected: and seeing the Lord hath appointed as well the means as the end, we should by this necessitie . . . be induced to use the meanes. . . ." (5). Such assumptions about the political obligations imposed by the Apocalypse provide a likely motive for the rhetorical use of its imagery by advocates of the Protestant Cause, such as Sidney.

James Sanford's 1582 English translation of Giacopo Brocardo's commentary upon the Apocalypse, The Revelation of S. John Revealed, . . . dedicated to Leicester, "as to a great Prop, and Pyller of Gods word in this common wealth. . . ." (A3f'), frequently aims to persuade (or remind) its readers that the majority of Revelation's prophecies had already been
fulfilled, as past ecclesiastical history made evident, and that the End was imminent. Among the verses quoted on the commentary’s title page is Mathew 23:36: "Verely I say unto you, all these things shall come upon this Generation," implying the urgency of St. John’s visions to the contemporary milieu. God "set before our Eyes" in Revelation the history of "the whole state of the Gospell . . . that when every thynge came to passe, wee shoulde have noted it in Apocalyps . . ." History had already proceeded to the era prophesied under "the opening of the sixt seale, and of the sixt trumpet," prompting the author’s reminder that its plot thus far had fallen out according to the pattern prognosticated in Revelation, so that the consummation it foretold likewise was at hand: ". . .behold the Apocalyps or Revelation doth shewe it selfe unto almoste a whole Apocalyps, that is to say, a booke opened, and disclosed by the falling out of those thinges which are therein reported. . . ." (2′). Because Revelation’s prophecies were believed to have been verified by historical evidence, its implications for the future demanded scrupulous attention and constant meditation: the book discloses "the very falling out of thinges whych have bene in the state of the Gospell"; since "the greater part of them hath bene seene, and a fewe thynges are behynde: . . . . all our study seemeth meete to bee bestowed on this, that wee may knowe and observe those thinges that are written in this Booke. . . ." (2′-3′). The fulfillment of Revelation’s prophecies hitherto allows one to "assuredly know that those thynges shall also come to passe hereafter that hee speaketh of, that Babylon may bee over throwne. . . ." (3′). Since ardent Protestants identified the Church of Rome with the Babylon of the Apocalypse, this comment asserts with confidence the ultimate success of the Protestant Cause.

The facts that the apocalyptic significance of images and events are not recognized by characters within the New Arcadia or, at least initially, by most of its readers, might be designed to mirror the experience of humans within history. As has often been complained of the
Asia Minor narratives, particularly, and as many consider to be the case with events in time, the "plot" seems to lack overall coherence and purposefulness. Yet, the parallel ordering of images in Revelation and in the New Arcadia suggests that history (of the world and within Sidney's fiction) only seems random and meaningless until the key to its interpretation is recognized. Its pattern and directionality then become evident. The directionality of Sidney's allegorical history implies the general Protestant assurance in the movement of history toward the triumph of their own cause.

Sidney's history may be considered "prophetic" in that it engages in "something like 'scriptural interpretation' or 'vision based on an inspired understanding of scriptures'" (Fletcher Prophetic 54). I consider the New Arcadia a "prophetic" work in both senses in which Barbara Johnson applies that term to Piers Plowman and The Pilgrim's Progress: both works "diagnose as well as predict the fate of the world through their reading of Scripture" and "prophesy by rendering a reading of the current state of Christendom" (190). As Joseph Wittreich comments, the "'multifarious Allusiveness'" of prophecy makes it "a literature of contexts." Allusions within the poet-prophet's vision, though, collectively and gradually provide "an antidote for obscurity," illuminating the customary dark veil through which the truths of prophecy, like those of allegory, are presented (Wittreich "A Poet" 105). Allusions to Revelation's imagery and to historical events believed to be prefigured in the book provide the context needed to interpret the New Arcadia's apocalyptic history.

Sidney's allusions to Revelation, like St. John's allusions to the Old Testament, force his audience "beyond the confines of any one prophecy--back into the earlier prophecy out of which the new one is fetched, and out into the world where it is eventually to be fulfilled" (Wittreich "A Poet" 105). Prophecy, accordingly, may be considered, "literature as process, not literature as knowledge; it exists not for the
truths it embodies but for those to which it provides access. . .” (Wittreich "A Poet" 110). Among the "truths" toward which Sidney seems to be directing his own readers are those revealed within Revelation. The Apocalypse may, therefore, be considered a crucial "pretext" for the New Arcadia, in the sense in which Maureen Quilligan has defined the term: a "source that always stands outside the narrative . . . the text that the narrative comments on by reenacting. . .” (97-8). In his choice of pretexts for the New Arcadia, Sidney is representative of his times, for the "Bible is the pretext of medieval and Renaissance allegory. . .” (98). Sidney no doubt shared as well "the fundamental concern of all true allegorists that the pretext be read properly" (145), a concern particularly crucial with Revelation, since, as has been shown, the "proper" interpretation of that book was the subject of intense controversy in sixteenth-century religious debate.

The theory I will be detailing of an allegorical church history within the New Arcadia posits for Sidney a fairly extensive knowledge of ecclesiastical history that some may find improbable, particularly as many of the events to which it alludes have dropped out of most modern memories. However, the occurrences are discussed recurrently in widely read apocalyptic commentaries and church histories of his time. Foxe's massive ecclesiastical history, Acts and Monuments, which the Sidney family owned (Hannay 25), was rivaled in its popularity among Elizabethan readers only by the Geneva Bible and exerted "an influence on the English mind second only to that of the English Bible." Foxe's masterwork assumed an apocalyptic perspective, as did the commentary to Revelation in the Geneva Bible, which relied particularly heavily on the writings of Bale and Bullinger (Trinterud 41, Christianson 36-7). Du Plessis Mornay and other individuals connected with the Sidney and/or Leicester circles, such as Fulke and Gifford, highlight in their writings apocalyptic images and historical events crucial to the New Arcadia. And Sidney's own letters demonstrate his wide-ranging knowledge of historical works. In a letter
to Sidney dated January 22, 1574, Languet writes, "As for reading history, there is no need for me to try to convince you, since you incline towards it of your own accord, and have already made great progress in it" (qtd. in Osborn 137).

It would be very unlikely that Sidney, with his interest in history and his devotion to "the Cause" would not have read Du Plessis Mornay’s Treatise of the Church (1578), which was printed in English translation in at least 1579, 1580, 1581, and 1606, although Sidney may well have read the work in the original French version. English editions of Mornay’s Treatise in 1579, 1580, and 1581 are dedicated, by the translator, John Feilde, to Leicester. Sidney acted as a godfather to the Mornay’s daughter Elizabeth, who was born in England. Mornay’s wife Charlotte, lists as her husband’s "chief friends in England" Sir Francis Walsingham and Sidney, whom she praises as "the most highly accomplished gentleman in England," reminding as well that Queen Elizabeth and her Council, along with the Prince of Orange and "the Estates" in the Low Countries, knew that Philippe "put the welfare of the true religion before all other things," prompting them to seek his aid in their attempts to settle religious disputes in the area (169). The Treatise was composed during his stay in England and, according to his wife, was "soon afterwards translated into every language." Mornay shared his work with a dozen or so "very learned ministers," and sought their critiques before publishing it (170). It seems likely that he may have discussed its content with Sidney as he was composing, especially since Languet, in a 1577 letter to Sidney, after referring to Du Plessis, speaks of "the similarity of your characters" (Correspondence 87) and Greville, in a letter that mentions Sidney’s translation of Mornay’s Trewnesse of the Christian Religion, also refers to "the love between Plessis and him [Sidney], besides other affinities in their courses" (qtd. in Sypher xii). Mornay’s Treatise covers many of the crucial events in church history that might seem obscure to modern readers but that this study argues Sidney treats in the
New Arcadia. As was mentioned earlier, such occurrences are often approached in the Treatise from the openly apocalyptic perspective evident in Mornay's later history of the papacy, The Mysterie of Iniquitie.

The evidence from his letters that Sidney many have believed that apocalyptic prophecies were reaching their fulfillment in his own time is suggestive rather than conclusive. He writes with confidence to Languet: "The Almighty is ordering Christendom with a wonderful providence in these our days" (Correspondence 87), with the words ordering and providence suggesting the purposeful disposition of historical events assumed within the commentaries. A well-known letter to Walsingham written in the year of his death (dated 24 March 1586), in which Sidney is discussing Leicester's campaign in the Netherlands, provides important evidence of his fervency toward the "Cause" and for the tensions in his relationship with the queen:

...in my heart the love of the cause doth so far over-balance them ['danger, want, and disgrace'] all that, with God's grace, they shall never make me weary of my resolution. If her Majesty were the fountain, I would fear, considering what I daily find, that we should wax dry; but she is but a means which God useth, and I know not whether I am deceived, but I am faithfully persuaded that if she should withdraw herself other springs would rise to help this action.

These remarks are immediately followed by a statement with very probable apocalyptic overtones: "For methinks I see the great work indeed in hand, against the abusers of the world, wherein it is no greater fault to have confidence in man's power, than it is too hastily to despair of God's work" (Sidney 295).

Sidney's phrasing, "the great work indeed in hand," while obviously not exclusive to any one context, repeats terms recurrent in apocalyptic discussions, overtones that seem particularly relevant given that the remark immediately follows his assertions on God's backing of the Cause, and when taken together with his previous comments upon the providential ordering of affairs in Christendom in his own time. Gifford, for example, paraphrases the oath of the angel of Rev. 10: "...the great day of God, the day of generall judgement is at hand" (Revelation 184). Using quite similar language, Fulke predicts that the
evils committed by "The turkes in the Easte, and the papistes in the west" will "not indure longe, for the end of the world is at hand . . .": the prophesies of Revelation were being fulfilled with the Reformation, as "the gospel beinge restored againe to the worlde, hath disclosed the falshods of both the enemies" (132'). Bale, too, anticipating the impending ruin of Rome, warns: "... . consider I pray you the huge tyranny of this most wicked Viper of the world, whose destruction according to Gods promises is at hande" (qtd. in Parry 51). The phrase appears elsewhere in the 1560 Geneva translation of Revelation as well, for instance, in 22:10: "... the time is at hand." Sidney's category "abusers of the world" easily suggests "Antichristians." The Exodus and Revelation typology in the opening scenes of the New Arcadia, particularly as it appears in connection with the destruction of Plexirtus' ship, would recreate fictionally this movement toward the "great work" in which the "abusers of the world" would be punished for their misdeeds.

According to Greville, who attempted to join an expedition of Sir Francis Drake to the New World with Sidney without Queen Elizabeth's permission and would, therefore, be among our most reliable sources of such information, Sidney wanted to establish in the New World a "Plantation" that would offer "To the Religious divines, besides a new Apostolicall calling of the last heathen to the Christian faith, a large field of reducing poor Christians, mis-led by the Idolatry of Rome, to their mother Primitive Church" (Life 119). Aside from the desire to counter the harm that had been wreaked by Antichristian, papist "Idolatry," the phrase "last heathen" implies, in all likelihood, apocalyptic expectations. Greville's claim at least suggests strongly that Sidney wanted (despite the queen's objections) to do his part to move history toward its consummation, for a broad range of Protestants, including Luther, saw in their own era, "signs that the Gospel was enjoying its final successes before the End," with the advance "of the Gospel itself" providing "the surest sign that the End was close. . ." (Bauckham 147). The belief is affirmed in Gifford's Revelation commentary: "The gospell of the kingdome (as our Saviour saith, Mat. 24. vers. 14) shalbe preached in the whole world, (which is begunne to be accomplished in

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our daies) and then shall the end be" (188). Not surprisingly, when large populations of non-Christians were made present to the consciences of Europeans with their discovery of the New World, this prophecy entered the minds of both Protestants and papists, particularly among those who attempted to convert them, as Avihu Zakai’s *Exile and Kingdom: History and Apocalypse in the Puritan Migration to America* and John Leddy Phelan’s *The Millenial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World* make evident. The interpretation was natural enough during an era in which many diligently examined contemporary experience for signs that the End was nigh, revealing a characteristic tendency to discover the fulfillment of biblical prophecy in particular historical events.
1. In both Eicasmi and Acts and Monuments, John Foxe interpreted Revelation "as a mystical revelation of the history of the Church." a view of the book that had been advanced by the twelfth-century commentator, Joachim of Fiore (Firth 91, 5). The summary "Argument" to the book of Revelation in the 1560 Geneva Bible begins, "It is manifest, that the holie Gost wolde as it were gather into this moste excellent booke a summe of those prophesies, which were written before, but shulde be fulfilled after the comming of Christ. . . . "

In the minds of reformers, though, the fullness of Revelation was not confined to the church history it outlined so precisely and comforting: the book is, according to Bullinger, "a doctrine concernyng the matters of Christes Church reveled from heaven by Christ . . . , a summe of all godly religion, an exposition and brief declaration of the Prophètes, and consequently a Prophecie of the new Testament and story of the Church" (17).

2. Later commentators generally agreed with Luther as well that the introductory matter and addresses to seven congregations in the first three chapters of Revelation serve "...no other purpose than simply to show how these congregations arose at the time, and how they are exhorted to abide and increase, or reform" (481). While, of course, the lessons derived from the strengths or weaknesses of these churches, along with St. John's recommendations for reform, were viewed as applicable to later churches, they were not part of the Apocalypse's ecclesiastical history.

3. On Sidney's patronage of Puritans, see, for example, Weiner 5 and Sinfield Faultlines 184. The patronage of Sidney, Leicester, and the Countess of Pembroke "was particularly given to Puritan writers and preachers, in accordance with the anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic policies they favored" (Heinemann 265). Margaret Hannay observes, "Many of the hundreds of books dedicated to" Leicester; William Herbert, Third Earl of Pembroke; and Mary Sidney "were of a remarkably Puritan, anti-Catholic, and anti-Spanish nature" (Philip's Phoenix 238). Patrick Collinson suggests that, in his patronage of the church, "in his prime Leicester lent his support with some consistency to those best described as Grindalians: zealot preaching protestants who were moderate puritans in their attitude to current controversies. . . . But in his later years he moved closer to the more extreme, presbyterian fringe" (Elizabethan 386).

4. As Duncan-Jones has observed, Sidney's "imperious summons" of Gifford to his deathbed "would surely suggest some previous contact," yet, aside from his dedication of The Country Divinity (1581) to the Earl of Warwick, virtually no evidence survives for Gifford's connections to Sidney, his uncle, Leicester, or their circles, either before or after Sidney's death (Miscellaneous 161-2). I am not concerned to establish biographical details or to make a source argument, especially since many of Gifford's works were published after Sidney's death. Gifford's writings do, however, provide a superb gloss to Sidney's treatment of many previously unexplored Protestant issues in the New Arcadia, though my cross-references to other works demonstrate that Gifford's arguments and biblical explications were not unique.

5. Foxe discovered in this methodology for reform "the admirable work of God's wisdom. For as the first decay and ruin of the church before began of rude ignorance, and lack of knowledge in teachers; so, to restore the church again by doctrine and learning, it pleased God to open to man the art of printing, the time whereof was shortly after the burning of Huss and Jerome. Printing, being opened, incontinently ministered unto the church the instruments and tools of learning and knowledge; which were good books and authors, which before lay hid and unknown. The science of printing being found, immediately followed the grace of God; which stirred
up good wits aptly to conceive the light of knowledge and judgement: by which light darkness began to be espied, and ignorance to be detected; truth from error, religion from superstition. . ." The educated were then "able not only to discern in matters of judgement, but also were so armed and furnished with the help of good letters, that they did encounter with the adversary, sustaining the cause and defence of learning against barbarity; of verity against error; of true religion against superstition" (Acts 4: 252-3).

6. The typical interpretation. See, for example, Gifford Revelation 181; Fulke 61'; Bullinger Apocalipse 129'; Brightman 428; and the 1560 Geneva Bible gloss to Rev. 10:1.

7. Bale wrote that the angel of the sixth age "betoken[ed] these singular learned men, whom now [Christ] hath endued with most high knowledge. . . . Their faithful, sincere, and godly interpretations he willeth us to take, specially in books. . . (Works 375).

8. The "litle boke" is similarly described in the gloss to Rev. 10:2 in the 1560 Geneva Bible as "the Gospel of Christ, which Antichrist can not hide, seeing Christ bringeth it open in his hand." Cf. Gifford Revelation 182; Fulke 62'; and Bullinger Apocalipse 131'.

9. I am not making a source argument in connection with Bale, but the Sidney family may have had an interest in Bale's writings beyond their mutual devotion to the "Cause." A contemporary writer claimed that "all" of the large collection of "bokes of antiquite" that Bale was forced to leave behind when he fled Ireland during Queen Mary's reign were held by Sir Henry Sidney in Ireland. The claim is not currently verifiable, and Sir Henry, who is "known to have been a keen student of antiquities, . . . may have had the books for a time only" (McKisack 18-9).

Brightman, who dates the vision of Rev. 10 to about 1300, construes the angel's feet as referring to Christ's "members," with the left foot indicating that he draws some "out of the laity" and the right foot signifying that he would lead theologians such as Wyclif from "the Salt Sea of the Popish doctrine . . . to the waters of truth, that were more sweete and wholesome" (430).

10. See, for example, the glosses to the two chapters in the 1560 Geneva Bible.

11. Cf. Bullinger Apocalipse 216'.

12. Cf. Bullinger Apocalipse 137' and Pulke, who writes that chapter ten reveals "what comforte the Church shall have in so great afflictions, when as Christ is brought in as patrone and defendoure of the same. . . ." (61'). Pulke explains, helpfully to the modern reader, who is likely to be confused by this angel's sudden appearance, that it is "a farre other person from those former seven Aungells, which sounded the trumpetes" in the previous two chapters (61').

13. See Rodney Peterson on Renaissance interpretations of the two witnesses.


15. Luther was linked to the two witnesses, or "two prophets sent by God to expose Antichrist's identity," at least as early as 1523 (Scribner 21).
16. Mornay, because he did not write a Revelation commentary *per se*, does not discuss the "witnesses" as such. But among those singled out for praise by Mornay for decrying "the manifest Apostacie and falling away of the Popedome," though they lived in "the most ignorant ages," are St. Bernard and Petrarch. Later, "when the abomination was come to his full top, God raised up John Hus, Hierome of Prage, Wicklife, Luther, and others which have so loudly published & proclaimed it, that all the world doth understand it" (Treatise 287-91).

In a prefatory epistle to the 1570 edition of *Acts and Monuments*, Foxe catalogues "a learned multitude of sufficient witnesses," who demonstrate that "some remnant always remained from time to time, which not only showed secret good affection to sincere doctrine, but also stood in open defence of truth against the disordered church of Rome. Among the many individuals and groups he cites are the Waldenses, Dante, Petrarch, Mathew of Paris, Wicklif, Gower, Chaucer, the anchoress Matilda, Hus, Jerome of Prague, Pico della Mirandola, Valla, and Oldcastle. Again, he highlights the increase in witnesses around the time of Wicklif, exclaiming, "What a multitude here cometh of faithful witnesses in the time of John Wickliff..." (I. xxi-xxiii).

17. Cf. Fulke 83'. Bale explains that the beast who slays the witnesses signifies "...the cruel, crafty and cursed generation of antichrist, the pope with his bishops, prelates, priests, and religious in Europe, Mahomet with his doting dossers in Africa, and so forth in Asia and India..." (Works 392). This beast is glossed in the 1602 Geneva Bible as the Roman ecclesiastical empire, and especially Pope Boniface VIII.

18. George Gifford provides a nearly identical assessment of the bounds of the "citie" of this verse: "...looke how farre the power and dominion of Rome hath spread it self, looke how farre Antichrist the Pope hath exercised tyrannie over the churches in many great and large kingdoms, so farre goe the streetes of the great citie" (Revelation 204). Bullinger (Apocalipse 149') offers a similar exposition.

19. The 1560 Geneva Bible gloss to 11:3 reads: "By two witnesses he meaneth all the preachers that shulde buylde up Gods Church, alluding to Zorubbabel and Iehoshua which were chiefly appointed for this thing, and also to this saying. In the mouthe of two witnesses standeth everie worde." Cf. Bale *Works* 387; Bullinger 143'; Fulke 69'; and Gifford Revelation 191. The 1602 Geneva Bible gloss to Rev. 11:3 makes explicit the implied scriptural "evidence" for this interpretation: "...two, that is, of such a number as one of them may helpe another, and one conforme the testimonie of another unto all men, that from the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be made good amongst men, 2 Corint. 13.1."


21. Heinrich Bullinger, qtd. in Bauckham 306. See Bauckham 54-67 on the doctrine of the two churches, which comprised "a basic tenet of the Tudor Protestant apocalyptic outlook, frequently an underlying assumption even when not explicitly stated. ..." (54).

22. Cf. "There was no time then in all poperie, but some have preached the Gospel, and shewed boldly and plainly that the popish kingdome, is that bloudie kingdome of Antichrist, and their worship, even the worship of divel" (Gifford Revelation 192).


26. St. Augustine offers a similar rationale for biblical similitudes, "obscurities and ambiguities" in On Christian Doctrine 2.6. Many similar defences for allegory are cited in studies such as that of Treip and in Michael Murrin's The Veil of Allegory.


28. Commenting upon the worldview encapsulated in woodcuts designed for Lutheran popular propaganda, R. W. Scribner writes, "What was involved here was the acting out of a real-life eschatological and apocalyptic drama. For this reason, depictions of scenes from the Apocalypse were peopled with contemporary places and persons" (185).


30. From soon after the dawn of the Reformation, "... Protestant history became the handmaiden of Protestant theology and Protestant politics" (Thompson 1: 527). On the intimate association between apocalyptic thought and politics in Europe throughout the early modern period and their mutual influence upon one another, see Capp. The political dimension of apocalyptic beliefs is emphasized in most of the essays in the collection edited by Patrides and Wittreich.

31. To those who questioned Revelation's canonicity, Gifford responded: "...if there were none other thing to persuade us, touching the authoritie thereof this might suffice, that every thing hath fallen out from time to time, even as the prophecie did foreshew" (Revelation 434). Bullinger calls Revelation "exceedingly profitable to us all especially whom the ends of the world have overtaken"; comprehending the import of the book's prophecies had become "the easier... because that all thynges are now in a maner accomplished" (Apocalipse 6°).

32. See, for example, Margaret Dana's "Providential Plot" or Kenneth Myrick's assessment that the action of the New Arcadia illustrates "the Christian doctrine of... providence" (248). With the approach of the climactic trial scene in the Old Arcadia, that work's narrator increasingly insists that readers "view events from the perspective of controlling providence" (Roberts 56).

33. The Aeneid "is one other text which enjoys that special position, for it was treated like the Bible through a history of allegorical commentaries and through its presumed status as a prophetic text in its own right" (Quilligan 100). As is shown in my next chapter, the Aeneid is another crucial pretext for Sidney's epic.

34. See, for example, the advice reproduced in Sidney 289, 291-2. On the depth of Sidney's knowledge of and interest in history, see Worden 253-4.

35. See Chapter 4, below.

36. See Duncan-Jones Courtier 273-4.

Chapter 2

Sidney's *New Arcadia* as Epic and Apocalypse: An Overview

Chapters three, four, and five of this dissertation argue in detail that Sidney presents through the Asia Minor narratives of the *New Arcadia* and the opening episodes of Book 1 (which immediately follow the retrospective narratives of Book 2, in chronological sequence) an apocalyptic and allegorical history of the Christian Church. This chapter discusses genre-based arguments in support of my reading of the revised *Arcadia* as an apocalyptic allegory. This overview of Sidney's generic strategies in the work as a whole is intended to provide readers with a sense of the overall framework into which this church history would fit. An initial survey of Sidney's use of generic patterns typical of Protestant apocalyptic literature and a few examples of his use, especially in Book 3, of imagery deriving from Revelation will demonstrate that an apocalyptic history in Book 2 would not be at odds with thematic concerns in other portions of the revised *Arcadia*.

I state in advance that my reading of the revised *Arcadia* is not subject to absolute, laboratory testing. My purpose will be to present an internally coherent reading of the Asia Minor narratives that has not been considered in the past, that is consistent with the documented political and religious interests of Sidney and his close friends, and that is supported, as will be demonstrated briefly in this chapter and at length in later chapters, by patterns in the revision process through which the original *Arcadia* was converted into an epic.
The first point that readers of Sidney’s revised *Arcadia* must bear in mind is, according to C. S. Lewis, "that it is a heroic poesy; not Arcadian idyll, not even Arcadian romance, but Arcadian epic. To call it a pastoral romance is misleading" (335). John Danby voices a similar opinion, aligning Sidney’s work within the tradition of Renaissance Christian epic within which I will be considering it: "The *Arcadia* is Sidney’s Christian epic ‘under the name of a romance.’ As such it stands not with Montemayor, but with Tasso, Ariosto, Spenser, and (ultimately) Milton himself" (71). The revised *Arcadia*’s epic affiliation is also implied by the suggestion of Sidney’s contemporary, Gabriel Harvey: "If Homer be not at hand, . . . you may read his furious Iliads, & cunning Odysses in the brave adventures of Pyrocles and Musidorus" (qtd. in Bergvall 116).

In the course of his extensive revisions, Sidney, as many critics have recognized, transformed his earlier prose romance (the Old *Arcadia*) into an epic.¹ Margaret Dana has observed that in the Old *Arcadia* Sidney employed a narrative technique characteristic of Ariosto, that of "interrupting the action when the suspense is high, effecting his transition through a transparent claim that another character now demands his own share of attention." In revising the original *Arcadia*, Sidney removed "just those elements--the interruptive narrative and the conspicuous narrator--which Minturno and Tasso criticized in Ariosto" and paid particular attention to the frequent admonitions by Italian literary theorists that episodes should relate closely to the central plot of the poem as a whole. Sidney’s revisions, therefore, brought the *Arcadia* into "line with evolving Renaissance notions about how epic should be written" ("Sidney’s Two" 43; 92; 136).

It is important to begin this study by reviewing and confirming the *New Arcadia*’s status as an epic because "...it was conventional to read romantic epic as an allegorical form" (King *Spenser’s* 185). Both
classical and contemporary epics were interpreted allegorically by Renaissance readers, as recent studies such as that of Mindele Anne Treip have clearly documented. Of course, far before the Christian era, ancient exegetes had begun to interpret Homer's epics allegorically, extrapolating ethical and religious precepts from his works. Homer's epics, as well as the Aeneid, were then explicated allegorically according to Christian and Neoplatonic belief systems. Even very early efforts at such interpretations often involved more serious and sustained attempts than has generally been recognized to correlate stages of ethical or spiritual development, for example, with the specific sequence of events in the original text (Treip 6). Allegorical interpretations of classical epics by Fulgentius, Bernardis Silvestris, then Italian humanists like Boccaccio and Cristoforo Landino reinforced and intensified the ancient inclination to interpret works in the genre allegorically. Indeed, allegorical expositions of classical epics by early Renaissance humanists became progressively more elaborate, paving the way for the deliberately allegorical epics of Dante, Tasso, Spenser (Treip 6), and, I believe, Sidney.

C. S. Lewis recognized the "Homeric echoes" reverberating throughout the battle scenes in Book 3 (335), while Dana has observed that the siege of Cecropia and Amphialus' castle in this book "provides a focus for martial activity parallel to the siege of Troy in the Iliad" ("Sidney's Two" 148). Bergvall even views Sidney's use of the Iliad as a "sub-text" for Book 3 as the book's "master-trope." He notes the parallel between Amphialus and Paris established when the former abducts the princesses, resulting in the siege upon Cecropia's castle (116-7). The epic generic affiliation for which Sidney is striving is reinforced, too, through the names of the men slain during the civil war raised by Amphialus in Book 3, for most of the victims memorialized in these Iliad-like catalogues bear, as Josephine Roberts observes, classical names: Hippolytus, Aeschylus, Nisus, Agenor, Policrates, Sarpedon, and others (259).

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In a "summational classic of mixed genre," like *Paradise Lost*, Dante's *Commedia*, the *Fairie Queene*, and, I add, the *New Arcadia*, "generic allusions . . . tend to constellate closely in the exordium" (Fowler 89; King *Spenser's* 185). Alluding to former representatives of a genre or using a genre's conventions near the opening of a work helps "to provide bearings that fix the work's generic point of departure. . ." (Fowler 89). Kenneth Myrick believes that Strephon and Claius' heightened praise of "the divine Urania" in the new opening Sidney created for his revised work "is couched in just the mood of reverent adoration appropriate to the poet's prayer to his Muse," so that "it is not unlikely . . . that Sidney consciously intended the passage to have the content and emotional tone of the epic invocation. . . ." (116). The invocation, though, not only helps to establish Sidney's work as an epic but also aligns it within the divine poetry movement of his time. Urania had been transformed from the classical Muse of Astronomy to the Muse of Christian poetry, especially through Du Bartas' poem "Urania," which "gave unity and direction to the whole" divine poetry movement (Campbell 80). After the publication of Du Bartas' poem, Urania was "continually evoked . . . (in place of Clio or Calliope) by poets undertaking religious subjects" (Lewalski *Paradise Lost* 30). Du Bartas' poetry "supplies ample precedent for associating Urania with the reformation of existing forms in line with religious subject matter and purposes" (King *Spenser's* 186). Sidney himself displayed an interest in this author's work: his translation of Du Bartas' *La Sepmaine*, though it is now lost and was never published, was entered in the Stationers' Register in 1588, and Florio claimed in print to have seen it (Campbell *Divine* 84-5, 98).

Sidney also aligns the *New Arcadia* within the epic tradition from its outset by applying to his heroes similes derived from classical epics. For instance, as Victor Skretkowicz observes, the phrase describing Pyrocles' pose at his first appearance in the revised *Arcadia*, sitting on the severed mast of his wrecked ship "as on horseback," echoes a simile
from the *Odyssey* in which "Odysseus / sat astride one beam, like a man riding on horseback. . ." (509). Sidney refers to Ulysses three times in the *Defence* (33, 36, 37), as well as in a letter to his brother Robert (*Sidney* 285), and Kalendar refers within the *New Arcadia* to the banquets that usually precede retrospective narratives and other "long speeches" in Homer's poems (25), so the similarity of the two similes is unlikely to be coincidental. Moreover, in both the *Odyssey* and the *New Arcadia*, the heroes, when these similes appear, have just escaped the destruction of their vessels at sea by the manipulations of treacherous enemies. The ship upon which Pyrocles and Musidorus had been travelling is demolished in a fray that arises when the vessel's captain and some of its crew attempt to carry out the command of the princes' old enemy, Plexirtus, to kill them. Odysseus' raft, similarly, is smashed to bits by a storm stirred up by Poseidon to afflict Odysseus. Though the simile alluding to the *Odyssey* appears at the *New Arcadia*’s opening, however, the cause of the shipwreck, which allows one to establish further plot parallels to Homer's epic, is not explained until near the end of the retrospective narratives in book 2. In these tale Musidorus and then Pyrocles describe to Pamela and Philoclea their travels in Asia Minor prior to their arrival in Arcadia, and the princesses themselves provide the heroes with some additional information (learned through second-hand reports) on individuals the men had encountered during these journeys.

Although, paradoxically, the Asia Minor narratives have, since at least the eighteenth century, frequently been criticized as Sidney's most flagrant violation of the precepts for the construction of epic derived from classical models, especially of the demand for "unity of action," Sidney's effort to position the *New Arcadia* within the epic tradition is perhaps most evident in the broad overall outlines and function of this section of the work. The many "episodes" Sidney added to his work in revision, particularly within the Asia Minor narratives, would, according to Renaissance critical theory, "have been regarded as highly appropriate
to the grandeur and scope of epic" (Dana "Sidney's Two" 29). Moreover, the retrospective narrative of the hero's previous adventures is itself a device from classical epic. Sidney also follows Homeric precedent in including within his heroes' accounts of their previous travels tales composed in diverse literary genres, such as romance, comedy, and tragedy (Roberts 158-9).

Additionally, the accounts of their previous travels and other experiences by Aeneas, after Dido's banquet at Carthage, and by Odysseus, in Alcinoos' court, make possible the in medias res openings of the Aeneid and the Odyssey, and thereby permit what "medieval and Renaissance critics, following Aristotle and Horace," labelled the "'artifical' order, as opposed to the 'natural' or chronological one." Although it was important to other genres as well, particularly to tragedy, an "artificial" order in this sense had come to be considered a "hallmark of epic" and was praised by critics, including Sidney, in negative contrast to the "tedium and clumsiness of the ab ovo beginning..." (Dana "Sidney's Two" 34). The in medias res opening that Sidney added to the Arcadia in revision affords an early signal that he is aspiring to establish his recreated and reconceived work as an epic. Spenser adopts the same technique in his epic. His letter to Raleigh explains that his own poem follows the "Methode of a Poet historical," who "thrusteth into the middest, even where it most concerneth him, and there recoursing to the thinges forepaste, and divining of things to come, maketh a pleasing Analysis of all" (738). The "Poets historicall" whom he cites earlier in the letter--Homer, Virgil, Ariosto, and Tasso (737)--are, of course, the major authors of epics with whom he would have been familiar, so the in medias res opening is one generic signal that his own poem, like Sidney's, is to be recognized as an epic.

More specifically, the reminiscences of prior trials and successes by Odysseus and Aeneas are framed by accounts of shipwrecks, as are those of Sidney's heroes (Roberts 117, 129). Odysseus' retrospective narrative
is bordered by reports of two separate shipwrecks, so that events occurring between the two mishaps are set off structurally from the remaining action of the *Odyssey*. Sidney borrows this framing device, for the "royal navy" commanded by Pyrocles and Musidorus is demolished almost immediately following their departure from Thessalia, at the outset of the Asia Minor narratives (165-9), and Pyrocles concludes the account of their past adventures by describing how the ship furnished by Plexirtus, aboard which the princes had been travelling, was destroyed (273-6; Roberts 116-8). The action of the Asia Minor narratives is, therefore, set apart from that of the remainder of the *New Arcadia* not only chronologically but also by this structural design adapted from Homer’s epic.

In the *Aeneid*, too, the setting for the retrospective narrative in Books 2 and 3 is provided when the hero is shipwrecked in a foreign land (in Aeneas’ case, in Carthage). Aeneas’ tale of his past experiences concludes with his account of this shipwreck, so that Virgil, by borrowing Homer’s framing device signals his own work’s status as an epic. However, the retrospective narratives in the *Odyssey* and in the *New Arcadia* are framed by depictions of two separate shipwrecks, whereas in the *Aeneid* a single shipwreck both places the hero in the land where his narrative will be recited and provides its conclusion.

My fourth chapter, however, argues that Sidney imparts a new twist to this classical device by investing the vessels in his epic with the traditional Christian symbolism of the ship as a figure for the Church. Immediately following the first shipwreck, the princes are harassed by a series of tyrants in Asia Minor, events that I believe allude allegorically to the persecutions of the early Church under Roman emperors. The destruction of the vessel furnished by Plexirtus—the primary representative of Antichrist in the Asia Minor episodes—marks, I believe, the formal outset of the Reformation. This structural mechanism, therefore, establishes an implicit parallel between the Early Church and the Reformation, since each era as it is presented in the
allegorical history follows a shipwreck. Like many other Protestants, Sidney thus correlates the two periods. Such influential Protestants as John Bale and, especially, John Foxe parallel in elaborate detail "the primitive church and the period inaugurated by Wyclif," which came to be considered "the two great eras of persecution and martyrdom..." (Knott Discourses 47). Sidney’s conferring of additional significance to ships, already conventional to the epic as genre but not previously symbolically significant within such works, likely provides a good example as to how, as Rosalie Colie has observed, for Renaissance poets, the "invention" phase of literary composition, including "both 'finding' and 'making'... was largely generic," entailing "imitation of formal models" (17, 8). Ships perhaps originally introduced into the narrative for generic and structural reasons may, because of their additional Christian symbolic associations, have inspired the poet to invent new episodes to draw upon this latent meaning.

While I concur with Roberts’ conclusion that the individual episodes within the Asia Minor narratives "do not appear to be based upon" ones from the retrospective narrative of the Odyssey (129), Homer’s epic probably provides an even closer broad structural model for this section of the revised Arcadia than the Aeneid. At the center of Odysseus’ retrospective narrative and of the Odyssey as a whole, Homer’s hero journeys to the land of the dead, where Tiresias prophesies his future destiny. Encounters with this seer as well as with Odysseus’ mother and others renew the hero’s sense of identity and of purpose. The structural position of the prophecies and the advice received during this voyage reinforces their thematic centrality. The journey stands as the "culminating experience" of Ulysses’ retrospective narrative, reaffirming his commitment to his roles as a responsible king, husband, father, and son (Roberts 121-3). Aeneas’ journey to the underworld, culminating in Anchises’ prophesy of the great line of Roman leaders whose deeds his own labors will help to make possible serves a similar function in the Aeneid.
and its import is likewise highlighted by its position at that work’s midpoint. However, Aeneas’ journey to the underworld (in Book 6) is not recounted within his retrospective narrative (Books 2-3).

It is particularly appropriate that Sidney would imitate the structure of the Odyssey even more closely than that of the Aeneid in placing both the prophecy and the retrospective narrative at the center of his epic. Revelation, defined by Reformation Protestants as a prophetic church history, both provides the ground-plot for the retrospective Asia Minor narratives and, simultaneously, prophesies the heroes’ ultimate destinies, since, of course, Protestants believed that Revelation foretold the final fates of all humans. The position of these tales at the center of the revised Arcadia therefore underscores the centrality of Revelation to the heroic ideal that Sidney is redefining according to decidedly Protestant standards within his work.

Heliodorus’ Aethiopica, which Sidney twice mentions in the Defence (24, 27), reinforced through imitation the thematic importance of the Odyssey’s structural pattern and may have served as another model for the New Arcadia. The retrospective narrative in Heliodorus’ work closes with a prophetic dream in which Odysseus himself, appearing as a “dried up” old man, warns of impending perils (141-2). This divinatory dream appears “exactly at the midpoint of the Aethiopica,” which contains other direct allusions to the Odyssey (Roberts 139-40). This dream is, however, much less elaborate and fully developed than the prophecies imparted to Aeneas and Odysseus during their journeys to the underworld. Likewise, it lacks the crucial dynastic dimension, discussed later in this chapter, of the prophecies in the Aeneid and in their imitations within Renaissance epics. Another significant difference is that, whereas in the Aeneid and the Odyssey the central prophetic messages are communicated directly to the primary heroes, in the Aethiopian History Odysseus appears in the dream of Calasiris. The main heroes, Theagenes and Carclia, therefore, do not themselves witness Ulysses’ appearance, although it may well save their
lives, in that the vision startles and awakens Calasiris, reminding him of the need to hasten to escape pirate enemies. While Odysseus rebukes Calasiris for not praying or offering sacrifices to him, the passage lacks the scope, the concern with issues of ultimate destiny, and the broad vision of the futurity of entire peoples characteristic of the corresponding prophecies in the classical epics. Neither does the dream seem to confer upon Calasiris a profound, new spiritual or moral wisdom, as the prophecies in the Aeneid and the Odyssey were often considered to bequeath to their central heroes.

Yet, like Heliodorus, Sidney in his retrospective narrative replaces the monsters and angry gods who had troubled Odysseus with evil humans (Roberts 141), although many of the most vicious enemies of Sidney's heroes are presented as "members of Antichrist."

While Heliodorus' work is generally labelled a romance, it is, according to Roberts, the only Greek romance "to be based on the Odyssey, with its combination of heroic and love interests" (149). Significantly, the Aethiopica, which has been recognized as one of the New Arcadia's "sources" since the sixteenth century, was viewed during the period as standing apart from most other ancient romances not only because of its artistry, its allusions to the Odyssey, and Heliodorus' use of that work as a model, but also as a result of its more serious ethical concerns. Thomas Underdowne, in the Preface "To the Gentle Reader" in his translation of the Aethiopian History, also sets the work apart from typical romance fare. He opines that anyone who compares Heliodorus' book "with other of like argument" will conclude, "...none commeth neere it" (4). In praising the heroic code advanced in the Aethiopian History and the administration of justice within it, Underdowne places a number of other very popular romances in negative contrast: "Mort Darthur, Arthur of little Britaine, yea, and Amadis of Gaule, etc. accompt violente murder, or murder for no cause, manhood: and fornication and all unlawfull luste, friendly love. This booke punisheth the faultes of evill
doers, and rewardeth the well livers" (4).

Particularly in the most popular Elizabethan translation, that of Underdowne, a number of the Aethiopica's descriptions of the state of religious affairs in Egypt are suggestive of key doctrines and crucial turning points in Christianity. The climactic trial scene—the most important recognized "source" for the final trial scene in the Old Arcadia—results in the permanent cessation of a variety of ritualistic sacrifices (human) as a part of Egyptian religious observances (288-9). Sismithres, whose interpretation of "divine miracles" during and preceding the trial reveals this change in religious ritual to be the will of the gods, laments elsewhere, "I would to God that wee might also disallow and foredo all the other sacrifices, whiche are made with slaughter, in as much as in our opinion that sufficeth which is done with prayers and other sweet savours" (266). Sismithres' opinions in both passages, but particularly in the latter, which bears the marginal gloss, "What sacrifice the Gods like best," suggest the analogous shift in the Judeo-Christian tradition from physical sacrifices performed by the priesthood under the Law to an increasing emphasis upon the "upright heart and pure" that, according to Milton, was the preferred temple of the Holy Spirit (Paradise Lost 1.18-9).

It is crucial that the Calsiris/Thyamis/Petosiris subplot from Heliodorus' Aethiopica, which Sidney imitates in the Paphlagonia/Leonatus/Plexirtus subplot in the New Arcadia, centers upon a struggle for control over the Aegyptian priesthood. Sidney's subplot is not overtly concerned with the priesthood, but he could expect that readers familiar enough with Heliodorus' popular work to recognize that he was imitating it would also recall the religious issues at stake in the subplot he chose to rework. Sidney's decision to establish these parallels, therefore, provides additional support for my argument in Chapter 3 that Plexirtus' usurpation of his father's kingdom marks allegorically the usurpation of control by the Roman Bishops of the
visible church. During the period of the Aethiopica's present action (until Book 7), Thyamis and his men are attempting to regain control of the office of priesthood in the temple of Isis at Memphis, which his younger brother, Petosiris, has "unjustly" usurped from him, using lies and false accusations (168; 176). Ultimately, Thyamis is restored to his rightful office by his father, Calisiris, who once held the office himself (183). The two sides in this contention for the supervision of Isis' church are presented in terms that sixteenth-century readers would likely have viewed as loosely analogous to the ongoing conflicts between the papacy and its adherents, on the one side, and Protestants and those members of the Church Invisible who had remained true to the doctrine of the Gospel during the period of papal domination prior to the Reformation, on the other. The subtle "craft" and lies through which Petosiris beguiles Thyamis of the priesthood are close enough to practices of which Protestants endlessly accused the papacy that the resemblances would not have remained unnoticed.

Moreover, the general state of religious affairs in Aegypt, as it is described by Calisiris early in Heliodorus' work, would have prepared Renaissance Protestant readers to consider parallels to contemporary conflicts between the Roman Church (as it was derided in Protestant polemical literature) and reformed churches. Calisiris explains that religion in Egypt is of two varieties: "... one kinde common, and ... creeping on the grounde, ... ministreth signes, and is occupied about dead bodies, using hearbes, and is addicted to inchauntmentes, neyther tending it selfe, nor bringing such as use it, to anie good end"; indeed, it "is ofte deceived by the owne practises, sometimes shewing terrible and vile tokens, that is to say, visions of such thinges as are not, as though they were. ..." This religion is "a deviser of mischiefes, and, a minister of all fowle and unlawfull pleasures" (92). This characterization offers ready analogues to Protestant portrayals of the Roman Church as one centered upon external ritual and ceremony and upheld
by deception. The lascivious practices that, according to Protestants, abounded among monks, nuns, and priests unable or unwilling to uphold their celibacy vows correspond to the "unlawfull pleasures" ministered by the "worldly" form of Egyptian religion, while the deceptive visions conjured by corrupt priests might readily recall—to readers accustomed to syncretic art in which classical and other mythology was used to suggest issues relating to Christianity—the "...monkish miracles and gross fables, wherewith," according to John Foxe and others, "abbey-monks were wont in times past to deceive the church of God, and to beguile the whole world for their own advantage" (Acts 1:258-9). The other variety of religion among the Egyptians would naturally have been viewed by Protestants as the more appropriate analogue to their own, for it is described as "the true wisedome, and from whence the other counterfet hath degenerated." This religion "is conversante with heavenly things, liveth with the Goddes, and is partaker of better nature, ... and counting it a vauntage to knowe things to come, farre removed from these earthly evills, and directeth all thinges, to the honestie, and commoditie of men" (92). Repeated claims by Protestants that their worship and doctrine were based firmly upon those of the Primitive and Apostolic Church, while the visible church had been corrupted under papal domination (as the corrupt Egyptian religion is said to have degenerated from the pure one), would have made these analogies seem particularly compelling, though, needless to say, even the "true" Egyptian religion would have been viewed as False.

Thus, even one of the New Arcadia’s central "romance" models had clear epic pretensions and readily discernible moral doctrine, though Sidney was, at any rate, extraordinarily capable of imparting dramatically new significances to passages he imitated from more conventional romances. Moreover, in the Defence Sidney accords the broad generic label, "heroical poem," to works, including that of Heliodorus, that would not meet the most stringent criteria for epic classification that had been derived from the works of Homer and Virgil. In his assessment, the Aethiopica, in
which two lovers replace the single hero of classical epic, is, like Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, which covers the king's career as a whole rather than a single action, "an absolute heroical poem," though in prose (Defence 27; Roberts 5).

While the *Odyssey* may provide a closer structural model than the *Aeneid* for the Asia Minor narratives, Sidney's work is closer in overall spirit to Virgil's than to either of Homer's epics. In the *Defence*, Sidney praises the *Aeneid* more profusely than any other heroic poem. His admiration for the heroic ideal advanced in the *Aeneid* is evident when he asks rhetorically whether Nature ever "brought forth . . . so excellent a man every way as Virgil's Aeneas" (24). The *Defence* cites numerous instances of Aeneas' exemplary behavior, closing with the comprehensive recommendation that readers engrave within their memories "how he governeth himself . . . in his inward self, and how in his outward government. . . ." (47). All and all, Aeneas' image, "worn in the tablet of . . . memory," "inflameth the mind with desire to be worthy, and informs with counsel how to be worthy" (47). J. C. Scaliger, whose poetic theory Sidney draws upon in the *Defence*, had, like many other Renaissance critics, advanced the *Aeneid* as a model for imitation by poets in his own time, labelling Virgil in his *Poetics Libri Septem* (1561) "the greatest of poets" (Roberts 134-5). Sidney specifically refers to Scaliger's belief "that no philosopher's precepts can sooner make you an honest man than the reading of Virgil. . . ." (Defence 74).

It is particularly appropriate that the most sustained allegorical stretches of the *New Arcadia* appear within the retrospective narratives of the Asia Minor travels. Of course, journeys in Renaissance literature and art were frequently allegorized to suggest the movement of a given hero toward self-knowledge and greater spiritual and moral awareness. More particularly, the voyages recounted by Odysseus and Aeneas had been interpreted allegorically from classical to Renaissance times. Christian commentators on the *Aeneid* from Fulgentius in the sixth century, onward,

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devoted a major share of their interpretive energies upon Book 6, in which Aeneas travels to Elysium, to visit the shade of his father, Anchises, who there instructs and prophesies to him (Fichter 17-8). Bernardis Silvesteris, for instance, writing in the twelfth century, felt compelled to comment upon nearly every line in the book, owing to the richness of the philosophical content he discovered within it (Stahel 9-10).

At the heart of Book 6, in one of the passages most influential among Renaissance poets, Anchises displays to his son a procession of Aeneas' descendents, including the founders of Rome. Sidney, we shall see, imitates via the Asia Minor narratives the gist or underlying res of this passage, by creating within his work, as Virgil had within the Aeneid, a seemingly prophetic but in fact retrospective history of the ascent of a carefully defined group of people, the forerunners, founders, and upholders of the Roman empire in the Aeneid and the founders and preservers of the True Christian Church in the New Arcadia. Both histories attempt simultaneously to define and shape the group's essential character and identity, at least in part through exempla illustrating how past trials have been successfully overcome. Sidney, though, reworks the passage in a fashion that effectively allows him to outdo Virgil by highlighting the superiority of Christian doctrine over that espoused by Anchises. Sidney's reworking of this section of the Aeneid, therefore, is not as close in spirit to those medieval and humanist commentators who deemphasized distinctions between Christian and pagan belief systems as to Augustine and the Renaissance epic poets like Ariosto, Tasso, and Spenser, who, while greatly admiring Virgil's epic, were also quick to remind their readers of the limitations of his "pagan" religious beliefs and of "the difference between Virgil's world and the world under the dispensation of grace."

Aeneas' journey to the underworld, during which Anchises teaches him his "destiny" (6.759), stands at the center of Virgil's epic, as the Asia Minor narratives occupy the center of the 1590 Arcadia. Aeneas is
initially prompted to his journey by Anchises, who, appearing to his son in a vision, tells him that in Elysium he will "learn of all thy race, and what city is given thee" (5.737-8). Once Aeneas arrives in the netherworld, Anchises strengthens his sense of epic mission and historic destiny by showing him "...what glory shall hereafter attend the Dardan line, what children of Italian stock await thee, souls illustrious and heirs of our name..." (6.756-8). The theory that Sidney presents through the Asia Minor narratives an apocalyptic and allegorical history of the Christian church allows us to view this section of the New Arcadia as a structural and thematic imitation—and an overgoing—of the "prophetic" pageant of Roman worthies in the Aeneid. Sidney imitates the display of Aeneas' descendents through his Asia Minor narratives both by placing them at the center of his revised work and by making the history they recount a prophetic one. Sidney's heroes encounter and represent at various stages in their journey not the heirs of the Dardan name but the heirs—as well as the enemies—of Christ's name. The Asia Minor history is, I will argue, modelled upon Revelation, as it was interpreted by Protestants of Sidney's era, who defined the book first and foremost as a history of the Christian Church. From the perspective of Sidney's contemporaries, the city promised to Christians in Revelation, the New Jerusalem, would obviously far surpass the earthly city of Rome promised to Aeneas' descendents. The contrast and the irony are further heightened when one recalls that sixteenth-century Protestants viewed Rome, seat of the papacy, as the "synagogue of Antichrist." The "glory" awaiting Aeneas' posterity in Rome dims in comparison with that awaiting the inhabitants of the New Jerusalem, again allowing Sidney to suggest the vast superiority of the hopes and promises offered by Christian theology to those available through classical philosophies and religions.

My theory of the Asia Minor narrative allows us to see that Sidney is working within the tradition of dynastic epic traced and defined by Andrew Fichter. Prior to the time Sidney composed the New Arcadia,
Ariosto, in canto 3 of Orlando Furioso, and Tasso, in canto 17 of Gerusalemme Liberata, had imitated the genealogical procession of heroes from Book 6 of the Aeneid, a passage later imitated in Book 3 of the Faerie Queene. The church-history theory of the Asia Minor narratives would, therefore, provide another indication that Sidney was attempting to align his work within the epic tradition. The theme shared by the dynastic epics Fichter studies is "...the rise of imperium, the noble house, race, or nation to which the poet professes allegiance" (1). Because, as I will be arguing, the allegorical history figured by the Asia Minor narratives extends from the primitive church to the outset of the Reformation, with a focus upon the continuity of a true "church invisible" throughout the period, the "imperium" Sidney memorializes, and the one to which, from the perspective afforded by the dynastic tradition, he may be seen as professing his allegiance, is more universal--and less influenced by a desire to please any earthly benefactor or patron--than the corresponding imitations by Ariosto, Tasso, and Spenser. While all of these writers were, of course, deeply Christian, their imitations of Book 6 of the Aeneid trace the lineages of human patrons rather than the historical destiny of the True Church on Earth. Indeed, the "prophetic" history of the church that I believe Sidney presents allegorically within the Asia Minor narratives is closer in spirit and in its aim for universality to the prophetic history divulged by the Archangel Michael to Adam in the final two books of Paradise Lost than to the divinations in classical epic that Sidney transformed in imitation. The "principal model" for Milton's history, too, is Revelation (Lewalski Paradise Lost 255).

Dynastic poets typically looked back in their epics to past historical eras that could serve as analogical models for their own times, often fixing their attention upon pivotal historical periods, major cultural transitions, and paradigms for mythic renovatio (Fichter 4). Ariosto, for instance, discovers in the Carolingian era "an instance of
imperial renovatio that can serve as a prefiguration, if not of his contemporary world, of the ideal toward which he urges his world" (Fichter 4-5). Both the start and the conclusion of the history appearing within the Asia Minor narratives (corresponding, respectively, to the foundation of the Christian Church and the dawn of the Reformation) obviously constitute crucial moments in church history. The analogical model and ideal toward which Sidney, according to my theory, would be directing his readers via the Asia Minor narratives would be one popular among zealous Reformers: the Primitive Church. Also presented as exemplary are the bravery and perseverance of a "small flock" of true believers who maintain faith and preserve pure doctrine after the visible church has been corrupted by the papacy.

In Book 5 of the Aeneid and its Renaissance imitations, the epic heroes and heroines are urged to make possible through their own actions the future potential of their genealogical lines or to imitate the virtues their ancestors exemplified. Rinaldo, the hero of Tasso’s epic, is asked to behold in the paintings upon a shield shown to him by a hermit, "... The glorious deeds of thy forefathers old; Thine elders' glory herein see and know, In virtue's path how they trod all their days, Whom thou are far behind, a runner slow..." (17.64-5). The tale of his ancestor's virtuous actions is intended to "incite" Rinaldo to proceed in the exemplary pattern they have established. Since the "prophecies" in these dynastic epics were most frequently, in fact, past history (from the perspectives of the poet and his contemporaries), their most important rhetorical function would be to persuade the poet's living audience (especially, in most cases, the poet's patron, represented as the heir to the genealogical line) to foster the exemplary behavioral patterns that had ensured the group's success in the period selected as the analogical model.

Sidney's church history could, therefore, remind not only his heroes but also Protestants of his own time of the dangers risked and the lives
lost by those who had defended the true religion from the forces of Antichrist both within and without the visible church. The lessons would be particularly pertinent to "the Princes of Christendom," who, according to Sidney, needed "to wake up from their deep sleep" to defend the Protestant Cause (Correspondence 54). Because the forces of Antichristian characters such as Plexirtus and Artaxia remain powerful even after the princes' departure from Asia Minor and the ensuing allegorical beginnings of the Reformation, those who failed to heed the lessons supplied by church history risked a reversal of the gains made by those early Reformers who had freed a portion of the visible church from the "tyranny of Antichrist." Only by patterning themselves according to the doctrine of the Word and the model of the Apostolic Church could Protestant churches assure the success of their "Cause," for the same spiritual weapons guaranteed the ultimate victories of both the Early Church and Protestant churches of the sixteenth century. Sidney's close friend, Philippe Du Plessis Mornay stressed this continuity of faith and doctrine: "Our Church was that Primitive Apostolike Church inspired with the holie Ghost, grounded upon the word of God, which hath left unto us the Canon of the holie Scriptures the rule of our faith and life, the Symboll of the Apostles the badge of our Christian warfare" (Mysterie A27).

The Aeneid serves as an appropriate model for imitation—and overgoing—by Sidney's Protestant epic, for reasons other than those relating to its dynastic prophecies. Sidney specifically highlights Aeneas' religious dedication and responsibility in explaining why the image of this worthy should be "worn in the tablet of ... memory": one should recollect "how he governeth himself in ... carrying away his religious ceremonies; in obeying God's commandment to leave Dido...." (47). This aspect of the pious Aeneas' heroism is, of course, underscored within the text of the Aeneid itself. The need to preserve the Trojan gods from destruction and to establish a new center for their worship is essential to Aeneas' heroic mission and responsibility, as it had been
assigned to him, for example, by Hector: "Troy commits to thee her holy things and household gods; . . . seek for them the city . . . thou shalt at last establish!" (2.293-5). Aeneas himself views this objective as central to his overall sense of identity. When, upon his landing on the Libyan coast, Venus, who has assumed the form of an unknown maiden, asks the hero who he is, he immediately follows his name and epithet, "pius Aeneas," with the information that he harbors aboard his ships the rescued Trojan household gods (4.378-9). Tasso, too, in listing the virtues for which the heroes of various epics are noteworthy, writes: "In Aeneas we find the utmost of piety. . . ." (Discourses 44). Aeneas' receives reminders of his ultimate destiny and the importance of his mission at each stage along his journey, which is even more resolute and purposeful than that of Odysseus (Roberts 131). Aeneas' steadfast perseverance in preparing for the founding of the city promised to his people makes him an ideal model for Sidney's heroes, who, I believe, are educated in the New Arcadia to act in accordance with the doctrines and prophecies of Revelation, so that they may ultimately win the city promised in that book.

Margaret Dana has observed that the "sense of compelling futurity" imparted to the Aeneid by Aeneas' destined role in the "great pattern culminating in the Rome of Augustus" is absent from Homer's epics "and may be Virgil's great contribution to the epic form." This "sense of providential design working through history" is fundamental to the basic plots of the Renaissance epics of Tasso and Milton ("Sidney's Two" 46) and to the apocalyptic allegory for which I argue in Sidney's epic as well. I, therefore, concur with Nancy Lindheim's suggestion that "Sidney probably revised the Arcadia to accord with his reading of the Aeneid" (127), although I consider religion much more intrinsic to Sidney's reading of the Aeneid and to his own epic than she does.

My argument that the Asia Minor narratives constitute a prophetic
sequence deliberately situated, according to epic convention, at the core of the New Arcadia is open to the obvious objection that the text has generally been considered incomplete, though it is beyond debate that these retrospective narratives are located at the structural center of the 1590 Arcadia. I believe, however, that the 1590 Arcadia is essentially complete. Although space limitations do not allow for a full presentation of my argument at the present time, I will now outline the case for such a position, limiting myself, as much as possible, to the closing section of the text, in which Pyrocles slays Zoilus and Lycurgus and battles Anaxius, and to a broad overview of generic shifts within Book 3.

The sole, now lost, manuscript of the revised Arcadia was, according to Fulke Greville, entrusted by Sidney to Greville, together with "a direction sett down under his own hand how and why it was to be further amended." (Ringler believes that Sidney probably left the manuscript with Greville in 1585, when he departed for the Netherlands.) One transcript of this lost manuscript now survives (Cambridge University MS. kk. I. 5) (Ringler Poems 370). The "inscription of the Cambridge manuscript reads '1584'" (two years prior to Sidney's death), and there is no concrete evidence of any further work on the portions of the 1590 text included within this manuscript after the manuscript was completed (Skretkowicz xiv; xvii). Only the concluding three thousand words or so of the 1590 edition, which was overseen by Greville, Sidney's closest friend, extend it beyond the 1584 manuscript. The Cambridge manuscript was "badly copied" from Sidney's foul papers, which also served, with the one short additional segment and in "heavily edited form," as the "printer's copy" for the 1590 edition (Skretkowicz lviii, lxxix).

The most striking evidence that may be cited briefly at the present time for the claim that the New Arcadia is probably finished is the crucial observation, only recorded for publication within the past quarter century, that the final two battles in the 1590 Arcadia (which breaks off
in the midst of these battles) imitate passages from the famous, climactic conflicts that conclude the *Aeneid* and *Orlando Furioso*. Pyrocles' slaying of Lycurgus (462) imitates Aeneas' killing of Turnus. Additionally, Thomas Roche, in what he admits is the "most tenuously provable point" in his article on the conclusion to the 1590 *Arcadia*, argues that the incomplete sentence with which the book terminates "is really an imitation of the ending of Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*, which is itself an imitation of the ending of Virgil's *Aeneid*" (10). Some may remain unconvinced by Roche's involved argument, which turns upon attempted stabs in the loins in Ariosto and Sidney's epics (though Sidney uses only the word "side").

A much more specific allusion to the climactic battle in *Orlando Furioso* does appear, however, within the 1590 *Arcadia*'s final battle, one that does not seem to have been noted in the past. Just before he is slain by Ruggiero, who holds him down with a knife to his throat, "the cruel Pagan," Rodomont, vainly strives to escape. An epic simile compares the villain's condition to that of "a Mastive fell whom Grewnd more fell / Hath tyrde and in his throate now fastned hath / His cruel fangs yet doth in vaine rebell. . . (46.121). One of the "models" to which Sidney suggests the final "combat" between Pyrocles and Anaxius should be compared alludes to Ariosto's simile: "The Irish greyhound against the English mastiff. . ." (464, p593). The gloss to the passage from *Orlando Furioso* by Sir John Harington, who translated the poem less than a decade after Sidney's death, applauds Ariosto's comparison as "verie apt . . ., for a greyhound will overcome a mastive in continuance of fight as hath bene tride." Pyrocles must, therefore, be the metaphoric "greyhound" in Sidney's text, since, as Skretkowicz demonstrates, "there is no doubt of the outcome" in the *New Arcadia*'s final battle: Pyrocles will be triumphant (xxxviii).

The high density of allusions to classical epic in the final battles of the 1590 *Arcadia* is also evident in that Pyrocles' opponents are associated not only, as has already been mentioned, with Turnus, the
antagonist of the *Aeneid*, but also with Achilles, the Homeric hero who served as a model for Virgil’s *Turnus*. In his climactic battle with Pyrocles, Anaxius carries "a huge shield—such, perchance, as Achilles showed to the pale walls of Troy—wherewithal that body was covered" (464, p593-4). Aside from the overt allusion to Achilles, Sidney also, as in the final clause of the passage just quoted, creates constant reminders that Anaxius, like Achilles, relies first and foremost upon his huge bodily strength, "being one of the greatest men of stature then living." (463). In a summary assessment quite suggestive of the symbolic dimension of this final combat, Sidney writes that the pitting of Anaxius against Pyrocles displays "strength against nimbleness, rage against resolution, fury against virtue, . . . pride against nobleness. . . ." (463, p593). Once again, Anaxius’ primary character traits—strength, rage, fury, and pride—are those which govern Achilles’ behavior. Virgil’s explicit association of his hero’s primary *antagonist*, Turnus, with Achilles, the central hero of Homer’s *Iliad*, was one means by which he advanced within his own poem "a critique of the Homeric heroic ideal" (Lewalski *Paradise Lost* 20). Turnus is specifically labelled "another Achilles" by the Sibyl who prophesies Aeneas’ future just before his descent to Avernus (6.89-90). As the "only ‘Homeric’ hero in the" *Aeneid*, Turnus was "well known as representing the old ideal face to face with the new (Aeneas)" (Curtius 173). Like Anaxius, Turnus shares the Greek hero’s reliance upon physical strength, his brutality, and his overweening pride and wrath (Roberts 133).

The contrasts between Aeneas and Turnus are most clearly focused in the famous battle between the two with which the *Aeneid* concludes and which Sidney imitates in the battle between Pyrocles and Lycurgus (Roberts 133). As with the *Aeneid*’s last clash, the contrasting characters of the opponents in the *New Arcadia*’s final contest are specifically highlighted, as will already have become apparent from the "fury against virtue" passage quoted earlier. It is, therefore, likely that Sidney, like
Virgil, was engaged in the epic project of defining a new heroic ideal, in part through allusions to the heroes of previous epics. Discussion of the redefined heroic ideal that emerges through the captivity episode is beyond the scope of this study; however, a number of critics have commented already that an almost Miltonic new standard of heroism is developed. The aggregation of references to classical epics in the battles that close the 1590 Arcadia provides another piece of evidence in support of my argument that the work is likely complete.

I believe, therefore, that Roche is essentially correct in stating "that Sidney is really following the history of the epic in these final episodes and that in the deaths of Zoilus, Lycurgus, and Anaxius he is tracing his own work on the grid of the epic poets he would have known: Homer, Virgil, and Ariosto. . ." ("Ending" 11). Roche incorporates Homer within this scheme on the basis that the name Zoilus (that of the first of the three brothers with whom Pyrocles contends in the concluding section) "was from the time of Cooper's Thesaurus of 1565 identified with the most severe critic of Homer" (9), a claim that some may find problematic. Alternatively, Pyrocles heel-to-heel pursuit of Zoilus as the latter runs toward his two brothers for succour might allude to Achilles' pursuit of Hector, during their final encounter in the Iliad, as he runs toward the walls of Troy in the vain hope that he will be assisted by those within the city, including those of his brothers who still survive (438-40). Admittedly, this suggestion is at least as tenuous as that of Roche; however, we have already seen that Anaxius is explicitly linked to Achilles during his final battle with Pyrocles. Even if, therefore, allusions to or imitations of Homer, Virgil, and Ariosto do not appear in the neat progression Roche posits--in Pyrocles' battles against Zoilus, Lycurgus, and Anaxius, respectively (11)--a suggestion that is, indeed, attractive, they are unquestionably concentrated within the final two battles, at least, of the 1590 Arcadia.

Consequently, I endorse Roche's conclusion that Sidney, through the
allusions in these battles is "making a major critical statement. . . ."

I do not agree, however, that the incomplete sentence with which the book concludes constitutes Sidney's "admission . . . that he did not know where to take this epic venture beyond the killings" or "that he is telling us that he cannot overgo Ariosto, cannot complete the epic quest and that he is giving up almost at the demise of Anaxius, the unworthy [the signification of the Greek word], which becomes his signature of incompletion. . . ." (11-2). Poets undertaking literary epics are not prone to this much modesty, even when, as is usually true of Christian writers and is undoubtedly the case with Sidney, they are theoretically endorsing the virtue of humility within their works.

I will now briefly indicate an alternative hypothesis to that of Roche as to why Sidney may have stopped writing with the half-sentence that concludes the 1590 edition. I believe that the apocalyptic interests that I will be arguing are central to the Asia Minor narratives extend into Book 3, which assumes the form of a recognized Protestant kind, an apocalyptic drama in which the ending is deliberately omitted in the expectation that Christ will soon provide the catastrophe to all action with the Second Coming.

Christian exegetes denominated the Book of Revelation a tragedy in which the Church acted the role of "tragic protagonist enduring painful agony and suffering throughout the entire scope of the 'play'" of history (Lewalski "Samson" 1054). Yet, Christian tragedy, often modeled upon Revelation, also keeps in view the expected "final reversal of fortunes at the Last Judgement, termed by Tertullian the apocalyptic catastrophe of the universal providential drama." Only then will "the long series of particular tragedies comprising that history . . . be experienced as episodes in a divine comedy" (Lewalski Paradise Lost 222-3). To highlight this point, a number of Protestant tragedies ended abruptly after the fourth act, indicating that the fifth and truly final act would be furnished by Christ in the ultimate "catastrophe in which the damned will
be punished and the elect victorious" (Lewalski *Paradise Lost* 223). Playwrights working within this tradition did not expect that their audiences would be kept waiting long before this last act would arrive, as John Foxe suggests in explaining the rationale for his own use of this strategy in his play *Christus Triumphans*: "...it seems that all the parts of the play have been acted out and that the scene of this world is rushing to that final 'Farewell, and applaud.' Thus, with the catastrophe of everything imminent and the prophecies completely fulfilled, nothing seems to remain except that apocalyptic voice soon to be heard from heaven, 'It is finished' " (Two Latin 207).

I propose that Book 3 of the *New Arcadia* constitutes an apocalyptic drama of this variety, sharing both the theoretic concerns of the form outlined above and its deliberate omission of a conclusion. Since "much Renaissance critical theory supports the notion of epic as a heterocosm or compendium of subjects, forms, and styles" (Lewalski *Paradise Lost* 4), a "drama" of this sort could be encompassed within a work classified more broadly as an epic. The apocalyptic stakes of the battle in progress when the book breaks off are strongly suggested by a long epic simile through which the dualistic combat between Pyrocles and Anaxius is extended to intimate nearly universal antagonisms: ". . .like two contrary tides, either of which are able to carry worlds of ships and men upon them with such swiftness as nothing seems able to withstand them, yet, meeting one another with mingling their watery forces and struggling together, it is long to say whether stream gets the victory, so" the struggle between Pyrocles and Anaxius (464, p593) continues long, as does that between Christian and Antichristian forces on Earth, another contest that is often difficult to judge, at least from a human and, thus, limited perspective. This simile provides yet another signature of closure, since it imitates ones describing the final battles in the *Aeneid*: ". . .as when in swift descent from mountain-heights foaming rivers roar and race seaward, each leaving its own path waste: with no less fury the twain, Aeneas and
Turnus, sweep through the battle. . ." (12.522-6). Also, Turnus rushes through the city "...as when a rock from mountain-top rushes headlong, torn away by the blast... down the steep with mighty rush sweeps the reckless mass, and bounds over the earth, rolling with it trees, herds and men. . .." (12.684-9).

The symbolic import of the battle in the midst of which the 1590 Arcadia closes is also suggested by the narrator's comment that Pyrocles and Anaxius "honour solitariness there with such a combat as might have demanded as a right of fortune, whole armies of beholders" (463). This combat is, in fact, observed by no human other than the two contenders themselves, just as the struggle between the forces of Christ and Antichrist are often beyond the purview of the world--indeed often assume the form of internal struggles, within individuals. Such a point would be important to a Christian artist aiming to redefine the heroic ideal advanced within the "epic of wrath and strife" (to borrow Lewalski's label) (Paradise Lost 56-62).

Since it was generally assumed that contention between the forces of Christ and Antichrist would endure until the End, it is fitting that the combat between Pyrocles and Anaxius continues so long that "breathless indeed they grew before either could complain of any loss of blood" (464). The length and tediousness of the conflict continues to be highlighted through the final paragraph of the 1590 Arcadia: "Thus spent they a great time striving to do, and with striving to do wearying themselves more than in the very doing" (465). The two are at one point forced to take a brief "breathing-time of truce," after which "...they renewed again their combat, far more terribly than before--like nimble vaulters, who at the first and second leap do but stir and as it were awake the fiery and aery parts, which after, in the other leaps, they do with more excellency exercise. . ." (464-5, p594-5). This metaphoric quickening of the opponents' "fiery and aery parts"--as opposed to the more "material" and "earthly" elements of their bodily natures--suggests the spiritual nature
of the combat between Christian and Antichristian forces symbolized by their battle. Of course, previous conflicts between Pyrocles and Anaxius have included a spiritual dimension as well; however, given the apocalyptic thematic strains in the New Arcadia detailed throughout this dissertation, together with the signals of closure indicated by Sidney's allusions to the endings of previous epics, a reminder of the spiritual (as well as the physical) character of this final conflict just at this point does seem especially appropriate.

The spiritual dimension of the combat and the Antichristian and Christian sidings of the two opponents are also suggested by their reported thoughts and words during the final battle. Initially, Anaxius is primarily baffled and confounded that a woman (actually Pyrocles, disguised as Zelmane) can have slain his brothers, so that "in his heart he blasphemed heaven that it could have such a power over him, no less ashamed of the victory he should have of her than of his brothers' overthrow, and no more spited that it was yet unrevenged than that the revenge should be no greater than a woman's destruction" (463, p592). He persists in blasphemy until the end. Having failed to achieve the easy victory over Zelmane he initially expects, Anaxius, in his final lines, wonders aloud "...what spiteful god it should be, who envying my glory hath brought me to such a wayward case that neither thy death can be a revenge, nor thy overthrow a victory" (464-5, p594). Anaxius' elemental pride and rebellion against the heavens are confounded by a paradoxical power beyond his comprehension.

By contrast, Pyrocles restrains what must have been a strong desire—since the two have a heated, long-standing rivalry—to reveal his true identity to Anaxius before conquering him, as a means of bolstering his own ego and enhancing his revenge upon a chief enemy. Pyrocles' final lines, the last spoken in the New Arcadia, evoke instead a new subtext, for they echo Scripture, rather than classical epic. Pyrocles responds to Anaxius' just-quoted query by attributing the battles' outcome to
Providence, not his own strength: "Thou doost well indeed . . . to impute thy case to the heavenly providence--which will have thy pride find itself, even in that whereof thou are most proud, punished by the weak sex, which thou most contemnest" (465, p594). The lines allude almost certainly to St. Paul's assessment of God's method for assuring "That no flesh shulde rejoice in his presence": "...God hathe chosen the weake things of the worlde, to confounde the mightie things. And vile things of the worlde & things which are despised, hathe God chosen, & things which are not, to bring to noght things that are" (1 Cor. 1:27-9). Granted, the mighty Anaxius is being confounded by a man disguised as a woman, but his professed and pronounced hatred of women (with the exception of his brief, comic infatuation with Pamela) is emphasized repeatedly in Book 3, so that for as long as he remains ignorant of his opponent's true identity, his pride is no less damaged than it would be had he been fighting an actual woman. And Pyrocles' capacity to restrain himself from revealing his own identity, together with his attribution of Anaxius' punishment to providence, merely heighten the contrast between Anaxius' pride and Pyrocles' relative humility.

Pyrocles' claim to be acting as an agent of providence to humble Anaxius' pride and revenge his former unjust contemning of "the weak sex" most likely looks forward to the belief that the Saints, in union with Christ, on the last day would have "privileges of conquest and judgment" and, according to glosses on Psalm 149:7-9, the power "to execute vengeance upon the heathen and punishments upon the people." (qtd. in Lewalski "Samson" 1052). On that day, "...the armies of the Beast will be slain with the sword proceeding out of the mouth of him that sat upon the horse--glossed by the Protestants as an allusion to the power of the Word" (Lewalski "Samson" 1059), the Word which is the final text that Pyrocles paraphrases to confound Anaxius. As Skretowicz has demonstrated, Pyrocles' eventual victory in this combat is assured (xxxviii); however, in accordance with the conventions of Protestant apocalyptic tragedy,
Sidney removes the actual Judgement (surely, at any rate, a subject to challenge the creative capacities of any artist who took it seriously) outside the time frame of his literary work.

In the final, incomplete sentence, Anaxius' leaps away from Zelmane's attempted "sharp visitation," leaving him "ashamed, as having never done so much before in his life--" (465). Anaxius' sudden, if instinctive and uncontrollable, fear and bafflement may prefigure the response of Antichristians to their punishment by Christ and the saints at the End, vengeance they will exact "rather by abasing and amazing the wicked than by overpowering them physically" (Lewalski "Samson" 1059). The wicked "surpriz'd" by Milton's Samson, whose role "as Judge" is to be referred "primarily to the antitype, the Last Judgement," "Lose their defense, distracted and amaz'd" (qtd. in Lewalski "Samson" 1059; 1057).

Protestant commentators on Revelation, not surprisingly, underscore the "horror incredible" to be experienced at the Last Judgement by the "ungodly," who "with trembling and despair shalbe vexed with unspeakeable tormentes before the seate" (Bullinger Apocalipse 266; 283). Gifford, too, asks how the wicked will "be able to endure the terrour and severitie of this judge," adding, "They shall now be at their wittes ende, and void of all succour or refuge. . . . who shall deliver them from the most dreadfull vengeance of this judge?" (Revelation 403). The expectation of this ultimate terror could, likewise, readily evoke Anaxius' sudden loss of poise, and more.

Apart from Protestant apocalyptic tragedies that omitted their last acts for the stated purpose of allowing Christ to furnish the catastrophe to the action of the play, as well as of history, with the Second Coming, several Renaissance epics also displaced the consummation of their dynastic plots into the future, beyond the poems' endings. The rationale for such designs rested upon the use of the dynastic marriage as an analogy through which the Renaissance poet could present the history of his group or nation as "recapitulating the universal history of mankind as
it begins with the union of Adam and Eve and ends with the apocalyptic wedding of the Lamb in Revelation" (Fichter 16). Spenser thus celebrates the betrothal of Una and Red Cross within his epic but delays its consummation beyond the poem’s conclusion. Tasso, whose dynastic epic appeared prior to the time in which Sidney was revising the Arcadia, also "relegates the equivalent event in his poem, the union of Rinaldo and Armida, to an offstage future (thereby maintaining an analogy between such events and those of Revelation)" (Fichter 154). At the conclusion of the 1590 Arcadia, too, Pyrocles and Philoclea are engaged but not yet married. Both Protestant apocalyptic tragedy and Renaissance dynastic epic, therefore, supply precedents or analogous examples of purposefully deferred conclusions of the sort I see suggested by the final pages of the 1590 Arcadia.

During the course of the captivity episode, both explicit generic references within the text and the general tenor of the action indicate a progressive shift from an apocalyptic tragedy portraying the suffering and perseverance of the "saints" (Pamela and Philoclea, as they endure the many harsh trials Cecropia devises for them), as well as the moral growth of Pyrocles under affliction, to a "divine comedy" in which the providential perspective becomes increasingly apparent, for instance, when a new oracle assures even Philanax that events are "by the celestial providence directed" (458).

Protestant apocalyptic plays employed the term tragedy "with some generic precision, to identify dramas in which the ultimate comic reversal bringing happiness to the just is foreseen but not achieved in the dramatic action" (Lewalski Paradise Lost 223). The word tragedy itself is used several times in the middle sections of Book 3, when the princesses suffer most profoundly. Dipple ("Captivity" 431) has stressed the "tragic spirit of the episode," which is reinforced by its numerous laments and complaints. Philoclea's extended "mourning speech" upon witnessing (she believes) Pamela's execution provides a good example,
featuring lines such as "Woe is me for thee!" (426, p558). Significantly, as Katherine Duncan-Jones observes (Courtier Poet 266), Philoclea's words of grief echo scriptural laments (2 Sam 18:33 and Job 3:1-10).

A sudden switch to the comic mode after the death of Cecropia and Amphialus' attempted suicide--as Zoilus, Lycurgus, and Anaxius attempt to win or force the "love" of Zelmane, Philoclea, and Pamela--has been observed by Lawry (285) and is also commented upon by Roche (9). One example of Sidney's comic treatment of these brothers, in a potentially tragic situation, occurs when Zoilus is described as "turning up his mustachos, and marching as if he would begin a paven," as he advances to rape Zelmane (actually Pyrocles in disguise, a fact that accounts for a large portion of the humor, for readers). Next, "...smacking his lips as for the prologue of a kiss," Zoilus announces to Pyrocles/Zelmane, "Darling! ... Let thy heart be full of joy! ... for this day thou shalt have Zoilus, whom many have longed for--but none shall have him, but Zelmane. And oh! how much glory I have to think what a race will be between us! The world, by the heavens, the world will be too little for them!" (459-60, p589).

The shift from a predominantly tragic to a predominantly comic mood is most succintly indicated when Pamela, refusing Anaxius' advances, exclaims, "Proud beast ... thou playest worse thy comedy than thy tragedy" (454, p583). The generic movement from tragedy to comedy anticipates the shift Christians expect in the "plot" of history at the end of time, as Spenser's similar "reformation" of literary modes and genres in Book 1 of the Faerie Queene "eventually results in an encompassing form of divine comedy that anticipates the transcendence of worldly misery at the time of the Last Judgement, when the tragic sufferings of the faithful are to cease" (King Spenser's 183). Both Sidney and Spenser subsume within their epics generic patterns that had been thematically significant within Protestant apocalyptic drama. In
doing so, they would have received the sanction of Italian literary theorists, who had designated not drama but epic as "the appropriate context for joining together the perpetual tragedy of the damned and the averted tragedy of the elect" (King Spenser's 223).

The generic transition in Sidney's text begins strikingly within a pivotal dawn scene, at the outset of which the tragic mood still predominates. Believing that he has just witnessed the execution of his beloved Philoclea, Pyrocles pours forth a long series of complaints, such as, ". . .there is nothing now left to become the eyes of all mankind, but tears; and woe be to me if any exceed me in woefulness. I do conjure you, all my senses, to accept no other object but of sorrow!" and "Thou hast done thy worst, world. And cursed by thou--and cursed art thou. . . ." (432, p564-5). Pyrocles might be the hero of a "revenge tragedy," as he promises the seemingly dead Philoclea, "I live to die continually, till thy revenge do give me leave to die." The grief of his "afflicted nature" is such that "all that day and night he did nothing but weep, 'Philoclea!'; sigh, 'Philoclea!'; and cry out, 'Philoclea!' . . ." (433, p566).

Soon, though, Philoclea appears, at dawn, to Pyrocles' mind as if resurrected from the dead, though the beheading he believes he witnessed was only staged by Cecropia. The mood shifts rapidly, with the full change becoming apparent just after Pyrocles agrees, through a leap of faith (required by Philoclea before she will yield him a rational explanation), to believe that he is actually speaking to the living Philoclea and not to the "angel" for which he initially mistakes her. The transition occurs rather precisely at the moment at which Philoclea gives Pyrocles her hand to convince him that she lives. The hero finds "the sweet touch of that hand" such a "heavenly thing" that he is soon moved to "tears of joy" (435-6). The "hand of faith" was a stock Protestant metaphor used by John Bunyan (Kaufman 62-5) and by Greville, who labels
faith "A given hand that feeleth heavenlie things" (Religion 55). U. Milo Kaufmann labels "the identification of hand with faith" a "cliche of seventeenth-century Puritanism" and "one of the constants of the allegory of The Pilgrim's Progress. . ." (62). It is fitting, therefore, that the transitional moment in Sidney's Protestant epic is marked by a symbolic movement of faith.

Many scholars have observed the high density of allusions to and imitations of imagery from the Song of Solomon in Claius' praises of Urania in the opening pages of the New Arcadia. The Canticles imagery with which the revised Arcadia commences looks forward, I believe, to the confirmation of Pyrocles' faith just examined. Since the Canticles often acquired apocalyptic overtones in Protestant exegesis, the concentration of imagery from the Song of Solomon within the dawn scene for which I am about to argue further substantiates my claim that an apocalyptic reading of the Asia Minor narratives would not be discontinuous with thematic concerns in other sections of the revised Arcadia.

The metaphor of the "mightie hand of faith" appears repeatedly in the commentary upon the Song of Solomon by Sidney's death-bed confessor, George Gifford. Indeed, Gifford's commentary seems to afford a rather remarkably detailed gloss upon the imagery of the critical turning point in Pyrocles' journey to faith (although, of course, the scene functions on multiple levels simultaneously, and I am focusing only upon the scene's significance to Sidney's religious allegory). Gifford refers at length to the hand metaphor in particular in his exegesis of the passage in which the woman, interpreted as the Church, rises from her bed to, as she states, "seke him that my soule loveth" (Christ, to the commentators). In her initial search about the city, she does not find him; however, when she does, she "toke holde on him and left him not, til I had brought him unto my mothers house into the chamber of her that conceived me" (3:2; 4). Gifford has no doubts as to the symbolic significance of these actions: "Surely the laying holde of Christ is only by faith . . ."; because of the
"covenant and promise" through which Christ binds himself to his believers, "whosoever laieth holde of the Lorde, with the hand of faith, it is unpossible that hee should depart from them" (107). Even the return to the mother's house is to be read allegorically: "The faithfull soule is not contented, neither doth it satisfie her in some slight maner to lay holde on Christ for a time, but she will leade him home, even into the inner chamber of her minde, that so he may dwell in her, and she in him" (110). Philoclea offers Pyrocles her hand with the words, "...be comforted..." With its "sweet touch," his formerly "estrayed powers," as was mentioned earlier, give way to "tears of joy" (435-6; p568). His commitment to believe, against his initial skepticism and against the evidence provided by his physical senses (since he is sure he saw her dead), that Philoclea lives brings him to the "height of all comfort," so that his "despair" is overthrown within the dawn episode (436, p568; 438, p570). The hand in Gifford's interpretation of the Song of Solomon not only is a metaphor of faith but also, elsewhere, "is the spirit of Christ, for he doth by his spirit touch the very inward parts of her heart" (176-7). The extent of Pyrocles' transformation upon taking Philoclea's hand suggests that Sidney in the dawn scene uses the hand with the symbolic associations attributed to it by Gifford.

Pyrocles' actions just before he accepts Philoclea's hand confirm this interpretation. Philoclea first enters Pyrocles' chamber unseen, as he is lamenting her "death." She initially attempts to console him with traditional philosophical wisdom such as, "You would think yourself a greatly privileged person! if, since the strongest buildings and lastingest monarchies are subject to end, only your Philoclea, because she is yours, should be exempted! But indeed, you bemoan yourself, who have lost a friend--you cannot her, who hath in one act both preserved her honour and left the miseries of this world" (434, p567). Indeed, Thelma Greenfield has observed that, as she "stands shadowed in the predawn," Philoclea resembles in her emblematic appearance, as well as through her
words, "such a female consolation figure as Boethius' Philosophy (her head muffled in clouds) or Petrarch's Truth (who stands in the shadow while Saint Augustine debates the poet on death, fame, and love)" (114).

Pyrocles, however, is in no mood for the consolations of what he chastizes as a "woman's philosophy," and when Philoclea reminds him that there are lots of other women in the world, Pyrocles (who has still not seen or recognized this visitor to his chamber as Philoclea) is prompted to such fury that "leaping out of his bed, he ran to have stricken her." As he approaches her, though, "the morning then winning the field of darkness, he saw (or thought he saw) indeed the very face of Philoclea," so that he is "carried into a divine astonishment" (435, p567; emphases added).

It will be recalled that in the verses from Song of Solomon discussed earlier the Church, just before seeking out and laying hold of her beloved, arises from her bed. In a similar passage, 5:2-7, the woman/Church also rises from her bed to search out her spouse (Christ, in Protestant exegesis). She confides, "I sleepe, but mine heart waketh, it is the voyce of my welbeloved that knocketh. . . . I rose up to open to my welbeloved. . . . I opened to my welbeloved: but my welbeloved was gone, & past. . . ." Gifford explicates the woman's departures from her bed as follows: "...when the faithfull soule is moved with earnest repentance and doth seeke and crie after the Lord Jesus Christ, and seemeth not to finde him, yet she doth finde him. Christ dooth not enter in so fully and at once that she dooth perceive it" (as Pyrocles does not notice for some time the presence in his chamber of Philoclea, for whom he has been crying), "yet in the end she findeth that he is come to his garden. She findeth that her rising out of her sleepe and from her bed, her . . . seeking and calling after him, were not in vaine. This (beloved) ought greatly to encourage us" (182-3). An allegorical understanding of this passage from the Canticles similar to that of Gifford evidently comforted Sidney enough that he chose to imitate it for
his audience at the climactic moment of his hero's allegorical journey to wisdom and faith.

As the woman/Church/soul of the Canticles sometimes becomes separated from Christ and seems to lose him for a time, so, at the beginning of the dawn scene, not only does Pyrocles believe that he has been permanently separated from Philoclea, to whom he, nevertheless, still cries out; he also, through his outcries against heaven and providence (431, p563), has become alienated from divine love and faith in the divine plan. Yet, as the Church eventually takes hold of her beloved, Pyrocles takes Philoclea's hand (the "hand of faith," I believe). Gifford views occasional temporary separations of the woman and her beloved in the Canticles as, paradoxically, leading the godly to even greater faith: "...the Lorde doth withdraw himselfe sometime from the godly, and as it were hide himselfe, so that they doo not feele the comfort and peace in him that they would." Consequently, though, "...they seeke him with care and grieue, then also missing of him, they see what it is to want him, and therefore so soone as ever he sheweth himselfe, they speedelie lay holde on him, as having found their onely treasure and felicité" (107).

The allegorical significance of Pyrocles arising from his bed is highlighted by the fact that just as he does so the morning "win[s] the field of darkness." This light-triumphing-over-darkness imagery might be read as a rather vague, nearly universal symbolism suggestive of the victory of good over evil. Additionally, however, it fits precisely within the pattern of Canticles imagery for which I have been arguing. Gifford views the phrase, "Until the day breake, & the shadowes flee away . . ." (2:17), first, as prefiguring Christ's resurrection: "The church upon earth, is as it were in the night, as some take it under the shadowes of the law which should, and did flie away after that cleere day of Christs resurrection" (94). Philoclea's role in the New Arcadia is far too complicated to be covered briefly at this time; however, it seems most
unlikely that Sidney would not have expected his readers to recognize her appearance to Pyrocles at dawn, to his mind resurrected from the dead, as a type of Christ's resurrection. An allusion to the resurrection seems to be substantiated by a number of other details surrounding the dawn scene as well. To cite only one example, as the veil of the temple was rent at the time of the crucifixion (Math. 27:51), so, after her "execution," Pyrocles views Philoclea's head with "no veil but beauty over the face," and a "piercing . . . grace" shines from her eyes (431, p563; emphasis added).

As Book 1 of the *Fairie Queene* culminates in a renewed emphasis upon "joy," which marks "an appropriate response both to the tragedies of the faithful and to the outer frame of providential comedy that encloses them" (King Spenser's 225), so the shift to the comic mode in the *New Arcadia* is witnessed by recurrent references to a new joy possible even as tragic suffering continues. Philoclea exclaims, "O my Pyrocles, I am too well paid for my pains I have suffered. Joyful is my woe for so noble a cause!" Her subsequent smiles are "mingled with tears" (an emblem of Patience [Chew 120-1]), so that "one could not tell whether it were a mourning pleasure or a delightful sorrow. . . ." (438, p570). Similarly, Pyrocles, whose "tears of joy" were mentioned earlier, having experienced within "so small distance of time . . . the overthrow both of hope and despair, knew not to what key he should tune his mind, either of joy or sorrow. . . ." The ensuing conversations between the two are drawn in "the lightsome coulours of affection shaded with the deepest shadows of sorrow, finding then (between hope and fear) a kind of sweetness in tears. . . ." (438-9, p571).

Pyrocles' new joy after his symbolic leap of faith stands in stark opposition to the spirit of the complaints through which he "pour[s] out his inward evil" (432, p564) immediately prior to the dawn episode. In addition to the laments quoted earlier, in which he labels himself "the example of the heavens' hate" and curses the world, other remarks, such as
his statement that the word death "containeth in itself the uttermost of all misfortunes," are inappropriate from a Christian perspective (432-3, p565). Most tellingly, upon seeing (he believes) Philoclea's dismembered head, he cries out, "O tyrant heaven! Traitor earth! Blind providence! No justice? . . . Hath this world no government? If it have, let it pour out all his mischiefs upon me, and see whether it have power to make me more wretched than I am. . . . Have I prayed for this?" (431, p563-4). Under the circumstances, the outburst is certainly sympathetic. Yet, Sidney's fundamental point, I believe, is to contrast the wretchedness that characterizes Pyrocles' mental state when he loses belief in benevolent Providence to the joy he experiences upon confirming his faith. Once again, this discovery is one Fichter finds characteristic of the heroes of Christian dynastic epics: "that the two imperatives of personal fulfillment and duty to a higher authority are not really antithetical" (as is often considered to be the case for Aeneas), "that history is in fact organized for the sole purpose of accomplishing man's salvation." Upon arriving at this insight, the hero realizes that, in fact, "...it was his former recalcitrance to destiny that was truly burdensome" (8).

Sidney's dense concentration of Canticles imagery within the dawn scene, which marks the transitional moment in the movement from the tragic to the comic mode within Book 3, would be appropriate to the usual pattern of Protestant exegesis of the Song of Solomon's "allegory in terms of a comedic plot: the soul (Bride) awakens to grace and spiritual advancement at Christ (the Bridegroom's) call; then during his absence she falls into diffidence, distraction and sin; and at length she is brought by grace to repentance and joyful reunion with him" (Lewalski Paradise Lost 201). The happy conclusion of the Canticles "drama" is, I believe, indicated through Pyrocles' new joy and through spring imagery in the description of Philoclea's smile-mingled tears at the close of the "scene," tears that fall as "when a few April drops are scattered by a gentle Zephyrus among fine-coloured flowers" (438). Christ/the Bridegroom calls upon the
Church/soul/Bride in Song of Solomon 2:10-12 to "...Arise. ... For beholde, winter is past: the raine is changed, and is gone away. The flowers appeare in the earth. ..." The Geneva Bible gloss interprets the flowers and other signs of spring that appear in these verses (as they do in Sidney's description of Philoclea) as tokens of regeneration: the end of winter signifies that "...sinne and error is driven backe by the comming of Christ which is here described by the spring time, when all things florish." Such signs of renewal would be thematically congruent with the transformation I have argued Pyrocles undergoes in this scene.

As part of his syncretic effort to rework important passages from classical epics in such a fashion that they acquire new, Christian significance, Sidney, I believe, at the crucial turning point within the dawn scene not only alludes to Canticles imagery but also imitates a pivotal moment in Aeneas' development as well, a moment in which Virgil himself signifies a crucial moral distinction between his hero and Homeric heroes. Aeneas witnesses the slaughter by Achilles' son, Neoptolemus, of Polites, the son of Priam and Hecuba, before his parents' eyes and then sees Neoptolemus murder Priam himself, who had been huddling at the altars with Hecuba, who is "clasping the images of the gods" (2.517). Just afterwards, Aeneas espies, hiding at Vesta's shrine, Helen, who, by this point, it is certain, has been a central cause of the final destruction of Troy. He is seized by an overwhelming desire to exact revenge on behalf of his fallen city by killing her. Though he acknowledges to himself that one can earn "no glorious renown in a woman's punishment," Aeneas, nevertheless, temporarily persuades himself, "...I shall have praise for blotting out the unholy thing and exacting a just recompense; and it will be joy to have filled full my soul with the fire of vengeance and to have sated the ashes of my kindred!" (2.583-7). The "frenzied mind" with which Aeneas pronounces his desire for revenge and for whatever "praise" obtaining the same can bring him is characteristic of Homeric heroes, most notably Achilles, and has just been illustrated within this scene of
Virgil's epic, in an extreme degree by Achilles' son, Neoptolemus.

Yet, this impulsive desire in Virgil's own hero is quenched by the sudden appearance of his mother, Venus. Aeneas recollects to his audience in Carthage: "...my gracious mother, never before so brilliant to behold, came before my eyes, in pure radiance gleaming through the night, manifesting the goddess, in beauty and in stature such as she is wont to appear to the lords of heaven. She caught me by the hand and stayed me..." (2.589-92). The mother orders her son to quell his "ungovernable wrath" and "rage" against Helen, and to return, instead, to rescue his father, wife, and son from the Greeks who are destroying Troy (2.594-8). Because the sight of "father" (often so named, owing to his numerous progeny) Priam's headless corpse had recalled to Aeneas' mind the image of his own father, and then of his wife and son, just prior to his spotting of Helen, Venus' appearance and message--especially since she is the goddess of love--symbolize something like the need to free oneself from the grips of impulsive battle fury, so that duties to loved family members--and to the Trojan household gods and to the remnant of the Trojan people, who had been entrusted to Aeneas in the wake of the city's impending destruction--may be fulfilled.

The gleam of light Venus casts through the night and the hand with which she catches Aeneas are likely alluded to by the light that cancels the darkness at the pivotal moment in Pyrocles' conversion and by the hand Philocleia offers him at this time. Sidney's comments on the Aeneid in the Defence show that he had Virgil's epic stored in his memory, and, as has been mentioned, he imitates the work on several occasions in the New Arcadia. His imitation here of a passage in which Virgil is clearly redefining the Homeric heroic ideal would allow Sidney, in turn, to further refashion Virgil's heroic ideal according to an even more important subtext for the passage: Scripture. While Venus' light cancels the darkness, we are not informed that she appears exactly at dawn. And the offering of the hand in the Aeneid is not immediately preceded by a
rising from bed, as it is in Protestant readings of the Canticles.

In combining an allusion to Venus’ grasping of Aeneas’ hand with the Christian symbolism of the "hand of faith." Sidney once again (as in the case of the ships, discussed earlier) imparts an additional, Protestant symbolic dimension to his imitation of classical epic. Probably the most important distinction between the passages from the Canticles and the *New Arcadia*, on the one hand, and from the *Aeneid*, on the other, is that in the former cases the taking of the hand leads to abundant joy; whereas, Aeneas’ problems continue to multiply after this point, and he is never, as has often been commented, particularly joyous about the duties imposed upon him by the gods, even though he exemplifies pietas. Once again, Sidney’s reworking of the *Aeneid* allows him to overgo Virgil in humble fashion, by attributing the advantage rather to his religion than to his own talent.

The apocalyptic context in Book 3 is also reinforced by repeated references to trumpets—which play such a prominent role in Revelation—not only during battles outside the castle, but also in the narrator’s comment that “Mars’ loudest trumpet could scarcely have awaked” Anaxius (our allegorical Antichristian), so “full” were his thoughts of his “intended prey,” Pamela (459), shortly prior to his final combat with Pyrocles. Most suggestive of all is Pamela’s labelling of Anaxius’ death threat to herself and Philoclea as "the same trumpet of death, which now perhaps gives the last sound. . .” (451). The last sounding of a trumpet is, of course, in Revelation the event that will require even “Antichristians” to account for their deeds.

Imagery derived from Revelation is especially pervasive in the scenes surrounding the dawn episode, revealing the extent to which even the seemingly most "tragic" segment of the *New Arcadia’s* action actually demonstrates that the Apocalypse’s prophecies are in the process of being fulfilled, as Protestants of Sidney’s bent believed was the case within their own era. The extremely unusual deceptions through which the
Satanic, "mischievously subtle Cecropia" (436) prompts Pyrocles to believe that Philoclea is dead provide good examples of Sidney’s use of Revelation imagery to portray the princesses as "saints" whose suffering has been foretold in Revelation.

Philoclea’s enlightening of Pyrocles, during the dawn scene, as to the "sleights" through which Cecropia deceived the princesses’ senses and aimed, unsuccessfully, to undermine their integrity, begins by reinforcing the wicked aunt’s often recognized role as Satanic tempter and the sisters’ roles as "saints" persevering in their absolute refusal to submit to her demands, when they conflict with honor. Cecropia, Philoclea explains, "having in vain attempted the fardest of her wicked eloquence to make either" sister "yield to her son, and seeing that neither it (accomplished with great flatteries and rich presents) could get any ground of us, nor yet the violent way she fell into of cruelty (tormenting our bodies) could prevail with us," finally stages the fake executions that bring the princesses to believe one another dead, the aunt aiming, thereby, "to have wrested our minds to the forgetting of virtue" (436).

Beheading, the supposed manner of death for each princess, alludes, I believe, to Rev. 20:4: "...and I sawe the soules of them, that were beheaded for the witnes of Jesus, and for the worde of God, & which did not worship the beast, nether his image, nether had taken his marke upon their forheads, or on their hands: and they lived, & reigned with Christ a thousand yere." The Geneva Bible gloss to the thousand years of this verse, "That is, whiles thei have remained in this life," shows that the passage was not read as a vision of a millenium to commence in the indefinite future but as a forecasting of the afflictions and endurance of the saints within this life. Philoclea and Pamela are similarly beheaded because they will not allow their virtue to be shaken by Cecropia’s enticements, or their faith to be unsettled by her efforts to overthrow their belief in a controlling providence. The presentation of the princesses’ deaths as apparent only and not actual (though Sidney
manipulates his readers into believing, along with Pyrocles, for some time that the sisters have, in fact, been beheaded) may reinforce the point that even martyrs who are actually slain for their beliefs end their existences only from a "worldly" perspective. Scripture teaches, as John Bale comments in his explication of Rev. 20:4, that, even when "beheaded" or martyred by "cruel tyrants for the faithful testimony of Jesu," God's "true-hearted witnesses remained not in death with the wicked, but passes through with the righteous from death unto life, and had the life everlasting." Bale explains that in Scripture, the head is "taken sometime for the soul, sometime for the whole man"; the souls referred to in these verses as having been "beheaded," therefore, include those deprived of their earthly lives in any manner (Bale Works 565-6). As with Cecropia's fake executions and real afflictions but unsuccessful temptations of the princesses, seeming victories of Antichristian tormentors over the "saints" are illusory only.

The probability that Sidney attached such apocalyptic significance to the mode of "execution" Cecropia stages for Pamela and Philoclea increases as other, still more unusual, imagery from Revelation, once again descriptive of the suffering of the saints, is concentrated within the remainder of Philoclea's account of Cecropia's cunning manipulation of appearances to create her gruesome spectacles. Through the window of the chamber in which he was imprisoned in Cecropia's castle, Pyrocles beholds one morning, upon a raised "scaffold raised a good deal from the floor and all covered with crimson velvet," "a basin of gold, pitifully enamelled with blood; and in the midst of it, the head of the most beautiful Philoclea" (425; 431). Since he and Philoclea earlier witnessed (they believed) the beheading of Pamela, Pyrocles naturally assumes that Philoclea has met the same fate, leading to his previously quoted outburst against heaven. In fact, though, Cecropia's agents placed Philoclea "under the scaffold." where, as she later informs him, they forced her to
"thrust my head up through a hole they had made therein." About her neck they place a bottomless gold dish (which Lawry, probably rightly, has labelled "Herodian" [281]) with blood in it (436-7).

In Rev. 6:9, after the opening of the sixth seal, which the 1560 Geneva Bible gloss connects with the "continual persecutions of the Church," St. John beholds "under the altar the soules of them, that were killed for the worde of God, & for the testimonie which they maintaine." The altar under which these souls are sheltered, according to the popular interpretation endorsed by the Geneva gloss, "is Christ, meaning that they are in his safe custodie in the heavens." Bullinger agrees that the altar signifies Christ, the "intercessour, and propitiation for our sinnes," for "Under hym we lye hidde, as under a cover or a shadow," and here "shall all bee gathered hereafter, as many as enter into glorye with Christ through sundry tribulations in bearing of the crosse" (Apocaliose 90

Protestant writers like John Foxe assumed the familiarity of their readers with this verse, alluding to it without supplying scriptural citation. Foxe applies it to contemporary persecutions of Protestants by the Church of Rome and its upholders, asserting, for instance, that "many a godly saint lyeth slain under the altar," or had been martyred, at the hands of the "furious and fiery" Marian officials who harrassed "the harmless flock of Christ" (Acts 8: 321). The verse is also alluded to near the opening of Agrippa D'Aubigne's Les Tragiques, as motivation for one of the poet's central purposes, to "attack the legions of Rome, / Those monsters of Italy." The poet rouses himself to proceed with this task by envisioning "under the idols' altars . . . / The striken visage of the captive Church, / Which to its deliverance (in spite of all dangers) / Calls me, bestirring me with its piercing looks" (134-5).

One might argue that Sidney simply invented the bizarre tale of Philoclea's placement under a raised scaffold, in such a manner that she appears from above to be beheaded, for no particular reason or to make for a suspenseful narrative; however, we could respond with Francis Bacon's
traditional assumption that implausibility is a recognized signal to alert readers to the presence of underlying allegorical meaning: "...a fable that is probable may be thought to have been composed merely for pleasure, in imitation of history. But when a story is told which could never have entered any man's head either to conceive or relate on its own account, we must presume that it had some further reach" (qtd. in Treip 32). Sidney surely goes out of his way to place Philoclea in her unusual position under a raised structure, appearing to have been beheaded; in doing so, I believe, he invites his readers to probe well below the surface plot of his narrative, for, as Treip writes, "It is the tantalizingly engimatic and the violation of natural probability which beckons us on to probe for hidden significances" (24). Moreover, as John Michael Archer has observed, the raised, crimson-covered scaffold under which Philoclea stands resembles "a Catholic altar" and, like such altars, "is designed to induce awe or terror." (61).

The souls under the altar in Revelation cry "with a lowde voyce, saying, How long, Lord, holie and true! doest not thou judge & avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?" These "holy Martyrs" call "for the justice of God, in an holy zeale to advance his kingdome, and not of any private perturbation of the minde. .." (1602 Geneva gloss). Such sentiments are important to bear in mind, when, for example, one is judging Pyrocles' refusal to grant mercy to Lycurgus, who has abused Philoclea (in a close imitation of Aeneas' refusal to grant mercy to Turnus, who abused Pallas).

In the last act of the dawn scene, "...Philoclea (content to receive a kiss--and but a kiss--of Pyrocles) sealed up his moving lips, and closed them up in comfort" (439, p571). This action may be another indication, through imagery derived from Revelation, that the End has now been prepared for and draws nigh. Between the openings of the sixth and seventh seals, in Rev. 7:3, an angel "which had the seale of the living God" appears to seal "the servants of our God in their foreheads," so that
they will not be harmed by the impending plagues upon the Antichristians. The Geneva gloss to this verse explains, "Those that are sealed by the Spirit of God, and marked with the blood of the Lambe, and lightened in faith by the worde of God, so that they make open profession of the same, are exempted from evil." Bullinger, commenting upon the verse, similarly interprets this seal as a "figure" for the "spirite of God, . . . by whom he inspireth his faythfull servaunts, and by whom also he geveth them lively fayth, through the worde of the lyving and eternall God. This seale therfore . . . is Gods quickening word, the spirite of lyfe, and lyvely fayth" (Apocalipse 100).

Pyrocles' moral growth in Book 3 is prepared for by his repeating and hearing in Book 2, within the Asia Minor narratives, an allegorical rendering of Revelation, as I demonstrate in my next chapter, which also argues that these retrospective narratives serve two complementary allegorical functions. They further Pyrocles' moral development as an individual hero, and they provide a politicized history of the church with implications important to religious debates of Sidney's own era. Treip has observed a similar pattern in other major allegorical epics of the Renaissance. The "main-plot allegory is psychologically based" and "dynamic," centering upon the development of main characters (92, 271). In the case of the New Arcadia, the main plot allegory focuses primarily, I believe, upon Pyrocles. Treip writes, "special episodes" may "stand somewhat apart from, but are not thematically disconnected from, the main plot" (63). Tasso, Spenser, and Milton all "use main-plot allegory and supernatural episode (allegorical interlude) in" an "interlocking way: the former experientially, to project aspects of their moral-didactic Idea under the guise or disguise of real life; the latter more emblematically, to intellectualize and examine the Idea's implications via overt allegories," which, while "more static, correspond closely to the moral experiences and relationships rendered in a more specifically verisimilar allegorical mode by the actions of the main characters in the plot" (64).
I view the Asia Minor narratives as functioning in a similar fashion. The narratives might be considered "supernatural" in the sense that they imitate the structure and suggest the import of Scripture. The retrospective narratives both foster Pyrocles' spiritual development and may be considered as a more abstract allegorical church history, of interest in its own right, even apart from its role in the main plot, as my next two chapters demonstrate.
1. On the New Arcadia as epic, see, for example, Tillyard 294-319 and Dana "Sidney's Two." Skretkowicz observes that as Sidney revised the Arcadia, he developed the romantic adventures of the Old Arcadia into an epic poem" (xiii). Nancy Lindheim views the revised Arcadia "as an heroic poem in prose, fully engaged in the problems of history, philosophy, politics, and ethics (and love) that the Renaissance assigned to the domain of epic"; however, she sets these interests in opposition to those of "transcendent doctrines like Christianity or Neoplatonism" (12), whereas authors of Renaissance epics in fact did not consider religion an illegitimate domain of interest, as Spenser’s example, to go no further, clearly demonstrates. Myrick argues "that in subject and structure the New Arcadia follows Minturno’s rules for the heroic poem" (110-50).

2. See Chapter 3.

3. See my third and fourth chapters.

4. See Chapter 3.

5. A license to print the first edition of Underdowne’s translation, which was not dated, was obtained by 1569 (Roberts 142-3), although it may not actually have appeared in print until 1577 (Whibley xx). The second edition was printed in 1587. It is important to bear in mind that, according to Charles Whibley, "Underdowne did not translate, he transformed. He made no attempt to represent his author: by design or accident he got as far from Heliodorus as possible. To compare the two is to wonder that the one has even a distant relation to the other" (xvi).

6. See especially 168 and 174-82.

7. See, for example, 177 and 40.

8. See Roberts 114 and 124-7 and Don Cameron Allen, Chapter 4, "Undermeanings in Homer's Iliad and Odyssey," 83-105 and Chapter 6 "Undermeanings in Virgil's Aeneid." 135-62.

9. See Fichter 17-21 on this distinction in attitudes between the commentators, on the one hand, and Augustine and the Renaissance dynastic poets, on the other.

10. Sidney and Milton share more than has generally been recognized, both in the fervor with which they attempted to act upon their religious beliefs to influence their own societies and in their literary ambitions, particularly in their aims to craft epics of "universal" import to Christians. S. K. Heninger has commented upon some of the many similarities between Sidney and Milton, even beyond those directly relevant to poetic theory: "Both had great reverence for learning and both were learned men, especially as humanistic education had defined learning in terms of the litterae humaniores. Both were zealous in the Protestant cause, equally partisan in politics on behalf of Puritanism, though entering the movement at different phases of its development. Both saw literature as a legitimate and effective means of furthering this cause, thereby attributing to poetry a novel teleology. . . . Sidney and Milton . . . . saw literature as serving the ends of politics. . . ." ("Sidney and Milton" 58-9).
11. See, for example, Bozeman.

12. Exceptions are four lacunae, for Amphilias' device, a catalogue of trees, the impresa of Lelius, and a clause following the Mira dream poem reassigned to Amphialus in revision (Skretkowicz lvi).

The lack of fit between the revised Arcadia and the conclusion to the original, welded onto it in the 1593 edition, was commented upon by Sidney's contemporary, John Florio, who observed of this "perfect-unperfect Arcadia": "...this end we see of it, though at first above all, now is not answerable to the precedents"; he believed that the merging of the original conclusion onto so radically revised a work resulted in "more marring that was well, than mending what was amiss" (qtd. in Skretkowicz lix). Elizabeth Dipple develops this argument persuasively in "Captivity Episode."

13. Dana "Sidney's Two" 149-50; Skretkowicz xxxviii; Roche "Ending" 8.

14. See, for example, Davis Map 73-7; Lawry 247, 250, 253 ff.; Danby 63-71.

15. An ending of this sort would call into question the prevailing assumption that Sidney's "poetic practice shows that he felt he had nothing to learn from the mid-century 'gospelling' poets or indeed from much previous English poetry" (Norbrook 96).

16. I do not agree with Roche that Zelame may be the one leaping away (11). Sidney uses the feminine pronoun consistently when referring to Pyrocles as Zelame.

17. See also King Spenser's 222-3.

18. For the word tragedy, see 421, 425, and 451. For striking examples of the princesses' afflictions, see 421-3. Margaret Hannay has written of "...the way in which Pamela and Philoclea duplicate, and, for a Protestant, surpass the heroism of the virgin martyrs" of the medieval saints' lives ("Faining" 84).

19. Barbara Lewalski discusses Milton's use of complaints and laments to enhance the "tragic effects" of Books 9 and 10 of Paradise Lost, which she considers "an embedded tragedy within the epic..." (Paradise Lost 244 and 220).

20. See Chapter 4, below.

21. See, for example, 107 (two times), 108, and 106.

22. Lawry comments that Philoclea must offer a "proof" that "reverses that of the first Easter" in having to convince Pyrocles, "I am no angel; I am Philoclea" (281). Certainly the episode calls that first Easter to mind.

23. The prior awakening of Pyrocles' soul to grace is discussed in connection with Zelame's death, in Chapter 3.

24. See, for instance, 368, 375, 383, and, metaphorically, 406.

25. See Chapter 6, below, on Cecropia's Antichristian nature.
26. See, for instance, the famous debate between Pamela and Cecropia (357-63), labelled by the 1590 editors "The aunt's atheism refuted by the niece's divinity" (354).

27. The poem's translator, Jesse Zeldin, glosses this line as follows: "The captive Church is the true Church, held in captivity by Rome" (134).
Since at least the eighteenth century, critics have denounced Sidney's *New Arcadia*, as vexatious, structurally incoherent, and thematically disunified. Horace Walpole condemned Sidney's revised work as "a tedious, lamentable, pedantic, pastoral romance, which the patience of a young virgin in love cannot now wade through." William Hazlitt castigated the work as "the most involved, irksome, impgressive, and heteroclite subject that ever was chosen to exercise the pen or patience of man." Not content with this chastisement, Hazlitt labelled the *New Arcadia* "a riddle, a rebus, an acrostic in folio," in short, a "monument of intellectual abuse." Similar critical complaints, often centered upon the supposed labyrinthian sprawl of the Asia minor narratives of Book II, have continued into this century, when the work has been compared to a "tortuous stream lazily meandering through the marshy plains of digression" (Zandvoort 106).

A number of critics connect the perceived structural incoherence of the revised *Arcadia* to Sidney's artistic incompetence and/or his supposed world view. Richard McCoy affirms, "...Sidney's narrative sequence presents a pattern of ambivalence and irresolution..." (111). He finds both technical failings, in that "the plot becomes too unwieldy to control or unify," and symptoms of the author's own doubts about autonomy and social order and their ultimate compatibility" (163). Stephen Greenblatt believes that, especially in the second book of the revised *Arcadia*, Sidney is not "fully in control of the shifting genres, and the result is
confusion and finally tedium. Moreover the work continually risks losing the reader's sympathy and patience by constantly blocking and baffling his response. . . ." Structural disunity is then linked to the author's moral perspective: "...Sidney as artist is more a connoisseur of doubt. No readily apprehended and reassuring vision of order lies behind the assertion in *Arcadia* that 'There is nothing so certaine, as our continuall uncertainie'" (272)

Yet, Sidney's artistic competence to create structurally and thematically unified works is evident from critical evaluations of his other works. William Ringler writes that Sidney's "central preoccupation was with structure. . ..": in employing the term *maker*, Sidney defined the poet "not only as a creator of an ideally ordered world, but as a creator of artistic forms" (lix). Indeed, one notices immediately the vast disparity between remarks upon the technical excellence of Sidney's other works and the perceived shapelessness of the revised *Arcadia*. Norbrook calls the Old *Arcadia* "a masterpiece of controlled plotting" (93). One critic could praise the Old *Arcadia* as displaying "the unity of effect of a Greek temple," only to dismiss the New *Arcadia* as "a rococo erection, fine in some of its parts, but formless and grotesque as a whole" (qtd. in Myrick 129). Even so sensitive a reader of Sidney as S. K. Heninger contends, "In the Old *Arcadia* the plot is planned and executed with utmost economy, but in the new *Arcadia* the plot is overwhelmed by a plethora of incidentals and digressions. Many readers feel, like Eliot, that the center does not hold." Instead of proceeding along a readily evident path, "the plot in the revised version lurches along, energized more by the surprising turn of events and by the promise of more surprises than by any sequence of cause-and-effect. The text is . . . without discernible direction" (Henninger 490, 494).

Samuel Wolff believed that the reader "who reads for pleasure simply cannot understand the *Arcadia.*" Such a reader might achieve "a dim notion, after awhile, of the course of the Main Plot; but most of the
Episodes [i.e. most of the Asia Minor narratives], with their relation to each other, to the Main Plot, and the the Previous History of the Princes, remain in a fog. The reader who wants more than pleasure can, through "a deliberate disentanglement of the threads," discern a clear pattern, with the very process of untangling the various "threads" of Sidney's plot revealing, as Wolff admits, "with what deliberation, and with what almost incredible skill, Sidney performed the opposite process," which, in Wolff's view, is "the process of re-weaving the Old Arcadia upon the loom of Heliodorus. For he has not dropped a single thread in the whole enormous design" (352).

Sidney did not, though, expend this enormous labor upon the Asia Minor narratives simply to imitate the structural methods of Heliodorus: these structural modes were employed in the service of an overarching thematic design. The journey through Asia Minor progresses along a quite definite "groundplot": Sidney's heroes travel through church history as they travel through Asia Minor.

Still more specifically, the signposts marking critical stops on the itinerary are drawn from Revelation, which, as my first chapter discusses at length, was consistently interpreted by Protestants of Sidney's era as a prophetic history of the Christian Church, from the time of Christ to the Last Judgment. As was also mentioned in my first chapter, a crucial factor in my argument throughout this chapter and the next one will be that the apocalyptic images within the Asia Minor narratives and the opening pages of the revised Arcadia appear in the same order within Sidney's book (if one considers events in their chronological, rather than narrative, sequence) as would the corresponding images from Revelation, if these were arranged (from earliest to latest) according to the dates or historical periods most commonly assigned to them by commentators like Gifford and Fulke. This stipulation, throughout a work as lengthy as is Sidney's, greatly reduces the possibility that occurrences of images that appear in Revelation (images that are themselves often quite distinct and
unusual) within the New Arcadia, as well, are merely coincidental. Another important point that readers should bear in mind is that nearly all of the apocalyptic images were added in revision, suggesting a deliberate pattern.

A likely motive for Sidney's decision to introduce a church history within the Arcadia (apart from the factors relating to epic convention and politics that were discussed in my first two chapters) is suggested by Thomas Brightman's remarks to the Christian reader on the value of the church history prophesied by Revelation: "...thou shalt see the perpetuall tracke in which thou hast sett thy foote steps even from the Apostles tymes, so lively described that thou canst require no more lightsome & notable History..." Reviewing this history should strengthen the reader's faith in and gratitude toward God: "...thou mayst enjoy a most pleasant remembrance of those dangers thou hast escaped, which will afford thee so many cleare arguments of Gods incomprehensible providence, wisedome, love, and truth, preserving thee safe in most extreme streights and dangers" (A4). Brightman's enthusiastic assessment suggests the lively sense of personal involvement and imaginative participation that readers were to maintain as they ruminated upon the "history" prophesied by Revelation.

Pyrocles recounts his portion of the Asia Minor narratives at the prompting of Philoclea, who requests that he recite to her the "divers actions which with no more danger than glory you passed through" before arriving in Arcadia, urging him to "be liberal unto me of those things which have made you indeed precious to the world." Though Pyrocles, just before he begins his account, "fain...would have sealed" his just-concluded engagement with Philoclea with more than the kiss she allows him, his love for her compels him to turn his attention instead to the tale of "his" past (and that of every apocalyptically minded Renaissance Protestant). Recollecting the sacrifices and sufferings of the martyrs who paved the way for the Protestant Reformation and the perfidies of the
still at-large Plexirtus, who continues to threaten the same (and who is a figure for Antichrist, associated with the Church of Rome, as I argue below), should, and eventually does, move Pyrocles to reaffirm his commitment to the implied incumbent responsibilities posed by Christian history. Additionally, redirecting his mental energies from his physical desire for Philoclea to contemplation of Christian history and Christian responsibility requires that he fight the sort of internal "battle" for which Erasmus' Enchiridion and numerous other such treatises by Renaissance Christians offer guidance. Pyrocles learns to show "himself valiant" by demonstrating that he can "with the sword of reverent duty gainstand the force of so many enraged desires." (233-4, p331).

Readers of Revelation from the Protestant perspective endorsed by Brightman believed that it prophesied the triumph of the True Church (their own) over Antichrist and the "Whore of Babylon" (the papacy and the Church of Rome) through historical events relating to the Protestant Reformation. Pyrocles and Musidorus, when they arrive in Arcadia, as is shown below, have just barely escaped with their lives from Asia Minor and the plots against them there by papist villains such as Plexirtus and Andromana, events that Sidney's use of apocalyptic imagery and historical allusions within the Asia Minor narratives allow his readers to see also as an allegorical portrayal of the history of the True Church, to the point of its triumphant break with the Church of Rome and the establishment of separate, reformed churches. My fourth and sixth chapters, however, argue that Sidney suggests allegorically that the huge potential of the early Reformation evoked by events such as the princes' escape from Asia Minor and the rapid progress in learning of Strephon and Claius, motivated by their love for Urania, is for the most part being squandered, largely as a consequence of the lax morality and poor leadership of Arcadia's leaders, Basilius and Gynecia, and the example they set for those inhabiting their land. Hearing this history in the latter portion of the second book of the New Arcadia prepares Sidney's
hero, Pyrocles, who has fallen into idleness and under the sway of his passions since his arrival in Arcadia, for the moral growth he will achieve under affliction in Book 3. Readers of Sidney's narrative (at least readers who shared his religious and political perspectives), in turn, should likewise have their zeal for the True Church rekindled by reviewing the sufferings and sacrifices of former members of the Church Invisible and by being reminded of the continuing threats to their own religion posed by still-powerful "members of Antichrist" (in their opinions, supporters of the church headed by the papacy).

"Babylonian" Captivity

Late in the Asia Minor narratives, Sidney's heroes are imprisoned by Andromana ("man-mad" Duncan-Jones Courtier 17), the New Arcadia's representative of the "Whore of Babylon" (almost universally identified by Protestants with "Papistrie," as in the Geneva Bible gloss) "with whom have committed fornication the kings of the earth" (Rev 17:2). Andromana's characterization mirrors Protestant commentary on the Whore, both in her immense and wandering lust and in the artificiality of her "beauty." Already having seduced both the King of Iberia and his son (at the start of those affairs she is married to another), the "contention" in Andromana's mind after Pyrocles and Musidorus arrive concerns which of the two is more "lovely": "how her eyes wandered (like a glutton at a feast) from the one to the other,"[10] as "with equal ardour she affected us both; and so did her greatness disdain shamefastness that she was content to acknowledge it to both..." (249-50, p348). As with Spenser's Duessa and the "Whore of Babylon," or "Antichrist, that is the Pope, ... whose beautie onely standeth in out warde pomp & impudencie and craft like a strumpet (Geneva gloss to Rev. 17:4), Andromana's beauties are superficial, being "as much advanced to the eye as abased to the judgement by art" (249, p347). She is "a woman beautiful enough, if it be possible
that the outside only can justly entitle a beauty" (215, p313). The
depthlessness of her beauty suggests Protestant charges that the appeal of
the "popish religion" was merely external, limited to "altars, copes,
vestments, miters, crosses, chalisses, bookes, censers, . . . gilding &
decking images. . ." (Fulke 111'). Sidney's emphasis upon Andromana's lust
intimates the seduction metaphor integral to the allegory of the "Whore,"
which signified for Protestants the Roman Church's efforts to seduce
princes and their subjects through the use of externalities "to commit
spirituall whoredome with her, for so the scripture speaketh of all those
that turne from the pure worship of God unto men's inventions" (Gifford
Revelation 324). The Church of Rome "enticed the mindes of men to her
filthy love withe the whorishe deceiptes and false coloures as it were
with harlotlyke enticementes" (Fulke 111'). The metaphor had venerable Old
Testament roots: "How often," Gifford rhetorically questioned his
biblically literate audience, "doth the Lord use such speeches by the
Prophets, . . . that his people went a whoring when they worshipped
Idols?" (Revelation 273). Yet, the "sinagogue of Rome" had surpassed "all
other heresies" in inventing "false and idolatrouse" forms of worship, so
that she could properly "chalenge to her selfe the name of the greate
whore" (Fulke 110').

Other comments upon Andromana also echo Protestant attacks upon the
papal church. At Andromana's instigation, as part of a joint effort to
entice Pyrocles and Musidorus to submit to her lust, her "badly-diligent
ministers often cloyed" the prince's "ears with her praises" (249, p347).
Even so, "the auctoritie of the pope and his clergie," which Protestant
commentators argued were figured by the beast upon which the "Whore," or
Roman Church, sits, "beare hir up even as beastes carie a burden, & with
praises extoll her beautie above the heavens" (Fulke 110'). Andromana's
ministers attempt to "teach" the reluctant and unconvinced heroes "a way
of felicity by seeking her favour" (249, p347). According to Protestant
critics, the clergy of the Roman church similarly encouraged its members
to believe that their "felicity" (a term often used as a synonym for salvation) required them to adhere to the decrees and seek the intervention of the pope and other clergy members.

By the time Pyrocles and Musidorus encounter her, "all" of her husband, the King of Iberia's subjects have "learned . . . to hope for good and fear of harm, only from" Andromana (249, p347). Andromana has "made herself so absolute a master of her husband's mind that a while he would not (after he could not) tell how to govern, without being governed by her. . . ." Andromana's arrogation of her king-husband's sovereignty reflects recurrent Protestant criticism of the usurpation of power from kings by the papacy. While Andromana rules his kingdom, Iberia, "seeing with no other eyes but such as she gave him, and thinking no other thoughts but such as she taught him," has "let loose his thoughts wholly to pleasure, entrusting to her the entire conduct of all his royal affairs. . ." (217, p314; 248, p347): Iberia has become "drunken with the wine of [the Whore of Babylon's] fornication" (Rev. 17:2). Fulke interprets Rev. 17:2 as prophesying the state of affairs in which kings, behaving "as servants rather then kings," would "resigne all there strength and power to the beast, that is they shall warre under the Pope pay tribute unto him, execute his commandementes, as vassals shall acknowledge him for there Lord in all thinges." Fulke is certain that the prophecy has already been fulfilled: "Who knoweth not that this was the state of the kinges of all Europe not many yeares agon?" (115°), until monarchs like Henry VIII refused to recognize the papacy's supremacy. The spiritual inebriation effected by the Whore's wine was interpreted as "that zeale of the papistes wherewith they are in mad dotage upon masses, to Munckerie, Pilgrimages, Pardons," so that they would eagerly "bestowe all there substaunce upon the same baggage. . ." (Fulke 110°).

In attempting to force the work's heroes to submit to her enticements, Andromana causes them to understand "that all favour and power in that realm so depended upon her that, now being in her hands, we
were either to keep or lose our liberty at her discretion" (249, p348). Similarly, once he had obtained his "imperial seat," the pope, according to Bale, "might make both emperors and kings at his pleasure, and likewise dispose them when he lusted. He might distribute the kingdoms and give the great possessions of this world to whom he lusted. . . ." (Works 562).

When they resist Andromana's enticements, the princes are threatened with the tactics reserved for "heretiks" who refuse to succumb to the "seductions" of the "Whore of Babylon." Greville warns: "Trust not this miter which forgiveth none, / But damns all souls that be not of her creeds. . . ." (Monarchy 561). Andromana condemns the princes to prison on the basis of indirect and unsubstantiated charges of treason: "she found means to have us accused to the king (as though we went about some practice to overthrow him in his own estate). . . ." (250, p347). Quite similarly, Bullinger charges that, upon learning "that he is assayed . . . the beast, that is to say the Byshop of Rome who is notable for his cruell, tyrannicall and beastly power," will "styre up the secular power agaynst heretickes" (Apocalypse 14).14 While Andromana does not specifically accuse Pyrocles and Musidorus of religious irregularity, Protestants would not have considered it unusual for those who did not welcome the "whore's" seduction to be convicted on vague accusations that they posed a danger to the state.15

The process by which Andromana usurps power from the Iberian king parallels Protestant discussions of the gradual growth of the "mystery of iniquity" in the Church of Rome.16 After committing his monarchical duties to Andromana, Iberia "slipped insensibly into such an estate that he lived at her indiscreet discretion. . . ." (249, p347). As Reformers charged had become the case with that "impudent strumpet" the Whore of Babylon or Roman church by the high medieval period, Andromana, by the time that she attempts to bring Pyrocles and Musidorus under her sway, "having many times torn the veil of modesty, it seemed for a last delight that she delighted in infamy. . . ." (249, p347). Though "all men's ears"
are saturated with reports of the Iberian king's "reproach" for allowing such a condition to continue, "he, hoodwinked with kindness, least of all men knew who strake him" (249, p347). Mornay, in his history of the papacy, repeatedly cites letters and other evidence of the "abhommable adulation and flatterie" (Mysterie 117) accorded by corrupt popes to corrupt emperors and princes, as Andromana "hoodwinks" Iberia with flattery.

During their captivity in Andromana's "commodious" (250, p349) prison (i.e. the well-endowed papal church) Pyrocles and Musidorus, while "far from loving her," can conceive "no likelihood of going out of that place" (251, p349): they are in the position of medieval Christians in Western Europe, to whom the moral corruption of the Roman Church was evident but who also had no ready alternative to that church. As many medieval European monarchs ratified the papacy's control over their subjects, so Iberia, the king in whose dominion Pyrocles and Musidorus are sojourned, has grown "to such a ridiculous degree of trusting" Andromana that, as Pyrocles testifies, "she caused him send us word upon our lives we should do whatsoever she commanded us" (251, p349) (thus unwittingly ordering the princes to cuckold him). Looking back upon the period in which he and Musidorus were "restrained to so unworthy a bondage" under Andromana, Pyrocles, as he recounts the tale in Arcadia, explains only with difficulty the "great perplexity" that prevented them from seeking more actively to escape. The only justification he can advance is that they were "restrained by love (which, I cannot tell how, in noble minds by a certain duty claims an answering)..." (250, p349; emphases added). As we have seen, the princes are, in fact, "far from loving" Andromana; yet, she claims to "love" them (though Sidney makes it clear that she actually feels nothing but self-interested cupiditas). As Andromana professes "love" for the princes, even the most avaricious and reprobate medieval popes and clerics purportedly served a church ostensibly founded upon the Christian virtue of caritas.
As Pyrocles cannot, in retrospect, comprehend the passivity and confusion that restrained him from endeavoring to break out of Andromana's prison, John Foxe, in pondering "the wretched thraldom of these our churches here in the west part of the world, under the bishop of Rome," cannot determine "whether more to marvel at, or lament, their pitiful state, who were brought into such oppression and slavery under him, that neither could they abide him, nor yet durst cast him off." On the one hand, "no christian patience could suffer, nor nation abide" the popes' "intolerable . . . exactions" and "terrible . . . tyranny"; on the other hand, "so deeply did he sit in their consciences, they falsely believing him to have the authority of St. Peter, that for conscience' sake neither king nor Caesar durst withstand him: much less poor subjects once mute against him." In Foxe's own nation of England, therefore, while "neither the laity nor spirituality could bear" the popes' abuses, "yet was there no remedy; but bear they must, or else the pope's sentence was upon them, to curse them as black as pitch" (2:420).

The vague obligation to Andromana's "love" that prevents Pyrocles and Musidorus from resisting her oppression more actively, quite probably reflects (in addition to the church's teachings on caritas, mentioned above) the control over individual consciences exerted by the popes' supposed spiritual authority, as described by Foxe. Another likely suggestion is that enough remnants of pure Christian doctrine survived amidst the corrupt human "inventions" introduced by the Roman bishops for medieval Christians to feel some attraction to the established church, even as they felt revulsion at the practices of some of the individuals who headed it. Pyrocles comments that the "love" that restrained the princes from more aggressively seeking their own escape involved a similar mixture of respect for pretended motive and detestation for actual behavior: "...how much that love might move us, so much--and more--that faultiness of her mind removed us, her beauty being balanced by her shamelessness" (250-1, p349). Pyrocles and Musidorus, it should be noted,
do not "fornicate" with the "Whore," despite her best efforts, so that providence eventually provides the means for their liberation. Just when the princes have become "full of weariness of what was past and doubt of what was to follow, love . . . brought forth a remedy" (251, p349), for it is true caritas that motivates their rescuers to risk the wrath of the tyrannical "Whore" for the sake of the heroes.

The "Two Witnesses"

Pyrocles and Musidorus are finally freed from Andromana's prison by Palladius and Zelmane, who are recognized by critics of the New Arcadia as exemplars of selfless love. These characters "figure forth" the "two witnesses" of Revelation 11, who, as was discussed at length in my first chapter, were most frequently interpreted by Foxe and other commentators as representative of all "the 'protestants' of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries" (Firth 103) who were seen as paving the way for the Reformation. Both Sidney's characters die outside their homelands as a direct result of their labors to free Pyrocles and Musidorus from Andromana's prison. The witnesses in Revelation 11:8 "lie dead in the streets of the great citie, which spiritually is called Sodom or Egypt," with the "great citie" in the streets of which the dead witnesses lie being glossed in the Geneva Bible as "the whole jurisdiction of the Pope, which is compared to Sodom for their abominable sinne, and to Egypt because the true libertie to serve God is taken away from the faithful" (emphasis added). By the point late in the Asia Minor narrative when the heroes are imprisoned by Andromana, Asia Minor, mirroring the condition of Western Europe dominated by the papacy in the high medieval period, has become such a spiritual "Egypt," as the descriptions of the Iberian queen's ill effects upon her husband and his subjects will have suggested, and it is "liberty" that Palladius dies to attain for the heroes (252, p351).
In his commentary on the "witnesses," Bullinger accuses "the Romish Church" of having "spoyled the Church of Christ, of the libertie gotten by Christ, and wrapped her in filthy bondage" (149'). The princes' captivity under Andromana "figures forth" the metaphoric "bondage" of which Bullinger and other Protestants complained. Pyrocles recalls that after "a special minion of Andromana's . . . with a traitorous blow slew his young prince [Palladius]," he and Musidorus beheld the victim "falling down before our eyes, whom he specially had delivered. . . ." The "anger" the cousins feel in response to his death is, therefore, labelled "justice" (257-8, p356). Since Palladius in rescuing the princes has led them into the kingdom of Bithynia, and the escape is in progress when he is slain, the dead prince must lie dead in the streets until Iberia, presumably, complies with Pyrocles and Musidorus' request to bury his son (257-8, p356-7). Zelmane, as she lies near death, requests, "...let me be buried here obscurely, not suffering my friends to know my fortune; till, when you are safely returned to your own country, you may cause my bones to be conveyed thither. . . ." (268, p367). Pyrocles later confirms that he and his cousin comply with Zelmane's wishes: "...we, in woeful and yet private manner burying her, performed her commandment. . . ." (268, p367). Revelation 11:7 prophesies that after the witnesses "have finished their testimonie, the beast that cometh out of the bottomlesse pit, shal make warre against them, and shall overcome them, and kill them." This beast was commonly identified by Protestants as "the Pope which hathe his power out of hel and cometh thence" (Geneva Bible gloss to 11:7). Likewise, a minion of Andromana, who, as has been argued, is on one level a figure for the Whore of Babylon, or Church of Rome, slays her son, after he has successfully liberated the princes.

The manner of Andromana's death also supports the theory that Zelmane and Palladius are on one level figures for the witnesses. When she sees her dead son just after he has been slain by one of her men while she and they were pursuing him and the princes he had delivered from her
prison, Andromana is finally forced to some recognition of her depravity:
"Then only did misfortune lay her own ugliness upon her fault, and make
her see what she had done, and to what she had come. . ." (258, p356).
She proceeds to commit suicide in a symbolically significant manner:
"deprived of all comfort, with eyes full of death she ran to her son's
dagger, and . . . strake herself a mortal wound" (258, p356-7). Rev. 11:5
predicts of the witnesses, "...if any man wil hurte them, fyre
procedeth, and devoureth their enemies. . .," with the Geneva gloss
explaining that the "fire" signifies "Gods worde whereby his ministers
discomfit the enemies." Andromana’s death upon Palladius' dagger
adumbrates the general early Elizabethan consensus "that Antichrist must
not be vanquished wyth corporall weapons by the ministers, but with
spirituall," elaborated in Bullinger’s commentary on the witnesses as
follows": "For he must be slayme with the Gospell, that most sharpe
s worde, and fall downe & dye in the brestes of men, that he may be utterly
contemned, and knowne to be Antichrist." Yet, before his death,
Palladius, in successfully freeing Pyrocles and Musidorus from the tyranny
of the "whorish" Andromana fulfills his prophetically ordained work as a
"witness." Bullinger explains the significance of the witnesses’
completion of their testimony before being slain by the beast: "For the
Gospell must be openly preached to all men for salvation, and deliveraunce
from anguish, craftes, and discipites & from Antichristes seducers" (147;
emphases added). Andromana, who has labored without success to seduce the
princes, finally dies by means of her son’s dagger (which, I believe,
figures allegorically "the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of
God"), after this son has delivered the princes from her tyranny.

During his heroic rescue efforts on the behalf of Pyrocles and
Musidorus, Palladius shows himself "angry with his mother’s fault"; he is
no less "angry and ashamed" at Andromana’s "fury . . .than desirous to
obey Zelmane [whom he loves]" (257, p355-6). These claims are advanced by
Pyrocles, who must, therefore, have heard the son’s complaints against
Andromana, although they are not reproduced for readers of the *New Arcadia*. Bale writes that the witnesses "rebuke" the "falsehood" of the ungodly: "...they condemn their wickedness; they reprove them of sin. ..." The response of those so chastized is predictable: "That frettest them at the very heart." He later adds that the witnesses constitute a "great trouble" and "a sore vexation" to the ungodly (*Works* 391, 396). Andromana's distress and anxiety upon learning of her son's actions on the behalf of the princes and against her commandments are similar: she "flew" after the crew, "being rather with vehemency of passion than conduct of reason" driven, making her "stumble while she ran, and with her own confusion hinder her own desires. ..." (257, p355). Even after they have been rescued from her prison, Andromana chases the princes "madly. ... no less threatening when she had no more power to hurt" (258, p356), just as popes continued to excommunicate and otherwise punish rulers and other individuals who chose not to follow their commands, especially after such individuals began to remove themselves from the papacy's jurisdiction with the advent of the Reformation.

While these two particular witnesses die, Pyrocles and Musidorus take on their names and repeat their stories when they arrive in Greece. Bale comments on Rev. 11:11: "Many more arise our of their ashes. ... And the same witnesses they are again, giving the same testimony, though they be not the same persons. The same living spirit have they, confessing the same verity. ..." (*Works* 396). The other "witness," Zelmane, too, requests of Pyrocles that, when he and Musidorus go into Greece, Pyrocles take on the pseudonym (Daiphantus) that she adopted when she served him as a disguised page, adding, "let it please your noble cousin to be called Palladius, that I do that right to that poor prince, that his name may yet live upon the earth in so excellent a person. ..." (268, p367). Pyrocles and Musidorus depart from Asia Minor with the examples of the witnesses before their minds' eyes: as Pyrocles recalls, they embark "determining as soon as we came to Greece to take the names of
Daiphantus and Palladius. . ." (272, p371). By repeating during the Asia Minor narratives tales illustrative of Andromana’s wickedness and Palladius’ and Zelmane’s suffering and sacrifices, which are selflessly motivated by love, Pyrocles (though at that point not entirely consciously) bears witness to the verities adumbrated through the prophecies of Rev. 11

Commenting upon the same verse from Revelation, Gifford writes that the "spirit" shared by witnesses manifests itself in their fundamental occupation: ". . .uttering and maintaining the same trueth, & the same cause agaynst Antichrist, and pulling downe his usurped power" (207). Gifford views the "resurrection" from the "ashes" of the witnesses referred to by Bale and in Revelation 11:11 as having "first" been "fulfilled when God raised up his noble instruments and most worthie servants master Luther, master Calvin, Peter Martir, Bucer, and many other" (207). Through the work of "faithfull ministers" such as these, "the servants of the Lord which were murthered in time of poperie, or which were condemned as heretikes, and so lay under all ignominie and reproch among men: as Wickliffe, Husse, Hierome of Prague, and many other, are they not after a sort also even raised up to life. . .?" (207). The chronological sequencing of the Asia Minor narratives suggests that Zelmane and Palladius represent "first generation" witnesses around the time of Wickliffe and Husse.21

As was discussed in Chapter 1, Protestant commentators related the small number of sincere and devout testifiers suggested by the specified number of two witnesses to the mere "small flock" that maintained true doctrine and thus constituted Christ’s authentic but invisible church during the era in which the papal church dominated Western Europe. After the point in the Asia Minor narratives that I argue below depicts the usurpation of temporal power by the papacy, Pyrocles and Musidorus significantly encounter virtuous characters almost exclusively in very small groups (usually two) of individuals who have frequently been abused
by the corrupt characters who control power in the lands. Yet, as is illustrated by the examples of figures such as Palladius and Zelmane and as Bullinger argued was signified in Rev. 11, such "witnesses," though few in number, suffice to "pluke downe and rent asunder the kyngdome of Antichrist" (143').

Zelmane, for her work as a "witness," abandons the rich array to which she is entitled by her status as a princess for the simple page's attire in which she serves Pyrocles in disguise (260, p359). The morally good Leonates and his father, two other virtuous characters whom the princes encounter in Asia Minor, are, when the heroes meet them near an isolated cave, "both poorly arrayed, extremly weather-beaten" (179, p275), having been deprived of power by Plexirtus (shortly to be discussed as a prominent "member of Antichrist"). The two witnesses in Rev. 11:3 are said to be "clothed in sack cloth," glossed in the Geneva Bible as "In poore and simple apparel," and expounded by Bale: ". . .no pomp shall apear in their apparel, no glory of the world in their behavior" (Works 388). The rich vestments for which Protestants criticized the popish clergy made this detail particularly attractive to Reformers who favored simple, unadorned attire for clerics. Christ selects for "this so honorable an office of being his witnesses, not golden popes, not purple Cardinals, nor yet mytred byshops, but" nonpompous members of "the abject people, . . .whose dignitie is to be estemed not by their appareil, which is very course, but by the office committed to them": "Perswading men by all means to repentance from Idolâtrie and other works of darknes" (Fulke 69'). Bullinger explains that St. John takes care to specify the witnesses' apparell "that hereof also may be gathered the manner of their doctrine. They shall not be clothed in soft or precious apparell, as velvet, sattin, or damaske, or crimosine ingrayned, but in sackcloth," which in the writings of the prophets serves as "a mournyng garment, and for such as are penitent." Following the example of John the Evangelist, who "was coursely apparelled, and preached repentance: So shall [the
"witnesses"] also move men unto repentance and amendement of lyfe" (144°). By contrast, "what the apparel of the antichristians is, there is no man ignoraunt at this day. Certes in some of them it is little better than whorish" (144°). Gifford, too, also specifically contrasts the plain clothing of the witnesses to that of the "Pope and his Cardinalls, his great prelates, and clerie masters," who are attired with "pompe, and pride, and outward glory arrayed in all pretious costly things" (197).24

It may be objected that I am over-reading casual details in Sidney's text. Granted, a reference to a character's poor clothing would not in and of itself constitute evidence that the character should be interpreted as an allegorical "witness." However, my argument is based upon the clustering of many details corresponding to those in the prophecy of the "two witnesses" within the stories of characters like Palladius and Zelmane, in addition to the precise sequential fit of their liberation of the princes and their ensuing deaths (which I date to the period just prior to the Reformation) within a very long narrative that contains numerous other distinctive images and allusions datable to specific eras that must likewise maintain proper chronological ordering.

"Poisonous Hypocrisy, Desperate Fraud, Smooth Malice": Plexirtus as Antichrist

One of the verses from Revelation upon which Renaissance Protestants expended the most energy, and which they reinterpreted most fundamentally relative to medieval traditions, was 20:7, "And when the thousand yeres are expired, Satan shalbe losed out of prison." British Protestants, such as John Foxe, in his later writings, often interpreted the release of Antichrist (whom they, by the mid-sixteenth century, nearly always identified with the papacy, and sometimes with the Turks as well)25 as concurrent with the persecution of forerunners of the Protestant movement
such as Wycliffe and Huss, two of the figures they included most frequently on their lists of "witnesses."

Sidney's primary representative of Antichrist in the Asia Minor narratives is Plexirtus, a character whom an "ancient lord" confines to "a miserable prison till a day appointed, at which time he would be devoured by a monstrous beast of most ugly shape" (270; emphasis added). This beast is compared to a leopard, as are the apocalyptic beasts of Rev. 13:2 and Daniel 7:6 and to a lion, as is the beast of Rev. 13:2. Plexirtus is released from this prison just before the close of the Asia Minor narratives, after Pyrocles slays the beast, an act that symbolizes on one level the blow struck to the power of the Roman Church by the start of the Reformation, as with Bale's interpretation of the wounded head of the beast in Rev. 13:3 (Works 426). Since Plexirtus' release from prison results from Pyrocles' slaying of the beast in fulfillment of a promise to the dying Zelmane (268-70, p366-9), the death and influence of the "witnesses" leads directly to the allegorical beginnings of the Reformation.

The very choice of the word beast, the term used for the apocalyptic monster of Revelation 13 and 17 in English translations of the Bible, is likely significant: Sidney emphasizes the word choice by repeating it three times within a single sentence: after the phrase "monstrous beast" cited above, readers learn that the ancient lord "considered it "no fitter match than such a beastly monster with a monstrous tyrant; proclaiming yet withal that if any so well loved him as to venture their lives against his beast for him, if they overcame he should be saved . . . (such confidence he had in that monster's strength). . . ." (270, p369; emphasis added). Later, the nobleman "bewail[s]" that Pyrocles uses his virtue . . . to save a worse monster than" the beast he slays (270-1, p369). The interchangeability of terms for Plexirtus and the beast, as well as the ambiguous response to Pyrocles' victory, suggest the simultaneous positive and negative Protestant assessments of events seen as accompanying the
release of Antichrist (marked by Plexirtus' release from prison): the
welcome challenge to the papacy's power, concurrent with sorrow for the
renewal of persecutions, this time inflicted upon those who paved the way
for and began the Reformation. Pyrocles humbly assigns his victory over
the beast to providence: "...so was my weakness blessed from above that
without dangerous wounds I slew that monster (which hundreds durst not
attempt)..." (270, p369). Myron Turner has observed that no other
Asia Minor episode contains a specific reference to "the direct assistance
of divine grace in heroic exploits--a fact significantly enhancing the
symbolic value of Pyrocles' final quest in Asia..." (130). This
"blessing" likely implies divine assistance in and approval of the
Reformers' break with the Church of Rome. It at first seems inconsistent
that Pyrocles willingly releases Plexirtus from prison. However, the
church-history thesis actually helps to explain this seeming incongruity
within the text of the New Arcadia itself. The Bible specifically
prophesied that Antichrist must be released before the End. Pyrocles,
therefore, by effecting Plexirtus' release from prison, actually furthers
the fulfillment of prophecy (though he is probably not fully aware of the
fact at the time). Foxe, for instance, accepts that "...it is the good
will of our God, that Satan thus should be let loose amongst us for a
short time..." (Acts I.xxiv).

Repeated references to "the intricate changeableness of" Plexirtus'
estate" (252) connect Sidney's character to Antichrist, as the facility
of Spenser's Archimago for varying his exterior semblance at will relates
him to Antichrist "under its guise as the False Prophet (Rev. 19:20), the
Beast from the Land, 'which had two hornes like the Lambe, but he spake
like the dragon' (Rev. 13:11). ..." (King Spenser's 73). Fulke finds in
the multiple names assigned to Antichrist in Rev. 20:2, "the dragon that
olde serpent, which is the devil and Satan," evidence of his character as
"an artificer of a thousand subtelties," who "like proteus could
transforme him selfe in a hundred shapes" (131'). Languet similarly
writes in a letter to Sidney, "The Roman pontiff transforms himself into every shape to prop his falling throne; but God turns his wicked counsells to his ruin" (Correspondence 172). More generally, comments such as the following link Plexirtus to "the intricate dissimulations and false appearances of Catholic characters named Hypocrisy," who appeared frequently in Reformation works (King English 157): "...so had Nature formed him (and the exercise of craft conformed him) to all turningness of sleights that, though no man had less goodness in his soul than he, no man could better find the places whence arguments might grow. ..." (185, p281). Plexirtus' weapons of choice are "false-meant promises" and the "devilish sleight" (263, p362). Particularly since critics have often attempted to extrapolate Sidney's political philosophy from the Asia Minor narratives, it is essential to recognize that characters like Plexirtus were not simply created in a vacuum to set forth abstract, secular political theories but have numerous predecessors and counterparts in the Reformation tradition.

While Plexirtus generally resorts to moral "disguise," as will be discussed below, he does in one instance employ a variety of physical costume, but one that aims to conceal his corrupt moral intentions rather than his identity. Under seige by Leonates and left with no possibility of victory, he pretends to signify his "submission" to his brother by appearing "with a rope about his neck, barefooted" (185, p282). Readers learn "how artificially" Plexirtus, during his forced surrender, "could set out the torments of his own conscience," there being than him "no man more ready to confess, with a repenting manner of aggravating his own evil. .." (185, p281). His propensity for feigned confessions of his guilt, when such will further his own interests, likely reflect Protestant denunciations of the reliance upon "auricular confession" in the Roman Church.

Descriptions of Plexirtus' actions and demeanor prior to his imprisonment resemble those used by polemical British Protestant church
historiographers for another key event that they, eager to show the superiority of a church headed by a monarch rather than the papacy, stressed: "the translation of one Roman empire from the emperor to the pope through the papal usurpation of temporal power" (Firth 28). Plexirtus, a "bastard" son, seizes the right king his father's throne with "as much poisonous hypocrisy, desperate fraud, smooth malice, hidden ambition, and smiling envy as in any living person could be harboured" (181, p277).16

Sidney's choice of "the kingdom of Galatia" (179, p275) as the setting in which the blinded Paphlagonia makes his first appearance in the New Arcadia, having already been thrust from power by his son, Plexirtus, may relate to St. Paul's chastisement of the Galatians for allowing "False Apostles" to persuade them to return their confidence to the "ceremonies of the Law" after they had been instructed in "the truth of the Gospel."

In his epistle to the congregation, Paul denounces this corrupt doctrine so vehemently "that he proveth that the granting thereof is the overthrowe of mans salvation purchased by Christ. . . ." (Geneva "Argument" to Galatians). Protestants often accused that an emphasis upon external ritual in the Roman Church amounted to a voluntary return to the "bondage" of the Old Law, with Bale, for example, chastising the pope and his followers for "their more than Jewish ceremonies," especially "their foul masses" (Works 427). The "foolysh and braynlesse companye" that bases its positions in religious controversies upon the "gross and carnall companye of fathers and Bishoppes, which doubtlesse, are voyde of all spirituall understandinge," is chided by Zwingli with the outcry of Paul to the Galatians (3:1): "O foolysshe Galathians, who hath bewytched you, that ye should not beleve the truthe . . . , but brynge youre selves and the scryptures under the judgement of moste lyving men?" (J6r7). Paphlagonia, similarly, has allowed his faith in his loyal son, the "witness" Leonatus, to be undermined by the Antichristian Plexirtus. In doing so, Paphlagonia

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"sets off a whole chain of private and public disasters." (Davis "Thematic" 131).

The analogies drawn by Protestants between the ceremonies of the Old Law and the rituals of the Church of Rome, together with the specification that Plexirtus is the "bastard son" of Paphlagonia's "base...concubine," whereas Leonatus is his son by "lawful marriage" (181, p277), suggest that Sidney alludes as well to the allegory of the two sons of Abraham presented in Galatians 4:22-31. Abraham's son by Agar, "the servant, was borne after the flesh" and "persecuted" his brother, who was "borne after the spirit" to the "fre woman," Sarah, as Plexirtus repeatedly plots against Leonatus' life. Paul explains that the two women signify "the two Testaments," with Agar figuring the Law, "which gendreth unto bondage," and Sara representing that "Jerusalem, which is above" and "fre: which is the mother of us all." Paul concludes by asking the Galatians to recall that followers of Christ "are not children of the servant, but of the fre woman": the Galatians are to "Put out the servant and her sonne...." Bale explicitly labels the Church of Rome as the contemporary type of Agar, representative of the Law that leads to bondage: in detailing the congregation that should remain in the purified church, he exhorts, "Throw forth the bond-woman, and her son, the Roman Church with her children..." (Works 385). The conventional associations Sidney establishes between Plexirtus and the papacy and Antichrist would, therefore, imply the need to "put out" or remove oneself from (to say the least) the Church of Rome. The unnamed, shared mother of Plexirtus and Andromana (the "Whore of Babylon"), that "base woman," Paphlagonia's concubine (181, p277; 252, p350), must be yet another figure for the corrupt Roman Church with which her two children are associated.

The "Mysterie of Iniquitie"
In the New Arcadia, Plexirtus' usurpation of power marks the appearance or unbinding of Antichrist with the translation of power from Roman emperors to the papacy, an event interpreted by Protestants as a key indicator of the "departing" to which St. Paul refers in 2 Thessalonians 2, where he warns that the "days of Christ" could not arrive before a "departing" of the visible church and the disclosure of the "man of sin" who exalts himself above God and "doth sit as God in the Temple of God. . . ." While the "mysterie of iniquitie" was at work even in his own time, Paul stated that a certain individual ("he which now withholdeth") would have to be removed before the man of sin could be fully revealed. The "let" hindering this disclosure was, according to a tradition established by patristic exegetes, and adhered to by Calvin and other Reformers, the Roman Empire. Protestants could, therefore, argue "that Antichrist, in the form of the papacy, had been manifested at the fall of the Empire of ancient Rome" (Bauckham 120-1) and that the "Man of sin" was "the Pope" (Mornay Mysterie 2). Calvin and other Protestants saw the "departing" of 2 Thessalonians as referring not only to the decline of the Roman Empire but to the simultaneous decay of the true faith and true worship established by Christ and the Apostles (Bauckham 120-1).

Reformers often indicated, however, that the full significance of the corruption to the visible church ensuing from the papacy's usurpation of the power of the Roman Empire may not have been immediately evident to many of its members. They commonly pointed to another incident, therefore, as marking the full manifestation of the man of sin, as constituting "...the action by which Antichrist stood revealed to the eyes of those who were not blinded by the 'efficacy of error' (2 Thess. 2.11)"; the admission by the Eastern Roman Emperor Phocas of the title of "universal bishop" to Pope Boniface III shortly after 600 (Bauckham 120). Tyndale had cited the relationship between Phocas and Boniface III to illustrate "Roman treachery and immorality" and as evidence of "the final corruption of the Church" (Firth 26, Tyndale 258). The "bloudye tyrante
Phocas" acquired his office after he murdered the previous emperor, Maurice, his wife, children, brother, and "many nobles," then "resigned the Antichristians kingdome to Boniface the Pope. . . " (Fulke 85; Bale Pageant 37'). Mornay claims that Phocas "adorned" the bishop of Rome with the title "to reconcile hymself with the people of Rome" after he had committed "so cursed and detestable murther" (Treatise 252, 239). Phocas' granting of the title after these murders was likewise seen as a critical moment in church history, marking "the advent of the 'false' church of Anticrist," by John Foxe and other commentators (King Iconography 140) such as Bale, Mornay, William Whitaker, Hugh Broughton, and Thomas Brightman. Bale divided his Pageant of Popes into three books to illustrate the progressive growth of the "seade of Antichrist" sown in the Church of Rome, with the reign of Boniface III marking the transition from the second to the third, and most corrupt, group (25'). Bale even viewed the process by which Phocas' murder of an emperor led to his creation of the first pope as symbolic of the undoing of secular authority by the papacy: ". . .Phocas, the first pope-maker, slew his master the emperor Mauritius, signifying in mystery the said pope-making to be an utter destruction to the empire" (Works 503).

In the New Arcadia, Tydeus and Telenor, two brothers who had been "brought up from their infancy with Plexirtus," are able to "defend his foul vice of injustice" only because of their "willing hoodwinking themselves from seeing his faults" (186-7, p280, p283). Their blindness to the "efficacy of error" is, accordingly, not excusable: like those who chose to follow an openly corrupt papacy, Tydeus and Telenor, "binding themselves to believe what he [Plexirtus] said" (187, p283), do not stop to examine his commands by any higher authority. Mornay writes that it was close to the time of Phocas and the popes following Boniface III that the Roman Bishop claimed "power to establish, and to put doune, as it seemeth good unto hym. . . " (Treatise 256), to exert the variety of absolute control over the members of his church that Plexirtus does over
Tydeus and Telenor. Because, as Mornay writes, defending the most common Protestant position, "Antichrist is not one man alone, . . . but is an estate, seate and succession of men, an Empire lifted up against Jesus Christ," a succession he proceeds to identify as the papacy (Treatise 262), Plexirtus at this point in Sidney's allegorical church history, would not stand simply as a figure for Boniface III, but as a more general representative of the papacy after the Roman Bishop claimed sovereignty.

Indeed, to commemorate Phocas' notorious role in effecting this monumental advance in the efficacy of the "mystery of iniquity," Sidney seems to create specific parallels between the actions of Plexirtus and of that emperor as well, suggesting the collaboration and guilt of the various "members of Antichrist" wielding both civil and ecclesiastical power. For instance, Plexirtus is said to have "maliciously . . . murdered" a relative of the ancient lord who imprisons him (269, p368). Also, after seizing Paphlagonia's crown, he "as unjustly . . . kept it by force of stranger soldiers in citadels, the nests of tyranny and murders of liberty. . . ." (182, p278). Phocas, who had been a centurion under the emperor Maurice, gained power from, then murdered and replaced, his former master by organizing and creating himself captain over a group of discontented soldiers who hated the emperor (Mornay Mysterie 116). Plexirtus, as the primary representative of Antichrist in the Asia Minor narratives, is associated with a series of progressively later historical individuals as the allegorical church history proceeds through time. Similarly, the German commentator John Henry Alsted, though a millenarian, could write early in the seventeenth century that Antichrist had "grown like one man throughout the ages. His infancy began in 597 with Gregory's announcement of his birth; his adolescence endured from the time of Phocas to Charlemagne; his youth continued until Sigismund and John Huss, . . ." etc. (Firth 209-10.) As was discussed in my first chapter, Baukham has observed that, in the apocalyptic writings of Bale and Foxe, Sidney's "allegory seems to slide between the universal and the particular" (81).
Plexirtus' character well illustrates this principle, for he both functions as a broad representative of Antichrist and, simultaneously, shares strong and specific parallels to one or more historical individuals, who are themselves "members of Antichrist."

Phocas' bestowal of the title of Universal Bishop upon the head of the Roman Church led to "that separation and rent betweene the Churches of the East and West, which dureth unto this day, and serveth for a remarkable period in the Church, for . . . this was the time when Antichrist began to set foot into the world," wrote Mornay (Mysterie 119), echoing a commonplace Protestant charge. Another factor Mornay cites as widening the divide between the Eastern and Western Churches in the same century as the ignoble interactions between Phocas and Boniface is the "greate strifes in the Greke and Latine Churche about Images, whereupon encreased Superstition together with ignorance." He adds, "The Greeks were of mynde to throwe them doune: The Pope in despite of them would holde them up" (Treatise 253).

When Plexirtus calls for Tydeus and Telenor to return to him, binding "themselves to believe what he said" (186-7, p283), they had been attempting, with Pyrocles and Musidorus, to succour Queen Erona, who is under siege by the King of Armenia. As an adolescent princess, Erona, observing with disapproval that the subjects of her father, the king of Lycia, were "so much devoted to Cupid as that in every place his naked picture and images were superstitiously adored, . . . procured so much of her father as utterly to pull down and deface all those statues and pictures. . . ." (205, p302)." This passage, with its references to defacing and to the superstitious adoration of images, is replete with key terms from sixteenth-century iconoclastic debates. While in the original version of the Erona tale, in the First Eclogues of the Old Arcadia, the princes' efforts to rescue this Queen are explicitly labelled "the first enterprise they ever entered into" (63), in the New Arcadia this adventure has been carefully integrated within an intricate chronological sequence,
and the actions of characters from other episodes not in the original have been intertwined with those of Erona and individuals fighting on either side of the battle centered upon her. Sidney’s countryman and contemporary, the fervent Protestant William Harrison, wrote of "the seemingly endless proliferation of idolatry at the end of the sixth century AD, as men cast off Scriptural restraints upon their imaginations. . ." (Parry 190). This time period would approximate fairly closely that of Erona’s adolescence, if some of the disputes centered upon her shortly thereafter "figure forth" events of the time of Phocas and then of the divide between the churches of the Greek and Latin empires. Foxe’s Christus Triumphants, which featured a woman named Ecclesia as a central character, together with her three children, Europe, Africa, and Asia, would have provided a precedent for using characters as allegorical representatives for various branches of the Christian church. The work also provides a precedent for covering the history of the Church allegorically, but very swiftly, by highlighting key images and figures from Revelation.

Within a year after she induces her father to destroy the host of Cupid images, Erona, whom I have linked to the Eastern churches, is "punished (for to that the Lycians impute it)" by being "stricken with the most obstinate love to" Antiphilus ("Anti-Love" Davis 118), who is "but of mean parentage . . .--so mean as that he was but the son of her nurse, and by that means (without other desert) became known of her" (205, p302). This affair marks yet another of the critical events that ensured that the seventh century was seen as a critical juncture in the history of the church, when Antichrist openly "set foot into the world." Tyndale and Protestants who viewed Tyndale as a forerunner of their own reformist tradition judged as crucial to an understanding of church history the concurrence of the consolidation of temporal power by the Bishop of Rome and the rise of Muhammad and his followers.
Antiphilus, upon whom Erona's attention centers after her iconoclastic outburst, is connected very precisely to Muhammad and his followers through Sidney's accumulation in his character of Renaissance stereotypes about the same. Antiphilus' "base parentage" has already been mentioned. Muhammad's "base" origins were nearly always commented upon by Protestants. More striking is Antiphilus' forging of a new family tree, "proving" that his own ancestors actually constitute the true "royal line": ". . . being but obscurely born, he had found out unblushing pedigrees that made him not only of the blood royal, but true heir—though unjustly dispossessed of Erona's ancestry. . . " (299, p399). According to Carion's Chronicles, Muhammad, who initially entitled his followers "the kingdom of the Saracens," had actually been born an Agarene. He changed his own ancestral label to Saracen "not without a great cause, for the promise made to Abraham in scripture was made to the son of Sara, and not of Agar." The prophet was accused of deliberate duplicity: "... Mahomet underneith a color pretended that hiss people were acceptable to God, ye & to whom perteyned the promesse of the blessing, that they should have dominion of the world, (for he expounded all the promises of the Scripture carnally) chaunging the name of set purpose, he called his people Sarracens, as children of Sara. . . " (122'-123'). Just as Plexirtus calls Tydeus and Telenor away from fighting on behalf of Erona, Mornay writes that the pope severed "the East Churches . . . from the communion of the Church," leaving "them for a pray to the Turke, because they will not acknowledge him" (Treatise 175). Similarly, just after his discussion of Phocas, Tyndale observes that the pope managed "to invade the empire . . . while the emperor was occupied afar off in resisting Mahomet" (260). The love/lust relationship between Erona and Antiphilus would be allegorically appropriate in that Muhammad "in Christian eyes was a schismatic who seduced a portion of the Christian Church" (Hankins 207). Within six months after he obtains the Lycian crown by marrying Erona, Antiphilus' "vainness" prompts him "to despise" her, and, consequently,
"to pretend barrenness" and to enact "an unlawful law of having mo wives than one" (299, p399). The allowance of polygamy was another favorite point of attack in Protestant critiques of Muhammad and his followers, "one that provides a quite specific indication of Antiphilus' symbolic identity. The manner of his death is finally determined by Artaxia ". . . at the humble suit of all the women of that city, to deliver him to their censure; who mortally hating him for having made a law of polygamy . . . " (303, p403; emphasis added)."

Other character traits confirming Antiphilus' symbolic identity include his vast and ruthless ambition and his low level of learning. Upon becoming king, Antiphilus is so "incredibly blinded with the over-bright shining of his royalty" (300, p399-400) that "imagining no so true property of sovereignty as to do what he listed, and to list whatever pleased his fancy, he quickly made his kingdom a tennis-court where his subjects should be the balls," freely and "licentiously abusing them" (299, p398). Antiphilus soon transfers his desires to the Armenian queen, Artaxia, who leads him on, for her own purposes," so that, following his own "false hopes," "already his imagination had crowned him king of Armenia" (300, p399). According to Greville, Muhammad "propos'd / The empire of this world to his ambition" (Monarchy 58). This stereotype about Muhammad and his followers is recurrent in Renaissance discussions. According to Thomas Newton's Notable Historie of the Saracens (1575), Muhammad's "ambicious mynde, gaped without measure after promocion and authoritie," prompting him to acquire for himself "Soveraignitie of Empyre, as also divine honour" (Curio 4')." Antiphilus' intemperate lust for power is connected to his "inferior" intellectual capacity: "in nature not able to conceive the bonds of great matters, suddenly borne into an unknown ocean of absolute power he was swayed withal . . . as every wind of passion puffed him . . . " (299, p398). Once he has acquired the office of king, Antiphilus' "mind" is said to be "lifted so far beyond the level of his own discourse that," he gloats only on his recollections
"that himself was in the high seat of a king. . . ." (299, p398). The comment on Antophilus' low "level of . . . discourse" points to another Renaissance stereotype about Saracens and Turks, their lack of learning. Newton calls Muhammad "altogether unskilfull and ignorant of learning. . . ." (13'). Antophilus is said to have a "little mind" (301, p401) and to possess "no greatness but outward" (301, p400).

While the Lycians attribute Erona's "obstinate love" for Antophilus to her destruction of the Cupid images that they so "superstitiously adored" in such quantity, their assignment of responsibility implies that Erona's behavior was wrong and, therefore, that, despite the destruction of the images, their own superstitious idolatry persists. Renaissance authors imputed the success of Muhammad and his followers "first and foremost" to "the Will of God who has used the Moslems as an instrument to punish the wickedness of Christians. . . ." (Chew 121). Mornay links Muhammad's success in the dominions of the Greek Church and the church of the Armenians to the declining "zeale, care, and puritie" arising from the entrance of individuals "called from Paganisme" who, "comming out of such a bottomlesse pit of Idolâtrie, . . . could not altogether forsake their old customes. They had builded many beautifull temples to their Idols" and continued the practice in their new churches (Treatise 158-60). The havoc that descends upon the entire society when Antophilus makes Lycia his "tennis-court," might be seen as divine punishment for the folly of the kingdom's residents, as well as of its queen. Erona is nineteen when she persuades her father to destroy the images. Her own motives are left ambiguous: she is "either moved thereunto by the esteeming that could be no godhead which could breed wickedness" (probably a fairly positive impulse, given that the god in question is an idolized Cupid) or by "the shamefast consideration of such nakedness" (205, p302), in which case she would not be acting from the most profound of theological considerations but from something closer to teenage confusion.
Whatever galvanizes her initial fury against the Cupid images, Sidney makes it pointedly clear that, in her post-adolescent years, at least, Erona willfully perseveres in the error suggested by her name (which also means "possessed by Eros" Davis 118). Allowing herself to be controlled by "vehemency of affections," she is said to "stoop to so overbase a servitude" that, despite repeated evidence of Antiphilus' wickedness and no sign whatsoever of any inclination to virtue in his nature, she persists "desperately bent to maintain" her "ill-set affections" (300, p400). Even after Antiphilus is put to death, neither his "unworthiness, nor his wrongs" can move her to "diminish with consideration the affection she had borne him. But even glorying in affliction and shunning all comfort, she seemed to have no delight but in making herself the picture of misery..." (305, p404; emphases added). Erona's "love" obviously results from "selfness" rather than any virtue actually adhering in its recipient.

As was discussed in my last chapter, the Asia Minor narratives function within the tradition of retrospective narrative conventional to epics like the Odyssey and the Aeneid. Since both Aeneas' and Odysseus' accounts of their past travels were solo performances, Sidney departs significantly from epic precedent by assigning the retrospective narratives to several different speakers. In the New Arcadia, Musidorus relates the princes' early adventures in Asia Minor. Between his narrative and that of Pyrocles, Philoclea and Pamela repeat tales centered upon Erona and Plangus. A number of critics have observed a degeneration in the ethical atmosphere of Asia Minor as the narratives progress chronologically: tales such as those of Plangus and Erona, Peter Lindenbaum remarks, "point to increasing moral confusion in a world in which it is more and more difficult to distinguish good from bad actions and in which virtuous action has less and less of a lasting effect" (63).

The tale of Erona "marks the dividing line between two sets of stories": actions in the latter half of the Asia Minor narratives, which
are recounted by Pyrocles, "all involve lust or passion in high degree" (Davis 121-2), reflecting, from the perspective of the allegorical church history for which I argue, the impact upon society of an increasingly corrupt church, as the heroes travel through time from the Primitive Church to the late medieval period, just prior to the outset of the Reformation. Within the tales that center upon Erona, Sidney, I have argued, treats events such as the Eastern emperor, Phocas', bestowal of the title of Universal Bishop upon the head of the Roman Church. Bale connects the decline of the Greek and Roman civil empires, the murders committed by Phocas, and the rise of "the Popedome whiche" Phocas "graunted and established. Anno. 606. . .". The nearly concurrent events all provide tokens of Antichrist's rapid advances: "...Papistrie and Mahumets religion began bothe together at one time, which corrupted, darkened, and weakened the doctrine of God in many regions" (Pageant 38). The new title of Universal Bishop, upon which the entire claim to absolute power by the papacy rested, encouraged, according to Mornay and other Protestants, ruthless competition for the position and led to the domination of the Western Church by those eager to abuse its authority and vast resources. The nearly simultaneous rise to power of Muhammad and his followers in this period, an ascent that Sidney figures allegorically within the Erona tales, reinforced the Protestant belief that Antichrist's power advanced monumentally during this era.

The "remarkable period" in the history of the church that this era marks for Mornay is emphasized in the New Arcadia through changes in narrators. The switches in narrators also make more pronounced for readers the contrasts, observed by recent critics, in the greater effectiveness of the heroes' actions in Musidorus', as opposed to Pyrocles', tales. Recognizing that the heroes' impact declines after a pivotal turning point in Sidney's allegorical church history, when the forces of Antichrist have vastly increased their worldly power, suggests the implicit lesson that even the noblest efforts of Sidney's well-
intentioned heroes bear little fruit once the church comes to be dominated by an Antichristian papacy that ignores and abuses Scripture and the example of the Apostolic church.

John Carey writes that in the Asia Minor narratives Sidney brings in "crowds of new characters, as well as involving and perplexing the storyline in a way that deliberately makes it hard to follow." Such narrative methods impart to "the workings of fate and struggles of passion and reason that Sidney portrays a seemingly endless validity and complication. His moral landscape stretches now as far as the eye can see, restless, tormented, full of pain and unlooked for catastrophe" (251). Yet, a "tragic world view" and "a bleak vision of man's fate" (245) need not be assigned to Sidney himself. ¹¹

The point of portraying conditions in Asia Minor as increasingly hopeless is more probably to endorse a frequent Protestant justification for separation from the Church of Rome (and, indeed, for the purgation of even nominally Reformed churches from Antichristian, Romish practices remaining within them): the need to "come out of Babylon," or separate oneself completely from the church of Antichrist, which gives rise to such a society. The pertinent verses from Revelation (Rev. 18:4-5) are featured as epigraphs on the title pages of the 1579, 1580, and 1581 English editions of Mornay's Treatise of the Church: "Go out of Babylon my people, that you be not partakers in her sinnes, and that ye receyve not of her plagues. For her sinnes are come up into heaven and God hath remembered her iniquities." The command to "Go Out of Babylon" appears as well on the title pages of the 1574 translation of Bale's Pageant of Popes and of his classic Revelation commentary, The Image of Both Churches (Works 250), as well as on the final page of Mornay's 661 page apocalyptic church history, The Mysterie of Iniquitie. ¹² The political urgency of these verses to defenders of the Protestant "Cause" is evident in Mornay's admonition "That every one is bounde to separate himselfe from the communion of Antichrist," with the papacy defined as ". . . Antichrist, of

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whom the Church is warned and threatened, and his Synagogue is that same Babylon of Idolatrie, out of which wee have an expresse commandement to come, if we will not be partakers of her sinnes and plagues. . ." (Treatise 300-1). Gifford concurs, warning vehemently: "If ye take them to be grievous plagues which God doth inflict, not only in this life, but especially in the torments of hell, then separate yourselves and come out of Babylon, renounce the poperie and all Romish trash, and cleave fast to the holy Gospell of Jesus Christ, which shall save your soules" (Revelation 345). My church-history thesis thus furnishes an additional thematic rationale for a pattern in the development of the Asia Minor narratives observed by a number of recent critics.

Mornay, like Sidney, reworks the Aeneid to justify the Protestant separation from the Church of Rome. In a significant example of the widespread tendency, observed by Barbara Johnson, "of Protestant readers to allegorize all sorts of texts in terms of Reformation history" (116), Mornay, in the epistle "To the Friends and Followers of the Church of Rome" preceding his apocalyptic history of the papacy, The Mysterie of Iniquitie, summarizes the church's history from its corruption under the papacy--particularly after it claimed for itself the title of Universal Bishop--to the outset of the Reformation as analogous to the main action of the Fall of Troy episode from the Aeneid. Before Antichrist could "sit as God in the Temple of God, shewing him self that he is God," as had been prophesied in 2 Thessalonians 2 (the chapter from which the title of Mornay's treatise is derived), he first had to pilfer from the people Scripture, which discloses his nature and arms believers against his subtle deceptions. Just as Troy remained secure until "the ungodly" Diomedes and "Ulysses, the contriver of crime, dared to tear the fateful Palladium from its hallowed shrine," after which the Trojans' "strength was broken. . ." (Aeneid 2.163-70); so the Church of Christ could withstand the treacheries of Antichristians as long as the Word retained its rightful position at its center. After Antichrist "invaded this
chayre," however, the papacy, rather than Scripture, occupied the central position of power in God's Temple. "It was necessarie that the Palladium, le Garde corps of the Church should first be stollen, before" Antichrist could possess this long-coveted seat of power, "before that fatall horse could be admitted; The word of God, the Candlesticke of the holie Scriptures must first bee hid under a bushell, before the theefe durst creep in, or make any assault upon the Church; which still continuing in force, in vaine could that sinke of superstitions besiege it. . . ."

After this coup, "that old Dragon, under the colour of a not written word, cunningly and closely brought in Traditions to betray the Church; which the wisedome of the flesh, their neere alliance better agreeing with carnall reason, did willingly and with good countenance receive equalled with the Written word. As Sinon, through "divers cunning devices covering his treacherie," convinced the Trojans to accept willingly the "engine" of their doom, the Trojan horse, so, under the influence of the papacy, the Church's "seventh Idolatrour Synod" established that "Traditions" be "preferred before the Word, opposed against it" (A4'). Antichrist's progressive corruption of and grip upon the institutional Church was then assured: "From thence forward he put all to fire and sword in the citie, ransacked the Church, polluted the holie things, left nothing untouched with the infectious hands of his Harpies, powred out of that fatall horse all manner of superstitious services in the Church. . . ." Having been "consecrated and hallowed . . . by the Popes," doctrines and ceremonies that were in fact "Heathenish and Idolatrous" were sanctioned as "Catholike, Orthodoxall" (A5'). Under conditions such as these, Reformers had no alternative but to flee from the Church of Antichrist so that true doctrine could be preserved and practiced, just as, to insure the survival of the Trojan household gods, Aeneas had been forced to extricate himself physically from Troy after it was overtaken by the Greeks: "Now in the middest of this fire, this universall confusion, thy neighbors house being on fire, nay thine owne, nay thy beard being singed,
thou gapest," Mornay chides those who remain still within the Church of Rome. Reformers, rather, followed Aeneas' heroic example by removing themselves from these hopeless conditions: "Wise Antenor, devout Aeneas, did not" passively gape as the Greeks destroyed Troy, "but breaking through the Grecian troupes, got themselves out of the citie with their fellows, gathered together what they could, and to sea they goe. . . ." They proceeded to search out and settle a "new country," remaining "stil Trojans whither soever they went . . . ; carrying with them their household gods, and the ensignes of their countrey. . . ." True Christians followed this paradigm, departing from the Babylon of the Romish church to found a new church centered upon pure doctrine: " . . .Being still Christians, professors of the Catholike faith, carrying with them the word of God, untouched by the fire of the Greeks, keeping the Sacraments of our Lord sound and pure" (AS^). 

I argue in Chapter 4 that Sidney's heroes, similarly, when they escape from Asia Minor to Arcadia in a movement that constitutes an allegorical rendering of the break with the papacy by early and proto-Protestants, carry with them jewels and letters from Euarchus that symbolize Scripture, transferred to a new locale. The heroes' departure from Asia Minor signifies allegorically the need to hearken to Revelation's command to "Come out of Babylon." Sidney, like Mornay, on a number of occasions invokes the Aeneid as a subtext, with his heroes, especially Pyrocles, being patterned upon Aeneas in these imitations and their enemies occupying the positions of Turnus and other enemies of the Trojan people.

The "Beast" and Its Image

A series of pronounced parallels established in the revised Arcadia between the stories of Paphlagonia, Leonatus, and Plexirtus, on the one hand, and Iberia, Plangus, and Andromana, on the other, may be explained,
at least in part, by an interpretation of the "image of the beast" in Rev. 13. Another beast, the false prophet with "two horns like the Lambe, but spake like the dragon," forces the inhabitants of the Earth to worship this image. The first beast to appear in Rev. 13 was generally interpreted as the civil Roman Empire. Some exegetes interpreted this beast's image as the papacy, which "hath set up the olde Romane tyrannie which was in the heathen Empereurs against the true worship of God, and against his Church, and hath brought in the doctrine & worship of devils" (Gifford Revelation 260). Gifford lists an elaborate series of parallels between the two entities, claiming, for instance, that the papacy has established "an external forme of their ecclesiastical government, after the very patterne and forme of the government of the old Empire, yea so like, that it is called an image of the same" (260). He explains that while the ancient Roman empire was in theory "an aristocratie because there was a Senate: . . . yet in very deed it was a monarchie, yea a cruell tyrannie, in as much as they were all under the rule of one man, the Empereour who bare the sway." Even so, the Roman Church had its "high Senate, the colledge of Cardinals," which theoretically wielded the power of an aristocracy, but was in fact "subject to one monarch, to one head, which is the pope that ruleth over them, and ordereth all things at his pleasure as a God upon earth, for they all as his vassals extoll his power, and affirme that he cannot erre" (260). Again, "the heathen Emperours tooke upon them not onely the highest kingly power and Empire over all men, but also the priesthood & power over religion" and could prohibit the decrees of all other civil "magistrates." Likewise, popes claimed for themselves both "the highest civill power over all kings and Emperours" and "the fulnes of authoritie of the priesthood to rule over religion" (260). Gifford proceeds to compare the ancient Roman emperors' extensive delegation of power to "presidents and great rulers over provinces, which . . . were as his sworne men, at his becke and commandment" with "the mightie prelates" who,
after the "old pat tern[e]," acted as the pope's "sworne men" throughout the territories under his jurisdiction (260-1). Perhaps most importantly, and to its greatest condemnation from a Protestant perspective, "poperie hath set up againe that externall forme of worship which the idolatrous Romaines of olde used about their Idols, with candles, with holy water, with processions, and with a great number of other thinges, which they use in their chiefe solemnities. . ." (261).

Paphlagonia's status as the secular ruler from whom Plexirtus usurps authority, marking the translation of power from the one Roman empire to the other, would connect him to the ancient Roman Empire ("the beast"), whereas Iberia, a later king, is dominated by Andromana, the "Whore of Babylon" or Roman Church ("the image of the beast"). Correspondences between the two subplots, as elucidated by Gifford's theory, would strengthen and clarify my previous interpretations of Paphlagonia and Iberia. Paphlagonia's eventual recognition of his errors and his ability to extirpate himself from Plexirtus' sway prior to his death, in opposition to Iberia's continuance in error, suggest that, as was commonly assumed, the position of secular ruler in the Empire dominated by the pope was a much less powerful position than that of emperor under the ancient Roman system.18

The son of Paphlagonia "in lawful marriage, of a mother fit to bear royal children," Leonatus in his youth "enjoyed the expectations in the world of him till he was grown to justify their expectations. . ." (181, p277). Plangus, similarly, is Iberia's son by "a princess, who both from her ancestors and in herself was worthy of him" (215, p312). Like Leonatus, Plangus shows early signs of promise. When "grown to a man's age," he "could not but fertilely requite his father's fatherly education" (i.e. the care that the widower Iberia has bestowed upon him). Although he does have an affair with Andromana, he does so "while yet the errors in his nature were excused by the greenness of youth (which took the fault upon itself). . ." (215, p312). Paphlagonia, whose potential for virtue
has been seen in his role as a "witness," is "carried by" the lies and hypocrisy of his "bastard" son Plexirtus "first to mislike, then to hate, lastly to destroy--to do my best to destroy," Leonatus, whom he commands some of his servants to transport to a forest and there slay (181, p277-8). Iberia, likewise "of no wicked nature nor willingly doing evil--without himself mistake the evil, seeing it disguised under some form of goodness" (215, p312), is led by his physical desire for Andromana to send Plangus away to "subdue "a province lately rebelled against him," so that he can "avoid the odious comparison of a young rival" for Andromana's favors (the common Renaissance symbolism of the "rebellion" of the passions establishes a clear metaphoric connection between the late political turmoil in his territories and the awakening of Iberia's desires "though he were already stepped into the winter of his age" 216, p313-4).

Both Paphlagonia and Iberia are, therefore, unwittingly motivated to destroy good sons just beginning to fulfill early signs of potential by figures connected in Sidney's allegory with papism (by Plexirtus, "Antichrist," and Andromana, the "Whore of Babylon," respectively). Calvin and Osiander, who, like Foxe, identified the two beasts of Rev. 13 as the "Roman empire followed by the Roman pope," had both written that the reestablishment of empire in the West after Rome was destroyed by the barbarians "had been a creature of the papacy. The temporal powers were either tricked by the pope's disguise as a lamb or defeated by the power of the beast inherited by the second" (Firth 98). Sidney's kings similarly are tricked by the hypocrisy of allegorically papist figures who most often employ moral and metaphoric "disguise," generally without the external masquerading that in Spenser often accompanies and signifies the ethical deceptions of characters such as Archimago and Duessa. Plexirtus deceives the potentially virtuous Paphlagonia with "traps" and "poisonous hypocrisy, desperate fraud, smooth malice, hidden ambition, and smiling envy" (181, p277), being "crafty enough to hide his faults or never to show them" (184, p280). Andromana likewise beguiles Iberia through
concealment of her actual motives (lust for power, and, has been illustrated, men). "Skilful in" her husband's "humours," she deludes him with "a mask of virtue"; able to blush and weep at will, she "make[s] shamefastness the cloak of shamelessness" (217, p314; emphases added). She successfully undermines Iberia's love for his son Plangus by cunningly causing "her praises of him to be accusations, and her advancing him to be his ruin..." (218, p315); she degrades herself to such an extent to this end that, on one occasion, to enhance the credibility of her false accusations, "making all her gestures cunningly counterfeit a miserable affliction, she lay almost grovelling on the floor..." (221, p318; emphasis added).

Passages quoted in my earlier discussion of Andromana as the "Whore of Babylon," as evidence that Iberia becomes "drunken with the wine of her fornication," allowing her to seize effective control of his kingdom, should be compared to Plexirtus' corresponding impact upon Paphlagonia. The latter, after ordering the death of his good son Leonatus, had, as he testifies, become "drunk in my affection to that unlawful and unnatural son of mine [Plexirtus]." As in the case of Iberia and Andromana, Paphlagonia then allowed himself "so to be governed by him that all favours and punishments passed by him, all offices and places of importance distributed to his favourites..." (182, p278).

Andromana and Plexirtus, therefore, gain their power by destroying the natural love of rightful kings for their virtuous sons. Greville posits similar tactics for that "one frail sinner," the pope, who gained his "supremacy... by profligate or under-valuation / Of God's anointed Sovereignty / And by dividing subjects from their kings..." (Monarchy 234). In the false praise for Plangus by which she successfully brings Iberia to believe that his son is positioning himself to gain the succession before his time, Andromana employs the tactics described by Greville, demonstrating simultaneously the subtlety with which she induces anxiety about kingship as an office. With "cunning of malice," she
reminds Iberia of Plangus' "fitness . . . to bear rule" and of "the singular love the subjects bare him," pretending to extol his "majesty ('Such a kingly entertainment! such a kingly magnificence! such a kingly heart for enterprises!, especially remembering those virtues which in a successor are no more honoured by the subjects than suspected of the princes" (218, p315-6; emphases added). This opposition of the papist figures to rightful princes illustrates a "major theme" among British Protestant historiographers from Tyndale onward: "the relationship between kings and popes" (Firth 30), one that appears frequently in Greville's poetry, as when he warns, "Give not the mitre-Crown-supremacy. . .."and "never under one / Frail creature both your soul and body bring. . .." (Monarchy 207, 209).40

Additional parallels between the accounts of Iberia and Paphlagonia substantiate the theory that Sidney was adapting the "beast/ image of the beast" symbolism. Plexirtus attempts to poison Leonatus, as Iberia, deceived by Andromana, seeks to have his "wicked servant . . . empoison" Plangus (262, p361; 222, p320). After having been forced into exile with the loss of their fathers' favors, both good sons demonstrate their worth with successful careers elsewhere. Leonatus was about "to be greatly advanced for some noble pieces of service" when he returned, "neglecting the present good he was in," to guide the "dark steps" of his father, who had by then been literally blinded by Plexirtus (182, p278). Similarly, when Iberia sends Plangus away to subdue "rebels" in his province, the latter is "notably victorious," having "behaved him so worthily" that "the fame thereof" arrived in Arcadia "long before his own coming" (216-7, p313-5). Both Leonatus and Plangus attempt to preserve themselves from infection by the evils of Plexirtus and Andromana. Leonatus, "forgetting all former injuries," forgives Plexirtus for the deceipts by which he brought their father to attempt to murder him and for Plexirtus' own later attempt to murder him. When Plexirtus tries to poison him yet again after being thus forgiven, Leonatus still "would not suffer his kindness to be
overcome, not by justice itself. . .." (262, p361). Plangus, after recovering from the errors of his youthful fling with Andromana, resists her efforts to seduce him once again, after she has married his father (218-9, p312-5).

Once more, it seems highly significant that the details that establish the parallels between Plangus' career and fortunes and those of Leonatus (a character new to the revised Arcadia) are absent from the original version of Sidney's work. In the Old Arcadia, Plangus is simply "an Iberian nobleman" (59): readers learn nothing of his father or any brothers or half-brothers he might have. Interestingly, a number of details from the tale (repeated by Plangus himself in the Second Eclogues of the Old Arcadia) of the princes' adventures with the Egyptian king Sesotris, his unnamed young wife, and his son and heir Amasis (137-9) are transferred to the Iberia/Andromana/Plangus subplot in the New Arcadia, though with extensive revisions and additions.

Iberia's status as an emperor whose power has been eroded by the papacy is also very probably indicated by a metaphoric explanation for some tree surgery offered to Iberia by a laborer in his vineyard. This enterprising worker, discovering "a bough broken, took a branch of the same bough for want of another thing, and tied it about the place broken." The king, whom Andromana has caused to suspect that his son and heir Plangus is attempting to succeed to his throne prematurely, panics at the fellow's figurative response to his own query concerning the procedure: "'Marry . . ., I make the son bind the father.' This word, finding the king already superstitious through suspicion, amazed him straight as a presage of his own fortune. . .." (220, p317). Though Iberia's suspicions against Plangus are groundless, the workers words are a "presage" of his own fortune in ways he does not suspect. Tyndale, in his Practive of Prelates (1530) used "a fable of the tree and ivy" to characterize the unhealthy, parasitic relationship that had emerged between the emperor and the papacy. While the ivy (representing the papacy) had initially seemed
an adornment to the tree (representative of the emperor), it finally "choaketh and stifleth" both the branches and the tree; meanwhile, "the foul stinking ivy waxeth mighty in the stump of the tree and becometh a seat and nest for all unclean birds, and for blind owls..." (270). Under the corruptive influence of Andromana, the "Whore of Babylon," Iberia similarly first effectively resigns his monarchical duties and then, soon after the vineyard incident, orders his son and heir, Plangus, murdered. By favoring the "Whore" before his own rightful successor, Iberia, therefore, ironically furthers the decline in the powers of his own office alluded to in the fables. Another metaphor popular with Reformers that may be alluded to through the incident is Augustine's negative assessment of the impact of increasing riches and worldly wealth upon the moral purity of the Church: "Religion begat riches, and the daughter hath devoured the mother." The purported explanation of the vineyard incident is to demonstrate how "a mere trifle" provided Andromana and her agents "occasion of further proceeding" against Plangus (220, p317); however, without the gloss provided by the metaphors used by Tyndale and Augustine (which perfectly reinforce Andromana's role as the "Whore of Babylon"), the exchange between Iberia and the worker would be tangential, to say the least, whereas Sidney is characterized by his artistic economy.

Iberia's status as a lax king or emperor who willingly submits to the "Whore of Babylon's" domination is likely alluded to by the leisure activities he pursues when the princes first encounter him: "...not yielding over to old age his country delights, especially of hawking, [Iberia] was at that time (following a merlin) ..." While doing so, he has "great numbers of courtiers waiting upon him" (247, p345-6). In a letter to Languet, Sidney cites their "absurd hunting parties" as an example of the "disgraceful indolence of the German princes. ..."). (Correspondence 66-7).
That Sidney attached particular significance to the ordering and details of the Andromana/two witnesses/slaying of the beast adventure sequence is suggested by his revisions to the original Arcadia. Andromana is among the few characters from the Asia Minor narratives of the revised Arcadia whose story is present in seed form in the Old Arcadia (in the Second Eclogues), yet in that work she is simply one whom Renaissance moralists would have labelled a "whore," rather than a figure functioning on one allegorical level as the "whore of Babylon." In the Old Arcadia a child of Andromana's is mentioned only as evidence that she slept with a young Arabian prince upon the mere promise of wedlock (with the princes readily discerning that "she should have done well to have been sure of the church before he had been sure of the bed" 136). No child of hers, let alone one displaying the characteristics of the "two witnesses," frees the princes from her prison, which is not termed "commodious." Nor does she have ministers filling the princes' ears with her praises, nor does she have a kingly husband drunken with the wine of her fornication, nor is her death depicted within the narrative, etc. Andromana's implied fate is suggested only by reports that, rapidly forgetting her lust for Pyrocles and Musidorus, she "after diverse changes, at last married herself to an apple-monger" (137). Also, in the Old Arcadia, the only reference to Pyrocles' slaying of a beast (a dragon, not compared to other apocalyptic monsters) occurs before his meeting with Andromana. While the plot details of the beast-slaying episodes in the original and revised Arcadia's have little in common, the chronological sequence of the adventures through which the heroes pass during their travels in Asia Minor was of particular interest to Sidney as he revised the work.

Protestant commentators established close chronological and causal relationships between the deaths of the "witnesses," the release of Antichrist, and the rapid strides in "good learning" figured in the angel of Rev. 10 (discussed in connection with Urania in my next chapter)--all events that they most often interpreted as occurring simultaneously with
persecutions of proto-Reformers who criticized the corruption of the Roman church, as well as with the rise of the Ottoman Empire, usually considered by Protestants as the other primary "member of Antichrist." The concurrence of these notable events moved some commentators to date the fulfillment of these prophecies rather precisely, to about 1300, during the reign of Boniface VIII. Thomas Brightman, commenting upon Rev. 10, wrote that the open book held by the angel of that verse, whom he interpreted as Christ, showed that "againe men should have power & liberty given them to know the truth after a long burriall of it in ignorance . . ."; in approximately 1300 "about one and the same instant did the Turkes begin to prevaile in the East: and learned men to arise up in the West, who did defend the truth with boldnes and freedom of Spirit" (428). Brightman, therefore, dated the unbinding of Satan to 1300 (Gilsdorf 33-4).

In his commentary for the 1602 Geneva Bible, Franciscus Junius, who interprets the eleventh chapter of Revelation as providing a miniature "history of the estate of Christ his Church . . ." (gloss to 11:1), claims that the termination of the witnesses' power to "prophesie" for 1260 days (expounded in the gloss as "a day for a yeere, . . . beginning . . . from the passion of Christ") "precisely falleth into the Popedom of Boniface the eight," whose reign began "in the feast of Saint Lucie," just after he had jailed his predecessor Celestine V. Junius expands upon this historical interpretation in the gloss to 11:8, noting that when the witnesses lay dead in the streets of "the great citie," identified as Rome, there "at that time was a most great concourse of people, the yeere of Jubile being then first ordained by Boniface unto the same ende" in 1300. Andromana's imprisoning of the princes and the annual celebration of her wedding day may allude on one allegorical level to these events from Boniface's tenure. Palladius is slain during this yearly festival, described as follows: "The time of the marrying of that queen was, every year, by the extreme love of her husband and the serviceable love of the
courtiers, made notable by some public honours which did as it were proclaim to the world how dear she was to that people. . ." (253, p351). "As the earlier quotations on Andromana's preempting of Iberia's royal power will have suggested, "extreme," as a modifier for the love motivating the king's support for these yearly displays of "affection," should be interpreted as excessive. The year 1300 is included among only eleven specific dates between 1 and 1305 listed on a timeline prefacing the book of Revelation in the 1602 Geneva Bible (entitled "The Order of Time Whereunto the Contents of this Booke Are to Be Referred"). The sole comment attached to the year is "Boniface celebrateth the Jubile." Even before the Reformation, Dante had presented Boniface as his "supreme symbol of clerical corruption" and "archetype of the evil Pope" (Ciardi 176, 91).

Both Bale and Foxe, in his apocalyptic tragedy Christus Triumphant, related "supra-historical principles to historical events and personages to present the meaning of church history in terms of images drawn from the Apocalypse" (Bauckham 82). Bauckham's summary of Foxe and Bale's methodology provides a surprisingly accurate and succinct statement of Sidney's approach to allegory in the Asia Minor narratives. Sidney alludes simultaneously to generalized figures from Revelation such as the Whore of Babylon, Antichrist, the two witnesses, the image of the beast, etc., as well as to historical figures such as Phocas, Boniface III, Muhammad, and others to be discussed later.

The "Witnesses" and the Church Invisible

One characteristic of the "witnesses" signified by the number two (which by general consensus among these commentators was not to be understood literally) is, according to Bullinger, "that the power of Christ in the world shall seeme to worldly men to be but small. . . " (142'). Accordingly, Sidney places a pronounced emphasis on the lack of
worldly resources and experience of the "witnesses" Palladius and Zelmane, who are, nevertheless, able to free the princes from Andromana's tyranny. Though Palladius previously "had never used arms. . .," he performs during the jousts, in Pyrocles' expert estimation, "truly . . . nothing like a beginner. . .," (254, p352; 257, p355). More importantly, he manages to use this performance successfully to accomplish the task he actually considers much more important: rescuing Pyrocles and Musidorus. Similarly, Zelmane's apparent inadequacy and lack of formal training for the role as attendant to Pyrocles in which she fulfills her function as a "witness" are emphasized, along with her humility: ". . .though born of princes' blood, brought up with tenderest education, unapt to service because a woman, and full of thoughts because in a strange estate, yet love enjoined such diligence that no apprentice--no, no bondslave--could ever be by fear more ready at all commandments than that young princess was" (261, p360). Zelmane's active ministration to Pyrocles despite her seeming frailty remains for him a moving argument that individual "merit" does not have to be relied upon during service motivated by love: Pyrocles recalls and repeats to Philoclea Zelmane's "fearful boldness (daring to do that which she knew not how to do)," behavior that prompts him to a variety of faith, in that Zelmane made "the eye force the mind to believe that there was a praise in that unskillfulness" (261, p359). Because she loves Pyrocles, Zelmane "would needs conquer the delicacy of her constitution and force herself to wait on" him, even after she "fell extreme sick" (266, p364). In returning Zelmane's example to a prominent position in his thoughts as he shares her story, Pyrocles is reminded that actions motivated by selfless devotion and love often prove most satisfying to worthy recipients, for, as he himself concludes under the influence of her memory, her dedication ". . .well showed there is no service like his that serves because he loves" (261, p360). Despite their lack of physical resources and sometimes their physical weakness, the "witnesses" have strength enough to accomplish the task ordained to them.
to "builde up Christes temple, and repaire it, and shake the mighty power of Antichrist" (Bullinger 143').

While religious issues are not made explicit, virtues often appropriated by Christians as applicable to true professors of their own belief system (faith, hope, caritas, etc.) are recurrent in descriptions of the behavior and motivation of the the New Arcadia's "witnesses." Even when Zelmane does not return his love, so that he is forced to endure "that pain . . . they feel that feel an unloved love," Palladius (in significant contrast to less disciplined characters such as Basilius, Gynecia, Amphialus, and Queen Helen), "loving indeed, and therefore constant, . . . used the intercession of diligence and faith, ever hoping, because he would not put himself into that hell to be hopeless. . . ." (252, p350). Charitas is the foremost characteristic of the witnesses, as St. Paul claimed it should be for Christians (1 Cor. 13:13). As Pyrocles relates, compassion for the distress Andromana causes him and Musidorus moves Zelmane to suffer with him: "...she felt with me what I felt of my captivity, and straight laboured to redress my pain. . . ." (252, p351). Even as, "decaying still more and more," she approaches death, Zelmane, nevertheless, as Pyrocles recollects, "forced herself to wait on me, with such care and diligence as might well show had been taught in no other school but love" (265, p364). Zelmane displays the wisdom of "Gods elect," as they are described by Greville, who "still humblie . . ., / Make Love their Schoole, and skale of righteousnesse, / which Infinite those harts desire to please," concerned to be "in God . . . onlie wise" (Religion 100).

Likewise, after Plexirtus has by "unjust means" seized his father's crown, he is so successful at "disarming all his own countrymen" of their inclination to pity that they can scarce be moved to aid the blinded Paphlagonia, as he himself later recollects to the princes, "with giving me alms at their doors—which yet was the only sustenance of my distressed life, nobody daring to show so much charity as to lend me a hand to guide
my dark steps. . ." (182, p278). Leonatus, by contrast, is first presented leading his blind father by the hand; even after Paphlagonia urges his son to flee from the wretched moral climate of the land now dominated by Plexirtus, pleading, ". . .do not, I pray thee, do not obstinately continue to infect thee with my wretchedness," Leonatus insists upon remaining a steadfast model of Christian service and charitas, replying to his father, ". . .do not take away from me the only remnant of my happiness. While I have power to do you service, I am not wholly miserable" (180, p275-6). Though he was about "to be greatly advanced" in the career as a "private soldier" he had taken up in a neighboring country after Paphlagonia's attempt to have him murdered, Leonatus, upon hearing of Plexirtus' atrocities in blinding and dethroning his father, forgives all. As Paphlagonia himself testifies, this good son, ". . .forgetting my abominable wrongs, not recking danger, and neglecting the present good way he was in, [of] doing himself good, came hither to do this kind office you see him perform towards me. . . ." The antithesis of the "selfness" so frequently condemned by Sidney and Greville, Leonatus exemplifies unwavering kindness and charity. As Christ commands in the gospels, the "witness" Leonatus also shows a willingness to forgive repeated treacheries against himself, "forgetting" his father's self-labelled "abominable wrongs" (182, p 278) in ordering his murder (in response to the deceitful manipulations of Plexirtus).

Other, more emblematic, details also quite likely mark Leonatus as a member of the true church invisible. For instance, when Plexirtus, along with his forty men, arrives just after the close of Paphlagonia's narrative, "only of purpose to murder his brother, the latter, Leonatus, is "not otherwise armed but with a sword." Yet this "young prince, . . .how falsely soever he was dealt with by others, would not betray himself. . . ." (183, p279). The popularity of St. Paul's "armor of God" motif among Renaissance writers and Leonatus' allegorical role as a "witness" together make it quite likely that his weapon should carry the common allegorical
association of "the sworde of the Spirit, which is the worde of God" (Eph. 6:17). Quite similarly, in battling Andromana's sixty horsemen after their escape from her prison, Pyrocles and Musidorus, together with the "witness" Palladius, consider "few swords in a just defence able to resist many unjust assaulters." (257, p356). Paphlagonia describes the effect of Leonatus' compassion and forgiveness toward him with a metaphor often applied by Renaissance (and earlier) Christians for the desired impact of reading the Scriptures: "...his kindness is a glass even to my blind eyes of my naughtiness." (182, p278).

Mornay writes in the dedication of his Treatise of the Church to Prince Henry King of Navare that the work depicts "what ought to be the right condition of the Church of God, and what nowe at this present it is under the tyrannie of the Pope." (11). As these words suggest, a primary project throughout the treatise is to distinguish between the visible and invisible churches. The primary characteristic of the True Church, according to Mornay, is its obedience to the Word: "The pure wife and church then of the truth, is onely she which heareth the voice of Christ, not a voyce in the ayre, or an imaginative voyce, but that voyce which resoundeth in the scriptures, and shal resound untill the end." (Treatise 35). Again, "The word then that procedeth from him, ought to have an infinite and absolute authoritie." (Treatise 76). Sidney's treatment of the "witnesses" suggests that he would have concurred with his friend's assessment that obedience to the Word was the most important marker of the True Church.

Sidney's treatment of these characters demonstrates a typically Protestant concern to show the continuity of a "small flock" of true believers apart from the visible church "even at the height of Antichrist's power," when the true but invisible church has been "driven into the wilderness, out of the sight of the world" (William Fulke, qtd. in Bauckham 122, 338). Zelmane and Palladius, the children of Plexirus and Andromana (i.e. of Antichrist and the Whore of Babylon) respectively,
are "true children of the False Church." (Zelmane, like Palladius, is raised in Andromana's court 252, p350.) After the papal usurpation of power from right kings and the simultaneous release of Antichrist, both "figured forth" in Plexirtus' seizure of power from his father, the "true gospel" of charity is most often expounded not by the wielders of temporal power but among small groups of individuals who uphold such values (or are moved to adopt such values by the influence of the "witnesses"). After their encounters with the major representatives of the witnesses in Asia Minor--Zelmane, Palladius, Leonatus, and Paphagonia--Pyrocles and Musidorus are urged to share with others and, in some cases, to promulgate as widely as possible the truths made present and strong to them through these interactions. Paphagonia concludes his tale of Plexirtus' treachery and Leonatus' "filial piety" with this appeal to the princes: "And now, gentlemen, you have the true story which I pray you publish to the world. . ." (183, p279). While the story reveals his own "mischievous proceedings," Paphagonia asks to have it repeated to many, for the greater "glory" of his self-sacrificing son, "the only reward now left for so great a merit" (183, p279).

The effect of the witnesses' stories on the princes, and presumably upon others of fit disposition to whom they repeat them, is to strengthen and invigorate their commitment to charity before "selfness" and to active intervention for just causes. Paphagonia's testimony "greatly moved the two princes to compassion, which could not stay in such hearts as theirs without seeking remedy" (183, p279). The opportunity to put the ideals made present by the witnesses into action offers itself to the princes in the next sentence with the appearance of Plexirtus, suggesting that occasions to affirm their commitment to moral truths are not far off and pose a necessary trial. Even when the "false doctrine of Antichrist. . . was moste strong," Mornay writes, "God alwaies reserve many in al countries, which mourned under his tyrannie, yea and some also that cried out as loude as they coulde, by their writings. . ." (Treatise 295).
Those who resist the evil of Asia Minor tyrants, passing along the "true story" to their honest counterparts, similarly function on one allegorical level as the upholders of true doctrine during the long period of papal domination, as members of the church invisible, identifiable by the faith and charity evident in their actions and in the symbolism used with them.

In becoming "witnesses" themselves, Pyrocles and Musidorus acquire the responsibility forcefully to impart to others the stories of the mission and motives of fellow battlers against Antichrist, who would derive the "laws" for their warfare from the Word. In repeating the tales of such "soldiers," Pyrocles and Musidorus would actually be providing evidence for the fulfillment of prophecy, since the "witnesses" small numbers for a time being, along with their eventual victories against Antichrist had been predicted in Revelation and other biblical passages. The plain but forceful tales of characters such as Zelmane and Paphlagonia demonstrate the precepts Bullinger deduces for preachers of the Word from passages on the "witnesses": it "is required, that they Imagine nothyng of their owne brayne, . . . but simply declare to the Church of God the thynges that they have sene in the story of the Gospel, and heard of the Prophets & Apostles" (143'). Pyrocles takes great care to emphasize passionately Zelmane's selfless heroism and sacrifices, for, as he explains to Philoclea, "her affection to me deserves of me an affectionate speech" (261, p360).

Bale writes that during the "sixth age" God had given the witnesses "the great power of his living word, or the spirit of his invincible verity, in much ampler wise than afore time, for the abatement of the said enemies or synagogue of perdition" (Works 388). Bale posits two possible effects of a "witness" upon a given individual: "Either must he be mortified from the old Adam, and changed into a new man in Christ; or else by the said word must he both be judged and condemned for the utter adversary of God. . . ." (Works 389). Zelmane, in particular, advances
the former effect in Pyrocles, while Andromana's death following the encounter with her dying son illustrates the latter possibility.

Of all the experiences from Asia Minor that he narrates to Philoclea, Pyrocles connects the memory of Zelmane's sacrifices and death most fervently to his own desired value system and sense of identity: as he tells Philoclea, it is the episode "which, whensoever I remember without sorrow, I must forget withall all humanity" (266, p364). When Zelmane "deliver[s] her pure soul to the purest place," she leaves Pyrocles "as full of agony as kindness, pity, and sorrow could make an honest heart." (268, p367). In his commentary on the witnesses' "power over the waters to turn them to blood" (Rev. 11:6), Bale explains that the witnesses "interpret and sincerely declare the pure verities of God, which are those wholesome waters that restrain the damnable dryness of the soul, that refresh the conscience, and cleanse the heart of the sinner." (Works 390).

In a scene that seems to contain significant echoes to the transfiguration, Zelmane, aware of her approaching death, requests that Pyrocles and Musidorus "come near her and that nobody else might be present." Informing them, "...now it is time for me...to speak," Zelmane, "with pale and yet even-in-paleness-lovely lips" (266, p365), proceeds to reveal to them her true identity and the willing sacrifices and humiliation she and her cousin Palladius have suffered for them. As Zelmane singles out the two princes alone for this encounter, Christ takes three of his disciples to a location "aparte" (Math. 17:1). Zelmane's extreme paleness may indicate an earthly mirroring of Christ's transfiguration: "...his face did shine as the sunne, and his clothes were as white as the light" (Math. 17:2). When Pyrocles attempts to comfort the ailing Zelmane with hopes that she will recover, she communicates to him the assured knowledge she has obtained from "inward ambassadors" that she is about to die (267, p366), as Christ's impending "departing" (Mark 9:31) is announced at the transfiguration. Zelmane tells
them that she for their "sake caused my as unfortunate lover and cousin Palladius to leave his father’s court, and consequently both him and my aunt, his mother, to lose their lives. For your sake myself have become, of a princess, a page. . ." (266-7, p365). Because "witnesses" would model their lives on the actions and precepts of Christ, her words may echo the Christian belief that Christ departed from the side of his father to take on human flesh and the role of a servant for humanity’s sake (for instance, the statement that, though he was "in the forme of God," Christ "made him self of no reputation, and toke on him the forme of a servant, and was made like unto men. . ." Philip. 2:6-7). Allusions to Christ’s story would also be appropriate in that the witnesses’ function is to "prophecie, that is, . . . expound the lively word, and feede God’s elect withholesome doctrine. . ." (Gifford Revelation 191-2).

Zelmane’s words, at any rate, touch the cousins mightily: as Pyrocles vividly recalls: "We were amazed at her speech, and then had, as it were, new eyes given us to perceive that which before had been a present stranger to our minds. . ." (267, p365). In summarizing the fundamental Reformation tenet that "the preaching of the word of God was supreme and central in the church," Jaroslav Pelikan writes that "in keeping with Augustine’s sacramental theology," Calvin, in his Replies to Joachim Westphal, "interpret[s] the presence of Christ ‘everywhere’ despite his ‘absence according to the flesh’ as the presence of one ‘who is with us in his word,’” a presence that for Calvin "could apply only to the preaching of the gospel" (4:189-90). Reformers believed that the Word had become obsurred and supplanted by human "inventions" and "traditions" during the "height of Antichrist’s power" in the medieval church. Zelmane, as a "witness" paving the way for the Reformation, stuns the princes with a force that though theoretically "present" and available before, had become distant from their thoughts during their sojourns in the corrupt societies controlled by Andromana and others like her:
allegorically, Zelmane reminds them of the power of the Word, plainly but powerfully expounded.

Another reason why Sidney may have chosen to allude to the transfiguration in his characterization of Zelmane is that Protestant commentators sometimes found evidence that the "two witnesses" of Rev. 11 (of whom Zelmane is one) were latter-day types of the Old Testament prophets Moses and Elias, who appear to the disciples with Christ during the transfiguration (Mark 9:4, Luke 9:30, Math. 17:3). Fulke explains that the witnesses' powers to "shut the heavven, that it raine not" and to turn water to blood (Rev. 11:6) allude to the history of Elias, as presented in 1 Kings 17, and to the plagues inflicted upon Egypt through Moses in Exodus 7-10. Fulke compares Protestant and proto-Protestant witnesses "to the most clear lights of the Old Church, that the congregation of the faithfull may beleve, that Moses & Elias, are as it were returned from death and come unto them..." Fulke declares "the wonderfull vertues of Luther & Calvin and others... inferior to none which have lived since the Apostles time." (Roberts 75). Gifford also notes the allusions to the histories of Moses and Elias, but proceeds to explain that the metaphors for the witnesses' control over the external, visible environment actually signify an even greater power they wield, one not visible to "bodily eyes": "the most wonderfull and glorious power of the Gospell, in throwing downe the power of daknes, even the kingdome and power of the divell, in saving the faithfull..." (Revelation 200). The impact of Zelmane's "witnessing" upon Pyrocles is similarly profound.

Zelmane's given name, which means "zeal" or "passion," and her name as a disguised page, Daiphantus, which means "fire-brand" or "torch" (Roberts 75), both of which Pyrocles adopts upon his arrival in Arcadia (though he rapidly forgets her example), may allude not only to the zeal she inspires in him but also to the metaphor of the two witnesses as "two candlestickes" (Rev. 11:4). Bale, expounding this verse, explains that the witnesses are "two shining candlesticks, setting forth the light, or
clearly opening the hidden mysteries of the scriptures. . . . They are not the light itself, but only instruments ordained to bear witness of that light. . . ." (Works 388).

Sidney also seems to create in Zelmane's character clear references to that of Monica, St. Augustine's mother, as she is portrayed in the Confessions. Monica and Zelmane share a number of superficial characteristics: both fall into fits of swooning just before their deaths (266, p365; 9.11); as Monica has a "masculine faith," despite her "woman's habit" ("muliebri habitu, virile fide"), Zelmane "would needs conquer the delicacy of her constitution and force herself to wait on me" (9.4); both deny the need to be returned to their homelands for burial (9.4; 268, p367); and Monica remains hopeful for and patient toward her unfaithful and tempermental husband, just as Zelmane, before dying, asks Pyrocles to "pardon" her evil father Plexirtus and expresses "hope he will amend" (268, 9.9). Just before her death, Zelmane entreats Pyrocles "...by these polled locks ... (which, while they were long, were the ornament to my sex, now in their short curls the testimony of my servitude), and by the service I have done you (which God knows hath been full of love)..." (267, p366; emphases added). As in this passage, variants of the word servant appear over and over again in Pyrocles' recollections of Zelmane. He tells Philoclea that Zelmane "well showed there is no service like his that serves because he loves; for though born of princes' blood, brought up with tenderest education, unapt to service because a woman, ... yet love enjoined such diligence that no apprentice--no, no bondslave could ever be by fear more ready at all commandments. . . ." (261, p360). Similar repetitions of forms of the word are evident in Augustine's comments on his mother, Monica. He tells God that, in addition to being a "good handmaid of thine" and being "as servicable unto her husband "as to her Lord" ("viro servivit veluti domino"), Monica is "the servant of thy servants" ("serva servorum tuorum"): she cares for Augustine and his friends "as if she had been the mother to us all: and was withal so
servicable, as if she had been the daughter to us all" ("quasi omnes genuisset, ita servivit, quasi ab omnibus genita fuisset") (9.9). The explicitly Christian context throughout Augustine’s book and the allegorically Christian context established in Sidney’s work make it likely that both writers repeat the word servant to create the Christian overtones established by biblical verses such as "...whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant..." (Math. 20:27); Christ "made him self of no reputation, and toke on him the forme of a servant..." (Phil. 2:7); and numerous others.

More important are the similarities in the two women’s effects upon the men involved. Of his grief upon the death of his mother, Augustine writes, "...it very much offended me that these human respects had such power over me, I grieved for mine own grief with a new grieving, being by this means afflicted with a double sorrow." Finally he can no longer refrain from weeping, "The tears which I had been holding back streamed down, and I let them flow as freely as they would..." (9.12). The dying Zelmane’s expressions of love likewise causes Pyrocles to feel his own vulnerability and humanity: "...her words and her manner, with the lively consideration of her love, so pierced me that I, though I had divers griefs before, yet methought I never felt till then how much sorrow enfeebleth all resolution; for I could not choose but yield to the weakness of abundant weeping..." (267, p366). Both men strive to fight such outbreaks of tender emotion, considered by both as a sign of "weakness." Yet, Augustine prays of any reader who thinks he "offended in bewailing": "...let him not deride me; but if he be a man of any great charity, let him rather weep for my sins unto thee, the Father of all brethern in Christ" (9.12). Sidney has Zelmane state a similar concern for the effects of her tale on those to whom Pyrocles might repeat it. She requests of him, "...whesoever you shall make any other lady happy with your placed affection, if you tell her my folly, I pray you speak of it not with scorn but with pity" (267, p366). Monica and Zelmane implant
in the memories of Augustine and Pyrocles critical early examples of altruistic love that will eventually help the men better to understand the nature of charitas and will strengthen their religious faith. In addition to giving birth to Augustine "in her flesh," Monica brings him forth, as he states, "in her heart too, that I might be born again to the eternal light" (10.8). Likewise, Zelmane's final words give Pyrocles and Musidorus "new eyes . . . to perceive that which had been a present stranger to our minds" (267, p365).

Sidney creates a pronounced emphasis upon memory in his portrayal of Zelmane, stressing that after her physical death she continues to live precisely in the thoughts and speech of the princes. Though Pyrocles did not understand the sighs and other symptoms of love displayed by the page he assumed to be a young male, Zelmane's actions, as he reflects much later, "since, returning to my remembrance, . . . have come more near unto my knowledge" (261; emphasis added). Just before she "deliver[s] her pure soul to the purest place," Zelmane tells Pyrocles, "It sufficeth that the strange course I have taken shall to your remembrance witness my love" (267, p366) and requests, "Think of me so, dear master, and that thought shall be my life" (267-8, p366). Zelmane asks Pyrocles to take on her name after her death so that, as she tells him, "you shall have cause to remember me . . ."; having Musidorus take on Palladius' name as well will, she hopes, keep her example present in the conversation of the two cousins as well as in their minds: "so, between you, I trust sometimes your unlucky page shall be, perhaps with a sigh mentioned" (268, p367; emphasis added).

The combined emphases on memory and "presence" in the character of the Zelmane, who is modeled upon a figure from the writings of Augustine and functions allegorically as a "witness," and likely as a witness in the period just prior to the Reformation, given her connection the the release of "Antichrist," all suggest that Sidney may have been subtly commenting through her character upon another key issue in the religious debates of
the Renaissance: the nature of Christ's "presence" in the Eucharist. Augustine was a favorite authority marshalled by reformers in debates on the Lord's Supper, one who "enjoyed the special advantage that his authority was universally acknowledged.*" Those championing the reformed position on the sacraments claimed, "Augustine is on our side and speaks out in support of us against" the position of the Lutherans (Pelikan 4:196). Reformers highlighted the words with which Christ instituted the Lord's Supper--"in remembrance of me"--and the "remembrance of his sacred history." Yet, such reformers stressed "remembrance" in this context not primarily as a dwelling upon the past but as a process that would give rise to connections "'with the present,' indeed with the past, present, and future" through "the action of the Holy Spirit when the faithful remembered Christ" (Pelikan 4:205). The "divinely instituted remembrance of the body that had suffered for human salvation" was, to Oecolampadius, superior to "any presence of the body," and the "theme of remembrance" was strongly emphasized in Bullinger's and Zwingli's comments on the Lord's Supper: "it was 'a remembrance of the sacrifice' of Christ--not of his body, but of his death" (Pelikan 4:204). Pyrocles amplifies his account of Zelmane's death to a much greater extent than any other aspect of the tale of her "strange course." He recalls how Zelmane's selfless love for and service to him lead directly to her death. Because she waits until immediately prior to her death to reveal her identity, she willingly suffers, as she says, "this breaking of my heart, before I would discover my pain..." (267, p366).

In the Lord's Supper, Zwingli replaced the term oferimus ("we offer") from the liturgy of the Mass with commemoramus ("we remember"); at the center of the reformed memorial service Zwingli created was an unaccompanied voice reading from the Gospel of John (Auksi 346). Zelmane similarly works her singularly emotive influence upon the princes with her words alone; her page apparel is explicitly unsumptuous, and the physical setting is not even described: the scene focusses entirely upon
her speech and its impact upon the princes. Mornay presents a doctrine of "presence" similar to that of Calvin, writing that Christ "by vertue of this spirit is present to al things, and is present with those that consent in his name to the end of the world. . . these are the effectes of his spirite, giving efficacie to his worde. . ."; he immediately follows this explanation by denying Christ's "corporall and carnall presence in the masse, which he hath not instituted" (Treatise 178-9). Through his presentation of Zelmane, who continues to live in the memory through the thoughts that give her life and who is connected to the "presence" obtainable through the Word, Sidney may well be allegorically advocating the reformed position in the debates on the Eucharist.

Bale writes that the witnesses speak "in a sober conversation, avoiding superfluity," yet their words "constantly witness the truth of God to the universal world, to his glory and their edification." He connects the witnesses' demeanor to their attire, noting that in the scriptures sackcloth "is a sign of sobriety, sadness, and temperance." (Works 388). Zelmane convinces Pyrocles of her sincere desire to aid him "with few words (which borrowed the help of her countenance to make themselves understood). . ." (261, p359). She first appears in disguise wearing white apparel, riding upon a "fair" horse (260, p359). Aside from the standard use of white to signify "innocencie and puritie," the color of Zelmane's horse and clothing may mark her as a type of the white horse ridden by Christ in Rev. 19:11, by which "is figured the ministrie of the Gospel: for by the light of the truth of Christ, and the power of his grace are caried and spread swiftly over the large dominians, of Antichrist, and doe disclose all his errors and filthy abominations, and so overcommeth and destroyeth the beast," a battle that, according to Gifford, "is begun already somewhat before our time, and is now in fighting. . ." (Gifford Revelation 380, 377). Fulke likewise interprets the white horse of Rev. 19:11 as representative of "the ministrie of the Gospell pure and sincere from all the dregges, and spots of perverse
doctrine, whose office is to carie Christ to this last battail which he
will fighte against Antichrist," since through "preaching of the gospell
Antichrist is overcome" (127'). The white horse that appears after the
opening ot the first seal is also said to signify "the ministry of the
gospel, and its rider, who carries a bow," to figure "Christ himselfe, or
ells the doctrine of the gospell," which, like a bow, "showteth far, and
perceth depe, . . . and enter even unto the depest secretes of the heart"
(Fulke 37'-38'). Zelmane's revelation to Pyrocles of the servitude to
which she has voluntarily subjected herself as a result of her love for
him, and of her impending death, which results directly from this
servitude, has a similar metaphoric effect upon Pyrocles: "...the
lively consideration of her love, so pierced" him that he cannot choose
but weep (267 emphasis added). Zelmane's moving speeches, which have such
a profound impact upon Pyrocles, would, therefore, likely figure the
preaching of the Word that was viewed as so essential to the success of
the reformed religion.
1. Hazlitt and Walpole are quoted from Hallam (3-4), who also provides citations for other negative, as well as some more positive comments on the New Arcadia.

2. Another critic judges that, even if the New Arcadia had been completed, "...it could never have been made anything more than a series of stories, all of them, it is true, interesting in themselves, but so unskillfully pieced together that it is hard for the reader to understand exactly where he is" (qtd. in Myrick 146).

3. See Patterson Censorship 33 for criticism of McCoy's assumption that "Sidney was engaged in literary self-help..."


5. I do not deny Myrick's argument that the Renaissance "love of ornament" and the endorsement of "a magnificent and sumptuous pomp of incidents and language" by the Italian literary theorist, Minturno, help to explain the proliferation of detail and episodes in the New Arcadia, and the appeal of the work to Sidney's contemporaries (151, 153); I simply believe that other explanations can provide even greater thematic insights into the revised Arcadia as a whole. Myrick concurs with earlier critics who considered the Asia Minor narratives to "constitute a special problem," for, as he believed, "Not only unity, but continuity is wanting. ... To any modern reader or to a true classicist the episodes are a glaring defect in the artistic structure of the New Arcadia" (142).

6. Lindheim concludes that the movement of the episodes is toward increasingly more complex application and refinement of the precepts learned during the princes' education prior to their arrival in Asia Minor (106). Similarly, Lindenbaum, commenting upon the princes' mixed successes in Asia Minor, writes, "the fact that properly motivated heroic action can achieve positive good, but does not necessarily do so, attests to the need to hold actively to those principles at all times" (68). Bergvall believes that the Asia Minor narratives were designed primarily "to contrast the two cousins' heroic past with their present indignities" (115). Davis observes, "...the incidental episodes act like nine little mirrors, all of them reflecting the main plot with one special emphasis or another." All illustrate the theme of "private passion causing public chaos..." ("Thematic" 135). It is possible, though, to be considerably more specific about the narrative impetus that provides the section's structural and thematic unity.

7. John Foxe, for instance, in the 1563 dedicatory epistle of Acts and Monuments to Queen Elizabeth hopes that the "light" provided by his ecclesiastical history will complement that afforded by the gospel to instruct and reform the "flock of Christ" in England.

8. "The first poi'nt" that the Christian "must nedes have in mynde contynually," is, according to the Enchiridion, "that the lyfe of men is nothing but a certayne perpetuall exercise of warre. ..." (Al'). Mornay succinctly summarizes the main battles of Christian "warriors": they "fight here beneath in the earth for [Christ's] name, against the worlde and against themselves. ..." (Treatise 18). See Lewalski (Protestant 92) for discussion of the warfare metaphor for the Christian life.
9. See Blair Worden, as well as Norbrook 101, on Sidney’s criticism of Basilius’ withdrawal from political leadership. Cf. Greenlaw “Sidney’s” 336, Davis Map 151. The damage caused to Arcadia’s society by Basilius’ retreat from his political responsibilities is generally agreed upon by critics of the New Arcadia.

10. Even prior to the Reformation, Dante had depicted his fictional counterpart quite similarly as the object of the “Whore of Babylon’s” lust. In the earthly paradise atop the Mount of Purgatory, Dante views a masque allegorically representative of the church’s corruption through wealth, during which the chariot of the church is converted into the seven-headed apocalyptic beast of Rev. 17. The “harlot” who rides upon the beast, as Dante relates, after kissing a number of times the giant “savage lover” who walks alongside the beast, “turn[s] her hungry eyes on me” (Purgatorio 32.154). Sidney does refer to Dante’s epic in the Defence (37, 75), although I am not concerned to make a source argument.

11. Cf. Gifford: “In the poperie... the prelates and clergie men seduced the people, being themselves first seduced by Satan” (Revelation 396).

12. In Foxe’s Christus Triumphans, the Pope’s "false Ecclesia" is "decked out in exquisite clothes" and provided with a "cup of fornication with which to intoxicate kings with the poison of harlotry and... infect everything with lechery and pleasures" (Two Latin 313).

13. Bullinger writes that for five hundred years, "...who so ever (what state or condition soever he were of) began to speake never so litle agaynst the Church of Rome, he felt incontinently hatred, imprisonment, banishment, & death" (Apocalipse 147).


15. Iberia finds his wife’s indictments "not unlikely" because of the "strange successes" of the heroes during their earlier travails in Phrygia, Pontus, and Galatia (250, p348). Jon Lawry (216) is one of the few critics of the New Arcadia even to have mentioned in passing that many of the geographic locations selected for the Asia Minor also appear in Acts, with successes in Galatia and Phrygia, for instance, reported in 18:23 and both regions mentioned in 16:6. The place names appear in other New Testament works as well, with the first epistle of Peter addressed to the elect dwelling in Pontus, Galatia, and other regions. Although I will not be able to discuss the heroes’ earlier adventures in Asia Minor within this dissertation, I do believe that they relate to the work of the Early Church.

16. Momay’s Mysterie traces the various "progressions" of this corruption, emphasizing particularly the negative impact of increasing wealth, ease, and contention among ambitious rivals for power once the Roman church claimed for its head the title of universal bishop. Pyrocles in narrating Andromana’s behavior reminds that “an evil mind in authority doth not only follow the sway of the desires already within it, but frames to itself new desires not before thought of. ...” (249).

17. Pyrocles and Musidorus’ imprisonment by Andromana might thus be seen as approximating Red Cross’s imprisonment by Orgoglio in the Fairie Queens, interpreted as “a period that represents in the historical allegory the triumph of the Imperial Papacy over the Christian Emperors, the period of the Babylonian Captivity of the Church” (Sandler 160). Probably so that they could participate allegorically in a greater number
of events from the history of the church, however, Sidney's heroes do not spend this entire period within Andromana's jail.

18. For example, Roberts 70-1, 102-4, Dipple "Metamorphosis" 339, Craft "Shaping" 403-4 and "Remaking" 64, and Rees 63.

19. George Gifford provides a nearly identical assessment of the bounds of the "Citie" of this verse: "... looke how farre the power and dominion of Rome hath spread it self, looke how farre Antichrist the Pope hath exercised tyrannie over the churches in many great and large kingdoms, so farre goe the streetes of the great citie" (Revelation 204). Bullinger (Apocalipse 149) offers a similar exposition.

20. Cf. Fulke 83. Bale explains that the beast who slays the witnesses signifies "... the cruel, crafty and cursed generation of antichrist, the pope with his bishops, prelates, priests, and religious in Europe, Mahomet with his doting dousepers in Africa, and so forth in Asia and India..." (Works 392). This beast is glossed in the 1602 Geneva Bible as the Roman ecclesiastical empire, and especially Pope Boniface VIII.


22. In Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, after his companion Faithful is put to death and carried up into the clouds, Christain is joined by Hopeful (who was "made so by the beholding of Christian and Faithful in their words and behaviour, in their sufferings at" Vanity Fair), an event the narrator marks with a paraphrase of this verse on the witnesses: "Thus one died to make Testimony to the Truth, and another rises out of his Ashes to be a Companion with Christian" (219).

23. Strephon and Claius' devotion to Urania and heavenly knowledge, as well as their role in rescuing Musidorus from the wreckage of Plexirtus' ship (discussed in my next chapter), makes them strong candidates for "second generation" (i.e. post-Reformation, as Gifford's examples imply) witnesses.

24. Gifford further construes the sackcloth as signifying, "mystically, and under figures," that in enduring the persecutions of Antichrist brought on by their resistance to his power, the witnesses ensure that they will "have a sorrowfull life here upon the earth, yea so full of griefe and lamentation, as if they did alwaies fast and mowe" (Revelation 196).

25. See Bauckham 94-103.


27. Greenlaw writes, "Plexirtus stands for the Machiavellian tyrant" ("Sidney's" 334). Rees, noting "the moral confusion he spreads around him," calls Plexirtus "a secret agent of violence and blackest corruption" (137).

28. Gifford refers to Satan's being "bound and chained up in old time," as opposed to his "finall destruction," as "an auncient matter" (Revelation 386).

29. Gifford identifies Antichrist's prison as "the bottomlesse pit..." (Revelation 387).
30. Gifford, citing the exposition of the angel of Daniel 7, repeats the general consensus among commentators that "in the holy Scriptures,. . . by beasts are figured certaine great kingdomes or Monarchies" (Revelation 246). The beasts of Rev. 13 and 17 represent, according to Gifford, the Roman Empire, with the sixth head signifying the ancient empire under the emperors and the seventh head Rome controlled by the papacy (Revelation 247-8). The beast's body is compared to a leopard because it is "...very fierce, swift and subtil"; its mouth like that of a lion indicates this empire's pride, for "the lion is the most stately proud beast that liveth" (Gifford Revelation 247). Bale writes that members of "the papistical kingdom of antichrist" are, like "cats of the mountain" (leopards), "spotted with diverse fickle fantasies, in sects, observations, ceremonies, rites, laws, and customs..." The beast's mouth like a lion shows that papists are "roaring out evermore blasphemies, curses and bitterness" (Works 423).

The detail that the ancient lord's beast is "armed like a rhinoceros" (270) may allude to the other primary "member of Antichrist" aside from the papacy to Protestant minds—the Turks. According to Chew, no record exists of a rhinoceros having been exhibited during the Renaissance in England, making it a "rare curiosity." Reports by travellers of the animal's single horn lead many to account it as fabulous as the unicorn (17-8). The rhinoceros, therefore, would have been strongly connected with the Eastern lands dominated by the Ottoman Empire. Similar associations would be evoked by the elephant to which Sidney's beast is also compared (270), even though, evidently, "at one time or another within" the Renaissance "there were two or three elephants in England" (Chew 19). Bauckham asserts that, according to the "general pattern" in Renaissance exegesis after the mid-sixteenth century, "The papacy was the final Antichrist, specifically prophesied. Islam, also specifically prophesied, but under minor images only, was merely an Antichrist" (98-9).


32. Samuel Hieron, in a sermon on Christian "warfare" reminded that Satan, as part of the continuous "strategems" with which he attempts to subvert Christians, "turn[s] himselfe into many shapes..." (qtd. in Lewalski Protestant 93). Greville spells out the underlying assumptions to these shape-changing analogies, explaining that among religious hypocrites, "No bodies yet are found of constant being; / No uniforme, no stable mysterie, / No inward nature, but an outward seeminge..." (Religion 32).

33. In addition to referring to his ability to turn like Proteus, Plexirtus' name ("twisting" Lawry 217) may also relate to Protestant charges that the papacy twisted the divine law to its own ends. Kirchmeyer writes of the pope: "Gods holy lawes he alters quite, or taketh cleane from hence, / Or wretchedly he wresteth them, unto some other sence..." (3').

34. Bauckham notes "Antichrist's facility for adopting different disguises..." (105).

35. A chapter heading by the editors of the 1590 Arcadia refers to "Cecropia's auricular confession" (314). Foxe calls "pope Innocent III, the great great grandsire of that foul monster transubstantiation and auricular confession...", explaining that both doctrines were ordained by the Council of Lateran (1215) during that papacy (2:575, 419). "Auricular confession" is also included in Foxe's list of "new devices" that in the church of Rome had replaced the "true foundation" of the "old ancient church of Christ": "free justification by faith in Christ..."
(4:251-2). In *A Letter to an Honorable Lady*, Greville criticizes the reliance of "our Ancestors" upon "...Confessors, shrifts, and such like superstitious rytes, as discharging our selves, did vainlie charge others with our desires" (Prose 137). Cf. the discussion of the abuses of "ere confessyon" in Bale's *King Johan* (77) and Greville *Life* 22. See Ozment 49-54 and Pelikan 4:29-31, 179-80.

36. Mornay, writing on the "usurpation" of power by the Roman bishops, recalls Chrysostom's complaint "that to obtain supremacie, the Bishops of Rome had filled the Churches with blood, and had defiled the Supper of the Lorde with murtheres, until they had utterly for it destroied whole Cities" (Treatise 243). Greville criticizes the church of Rome as "An outward Church, that must stand as it grew, / By force, craft, rapine, and hypocrisie; / ...Built on the base of one's supremacy; / A pride born of that angel's pride that fell. ..." (Monarchy 560). Cf. Gifford: "...a beast doeth not represent simple the power of government, ... but the usurpation, the crueltie, and the tyrannous abuse of the power, against the trueth and against the Church of God. ..." (Revelation 332).

37. The 1602 Geneva Bible, for instance, cites Tertullian, Chrysostum, and Jerome.

38. Cf. Lake *Moderate* 96-7; Firth 158, 169, 209; Bale *Works* 562-3; Mornay *Mysterie* 116-20, Bullinger 114", Foxe 4:142. Mornay reminds that "when that murtherer Phocas declared the Bishop of Rome to be head of all Churches, ... it was in consideration that Rome was the ancient seat of the Empire," so that "the pretended primacie of Rome, neither proceeded from the ordinance of Christ, nor from the privilege of Peter, but from Romulus." (Treatise 248). The first three periods in the divisions of church history established by Foxe for the 1570 A & M likewise implies a downturn around 600: "1. 'the suffering time of the church' (300 years), 2. 'the flourishing and growing tyme' of the church (300 years), 3. the declining time of the church, and of true religion' (300 years). ..." (Bauckham 84).

39. Cf. Bullinger (149"): "But what maner one the church of Rome is at this day, and long tyme hath beeene, all men know, except it be they that will not know."

40. Gifford's *Zelotes* labels as "Atheists, of no religion" individuals who, "looke whatsoever any prince doeth set forth, that they will profess" (Discourse 22"). Like many other zealous Reformers, Gifford, Mornay, and Greville repeatedly assert that the Word provides the only touchstone by which to judge issues of church reform. See, for example, Mornay *Treatise* 356, 260; Gifford *Revelation* 453, and Hannay 100-1.

41. Schleiner observes that in revising the story of Plangus and Erona, Sidney provided Erona with a "theological motive" for destroying the statues of Cupid (381).

42. See Smith 38 on the telescoping of time in Foxe's play.


44. Cf. Bale 571; Chew 398; Bullinger 123'; Curio 3'.
45. Cf. Curio 107. As Schleiner has observed, the detail of Antiphilus’ forged pedigree is new to the revised Arcadia, and in this work Sidney highlights Antiphilus’ “base” origins and his “discrepancy in rank” with Erona even more than in the original version (388, 381).


47. Sidney’s placing the sentence for Antiphilus’ death into the hands of residents of the city may have been influenced by the purported manner of Muhammad’s death, as related, for instance, by Mornay (in the work Sidney translated, at least in part): Mornay writes of Muhammad, “Whether he were a good man or no, let the people of Mecha . . . judge, which condemned him to death for his Robberies and murthers” (Trewnesse 624).

48. Artaxia also figures into Sidney’s allegorical church history; however, as with many other characters for whom the same is true, space and time constraints prohibit me from discussing that role within this dissertation.


50. For examples of Renaissance stereotypes about the hostility of Muhammad’s followers to learning and the arts, see Chew 117, 120; Foxe Acts 4:37.


52. Differences between the sets of tales narrated by Pyrocles and by Musidorus and the role of the stories of Plangus and Erona as a link between the accounts of the two princes are discussed most extensively by Lindheim (88-108), who provides references to earlier critics who noted such distinctions. Roberts observes that whereas in Musidorus’ tales moral choices “are sharply defined,” within Pyrocles’ tales “. . . Sidney poses the problem of choosing among flawed alternatives. . . .” (109).

53. McCoy, discussing the “pattern of increasing complication and irresolution” in Book 2, concludes, “the emphasis on heroic vulnerability and impotence, the dissipation of previous settlement, and the increasing intensity and eventual predominance of conflict, all . . . suggest difficulties with the material that frustrate comprehension and closure” (Rebellion 161-2). Cf. McCoy Rites 69.

54. Turner recognizes that, in the “fallen world” of Asia Minor, in which “the imperative of heroic virtue is to destroy the monstrous,” yet the destruction of one monster gives rise to the freeing or birth of another to replace it, “a humanist faith, by itself, might prove a grim Stoicism indeed, indeed might well veer towards the meaningless. . . . the hero,” therefore, “acts upon faith in eternal justice” (131).


56. See my discussion of the Erona narratives in my next chapter.

57. Cf. Mornay Mysterie 2. Mornay accepts that Antichrist “must builde his greatnesse upon the ruine of the Romane Empire and give life to that lost beast,” through the papacy, which “must needes spring of the ruines of Rome, and the seconde beast of the Carrion of the first. . . .” (Treatise 261, 240), adding that “all the ancient fathers” interpret the beast as the Roman empire (Treatise 262). Fulke considers and rejects the theory cited from Gifford, which he has encountered elsewhere, preferring to interpret the pope’s “image” as his “legates” and other members of the
"popishe Clergie," who exercise his power (88°)

57. William Harrison similarly charged that the system of ecclesiastical hierarchy used in the church headed by the papacy was modeled upon the "Gentile innovation" of the ancient "Numa's seven-fold Roman priestly hierarchy." (Parry 174).

58. Bullinger writes that, by comparison with the position in the ancient empire, the post of emperor in the Renaissance had become "a vayne calling ... onely a shadow" (SS'). Bale states that although the empire in his day continued "the same in title that it was in John's days, yet is it so diverse from it through diminishment of power, and so unlike it in outward magnificence, as it never had been the same" (Bale Works 502). Cf. Gifford Revelation 259.

59. The seeming discrepancy in Paphlagonia's being deceived by a male versus Iberia's being deluded by a female derives from the pronouns most often applied by Renaissance commentators to the figures from Revelation who provide their allegorical associations. She is typically used as the pronoun referent for the Whore of Babylon, while he is commonly used with Antichrist as the false prophet or in general.

60. Greville similarly cautions monarchs not to allow such situations to continue: "Princes again awake, and be well advis'd / How suddenly in man kings pow'r is drown'd / The miter rais'd, the scepter prejudic'd," reminding that "as souls more dear, then bodies are: / So these Church-visions may strain nature far," alienating subjects from their rightful kings (Monarchy 211). Cf. Greville's Monarchy 213 and Religion 29. See King Iconography, Ch. 3, "The Crown Versus the Tiara" (116-81).

61. Cf. Hankins 221.


63. Foxe wrote in Eicasmi that "the three and a half days in which the witnesses were to lie dead in the streets of Sodom or Egypt referred specifically to the Council of Constance which had condemned Huss" (Firth 103).

64. That Sidney alludes in this description as well to Queen Elizabeth's annual Accession Day celebrations (see Yates "Elizabethan") would be in keeping with his negative treatment of Elizabeth throughout the New Arcadia. Cf. Duncan-Jopnes Courtier 17, who notes other unflattering comparisons between Andromana and Elizabeth.

65. Cf. Greville: "This sacred Word is that eternall glasse, / Where all mens soules behold the face they bringe. ..." (Religion 58). Mornay calls "holy Scripture, ... nothing els but a Looking glasse to shewe us our spots and blemishes. ..." and writes that to attain humility, "a man" must first "knowe himselfe" by viewing himself in "a faire cleare glasse: And what clearer glass is there, than the Lawe of God, and the perfect obedience which God requireth at mans hand?" (Trewnesse 309, 355). Carruthers attributes the metaphor to Augustine's In Psalmo 103, noting its repition by Gregory the Great (168-9, 329).

66. The 1602 Geneva Bible gloss to Rev. 11:7 speaks of the witnesses as "publishing their testimony according to their office."
67. The 1602 Geneva Bible gloss to Rev. 11:5 uses the allegory of the witnesses and their trials as evidence "of the combats which the servants of God must needs undergo in the executing of their calling. . . ."

68. Cf. Gifford on the impact of the witnesses' preaching: "...mightie is the glorious word of the Lord, and it triumpheth over all: for those whom it doth not purge as pure gold, it burneth them up like drossee" (200).

69. Roberts observes that Sidney emphasizes "the climactic episode of Zelmane" more than any of Pyrocles' other experiences in Asia Minor (102). Elizabeth Dipple, who writes that "Zelmane represents a goodness and fortitude, the power of love, that is brought out of [Plexirtus'] evil," rightly observes, "...the influence of Zelmane's tragedy on the romance is quite astonishing" ("Metamorphosis" 339). Cf. Lawry 229.

70. The commentary tradition on Moses and Elijah as Christ's "great forerunners in the prophetic function" (204) is discussed in Lewalski Milton's 204-9.

71. Some notion of the extent to which Augustine is favored by Mornay may be derived from the following list of page numbers on which Augustine or his works are referred to in his Treatise, sometimes with more than one citation per page: 18, 25, 32, 36, 51, 55-6, 64-5, 67-9, 71, 79-83, 86, 97, 102-4, 114, 116, 123, 125-7, 142, 157, 164, 178, 184, 187-8, 190, 197, 203-4, 209, 214, 232-3, 235, 241-2, 250, 262, 264, 272, 281, 284, 306, 317, 323-4. (The list is not intended to be an authoritative index: more references may very well occur.) References to Augustine's writings, particularly to the City of God are also recurrent in Mornay's Trewnesse. Gifford's self-described methodology in his A Plaine Declaration that Our Brownists Be Donatists is to "first set downe from point to point out of the writings of the holie Father Augustine, with what Scriptures and arguments it was defended, and so compare our mens writings with the same" *2'. Jean de Serres, whose Plato commentaries exerted such a great influence on Sidney's Defence, labelled Augustine "truly the most eminent theologian" (qtd. in Doherty 146).


73. Elsewhere, Fulke writes that, because "white raiment" was in former times "the signe & token of noblemen," it symbolically "commendeth the dignity of those whom God by his mercie hath called to the adoption of his children: and . . . the righteousnesse & innocencie, which they have, not of themselves, but borrow it of the bloud of Christ" (27').
Chapter 4

Apocalyptic Arcadia and Elizabethan England

Urania and the "Mightie Angel" of Revelation 10

The New Arcadia opens with a number of emblematic indicators that refer its action not to pre-Christian Greece but to the early Reformation and the period immediately preceding it, during which individuals whom Protestants considered proto-Reformers had begun to criticize the corruptions of the papacy and the Roman church. The first such sign is the unusual posture of a character named Urania, as her image lives in the minds of the shepherds Strephon and Claius, who both love her. They describe her as she places one "foot into the boat, at that instant, as it were, dividing her heavenly beauty between the earth and the sea" (4; p62). The angel of Revelation 10 likewise stands with one foot upon the earth and the other upon the sea (10:2). 1

As was illustrated at length in my first chapter, Protestant commentators usually connected this angel with the Reformation era, citing their own efforts to increase literacy levels among the laity, so that more individual believers would be able to read and study the Bible on their own. 2 Bale, for example, links the angel's diversely situated feet to the Protestant goal of imparting "God's word," (his interpretation of the "litle boke" bestowed upon St. John by this angel) to people of all social classes: "As well shall the weak people receive this verity as the strong, the poor as the rich, the low as the high . . . , the beggar as the king, the unlearned as the learned, the labouring man as the priest. . ." (Works 370). Sidney's Urania likewise inspires in the shepherds
Strephon and Claius a thirst for knowledge of heavenly matters, in particular, that leads them to increase their literacy and thereby to decrease the social distance between themselves and their "superiors":

"Hath not the only love of her made us, being silly ignorant shepherds, raise up our thoughts above the ordinary level of the world, so as great clerks do not disdain our conference? Hath not the desire to seem worthy in her eyes made us, when others were sleeping, to sit viewing the course of heavens, . . . to run over learned writings. . . ." (5; p63).

This vision was believed by John Foxe, who also interprets the book given to St. John as Scripture, to prophesy events just prior to the Reformation. Foxe viewed the action as figuring "the restoration of Scripture to the church," since "the revival of learning, and especially the discovery of printing" were considered by Foxe "the agency" through which Scripture was returned to its rightful place in the church (Firth 103). At the New Arcadia's outset, Strephon and Claius are positioned on "the sands which lie against the island of Cythera" (3; p61), singing the "praises" (5; p64) of Urania: "O Urania, blessed be thou, Urania, the sweetest fairness and the fairest sweetness--" (4; p62). Claius' hymn of gratitude for his and Strephon's acquaintance with Urania suggests the democratic distribution of the metaphoric "wealth" of the Word, "as well" to "the poor as the rich, the low as the high," that Bale claimed would mark the age preceding the End: "...let us think with consideration, and consider with acknowledging, and acknowledge with admiration, and admire with love, and love with joy in the midst of all woe; . . .that our poor eyes were so enriched as to behold, and our low hearts so exalted as to love" Urania (4-5 p63; emphases added).

Like Gifford, Bullinger in outlining the Apocalypse's most notable prognostications and their historical and contemporary applications, calls special attention to the assurance conferred upon the suffering faithful by the vow of the angel of Rev. 10. The angel (interpreted as Christ) appears at this point in the book, he writes, "lest any man should . . .
be discouraged" after hearing, in the two previous chapters, of the afflictions and travails to be endured by the true church "utterly after the same sorte, that we see them vexed at this day, under the most unhappie papistrie and mohometrie." To prevent despair, St. John "bringeth forth, the Lorde Chryst hymselfe, confirming by a solemnne othe that doubtlesse an end of all these thinges should come" (Apocalipse A7'). While standing upon the earth and sea, the angel "...sware by him that liveth for evermore, which created heaven, ... that time shulde be no more. But in the daies of the voyce of the seventh Angel, when he shall beginne to blowe the trumpet, even the mysterie of God shalbe finished..." (Rev. 10:6-7). Revealing a characteristically Protestant eager aural fixation upon the invisible word (Collinson "Church" 171-2), Strephon exclaims of Urania: "...how greedily did mine ears feed upon the sweet words she uttered!" (4; p62); like Claius, he has heard this angel's promise; however, one important thematic use Sidney makes of the nominally "pagan" setting he transfers from the Old to the New Arcadia is to suggest that many of Arcadia's other inhabitants behave for much of the work as if they were unaware of the apocalyptic framework in which he shows them to be acting, as increasing fixation upon their personal passions, soon after the heroes' arrival to Arcadia, causes them to lose sight of the providential perspective, which begins to be recovered through the apocalyptic and allegorical church history modelled upon Revelation that is "figured forth" by the Asia Minor narratives. The providential perspective is, though, only fully regained in Book 3, under the pressure of afflictions suffered at the hands of Cecropia and her agents.

"A Shipwrack Without Storm or Ill-footing, and a Waste of Fire in the Midst of Water"

The remaining action in the New Arcadia's opening scenes, which were introduced only in the revised work, is laden with imagery and symbolism
drawn from the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters of Revelation. Strephon and Claius' praise of Urania is interrupted when they perceive Musidorus, floating, nearly dead, toward the shore. Musidorus, after they have revived him, persuades them to hire a bark to search with him for his friend, Pyrocles, who he fears is dead. At sea upon this boat, they soon behold the remnants of the "shipwrack" (the vessel was actually destroyed by a "great fire") from which Pyrocles and Musidorus have recently escaped. The vestiges of which appear now as "a waste of fire in the midst of water" (7; p65-6). The ship thus destroyed belonged to Plexirtus, who, as was shown in my third chapter, is the primary representative of Antichrist (most often identified by sixteenth-century Protestants with the papacy [Bauckham 94-103]) in the Asia Minor narratives. St. John, in his vision of Rev. 15:2-3, beholds "...a glassie sea, mingled with fyre," near which those who have obtained a victory over the beast sing the songs of Moses and the Lamb. The "waste of fire in the midst of water" that Strephon and Claius witness after their opening lauds mirrors the unusual fire-mingled-with-water-upon-the-sea imagery of Revelation 15. Fulke even employs a shipwreck metaphor in describing the celebrations of those who have overcome the beast: they stand "joyfully at that glassie sea, as it were delivered from shipwracke or free from drowning singing a song of victorie to God the deliverer..." (98°'). As has been shown, Urania, the subject of Strephon and Claius' song, is linked to the angel of Rev. 10, itself often identified by Protestants as Christ, the Lamb,' and the two men's devotion to heavenly learning and, symbolically, to this angel marks them allegorically as ardent and apocalyptically minded Reformers.

All such true-hearted Reformers had attained victory over the power of the "beast," since the beast the individuals glorifying God in Rev. 15:2-3 have thwarted was nearly always interpreted by Protestants as the Bishop of Rome and his church. Gifford, for instance, writes that the victorious referred to in this verse are those who "stedfastly cleave to
the holy word of God . . . , keeping themselves free from Idolatrie , and superstitión, and from all the abominations of the Romish beast. . . ." (Revelation 300). The fifteenth and sixteenth chapters of Revelation are interpreted by Gifford as an allegory prophetic of God's "recompence," to be dealt "here in this world," upon "that idolatrous and bloodie kingdome [that] ruled long, and with mightie tyrannie oppressed the people of God. . . ." (Revelation 299). Gifford's use of the past tense signifies that this kingdom's power has already begun to decline, for a notable victory over the "beast" had already been attained with the rapid spread of Protestant theology, whose adherants did not recognize the Roman Church's decrees as authoritative. This vision, too, is, consequently, datable to the Reformation period for exegetes like Gifford.

Pyrocles and Musidorus had parted from Asia Minor in "a ship most royally furnished by Plexirtus," an old enemy of theirs who, though "seeming a quite altered man," with "nothing but repentance in his eyes, friendship in his gesture, and virtue in his mouth" (272; p371), actually remained, as is demonstrated in Chapter 3, a character in the tradition of Spenser's Archimago—a figure of Hypocrisy whom Protestants connected with the Church of Rome and especially with the pope and his agents. While standing upon the "Asian shore, full of princely persons," gathered to bid Pyrocles and Musidorus farewell, "none had been so officious . . . as Plexirtus." Yet, this figure for Antichrist had actually commanded a servant of his, who posed as their "principal guide," to murder the pair in their sleep (272-3; p371-2). This counsellor, however, repents of his compliance with Plexirtus' treacheries and reveals the plot to the princes. A battle ensues between, on one side, the members of the crew who align themselves with the penitent counsellor and Sidney's heroes and, on the other, those who side with the ship's captain, "a pirate from his youth, and often blooded in it," who boasts "that, if Plexirtus bad him, he would not stick to kill God himself. . . ." (274; p372-3).
One consequence of this fray is that Plexirtus' vessel catches fire, so that vengeance is exacted upon those who attempt to murder the "saints" within the New Arcadia's present, as Gifford had claimed was prophesied in Revelation. By the time Strephon and Claius view it during the in medias res opening of Book 1, all that remains is "the carcass of the ship" (7). Given the associations of the opening events of the New Arcadia with the Reformation evoked by Urania's posture, Strephon and Claius' learning, the fire on the water, and the bloody sea (to be discussed shortly), and given Plexirtus' role as Antichrist, together with the "longstanding use of the ship as an orthodox symbol for the Roman Church," so that "a polemical Lutheran woodcut" could depict "the shipwreck of the Roman Church" (King Iconography 164), it seems more than likely that the demolition of Plexirtus' ship is another sign of the advent of the Reformation: the "victory over the beast" signified by the shipwreck would be the massive decline in power of the papal Church as entire nations, such as England, removed themselves from its jurisdiction with the spread of the reformed religion. At the New Arcadia's opening, the "proud height" of this ship's mast "now lay along, like a widow having lost her" mate (7; p66).

In 1559, at the outset of Elizabeth's reign, the Marian Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York, attempting to persuade the House of Lords against a break with the Church of Rome, argued, ". . .by leaping out of Peter's ship, we must needs be overwhelmed with the waters of schism, sects, and division" (Meyer 115-6). The ship from which Sidney's heroes leap, by contrast, is itself the sight of the greatest moral chaos the princes experience. The battle between the followers of Plexirtus' pirate captain and of Pyrocles and Musidorus rapidly escalates into "a most confused fight; for the narrowness of the place, the darkness of the time, and the uncertainty in such a tumult how to know friends from foes. . . ." With "no place left without the cries of murdering and murdered persons," Pyrocles must admit that he and his cousin "never performed less in any
place. . ." (274; p373). Aboard a ship/church that is itself guided by authors of evil, even well-intentioned passengers such as Sidney’s heroes are incapacitated from transforming their admirable objectives into action.

Because those having obtained victory over the beast in Rev. 15:2-3 sing the song of Moses, as well as of the Lamb, Protestant commentators wrote that "the preservation of the good" prefigured in these verses was "likened to the safe passage of the children of Israel through the red sea, in which their enemies which pursued them were all overwhelmed and drowned" (Gifford Revelation 299). Pyrocles and Musidorus' escape from Asia Minor and Plexirtus' plots is a type of these preservations of the Elect by the providence of God. Musidorus floats ashore near Arcadia to be rescued by Strephon and Claius "rather by the favourable working of the sea than by any self-industry" (5; p64), phrasing that suggests providential aid. Though he is unconscious, however, Musidorus' hands are "fast griping upon the edge of a square small coffer," which, as it turns out, is "full of most precious stones gorgeously and cunningly set in divers manners. . ." (13; p72). These "very rich jewels" symbolize Scripture, often compared by biblical and nonbiblical Christian writers to precious stones or jewels or to an "inestimable treasure." The diverse settings of Musidorus' jewels suggest the variety styles and genres through which the message of Scripture is imparted in its assorted books. The multifarious settings may also be emblematic of the assumption by Protestant poets and literary theorists that "The Bible contains all literary kinds--epic, dramatic, and lyric--and is accordingly the supreme example of genera mista. . ." (Lewalski Protestant 71). Musidorus claps tightly to the chest, for, as Gifford wrote in a passage quoted earlier, victory over the beast is obtained by those who "steadfastly cleave to the holy word of God. . ." (Revelation 300). The jewels Musidorus grips as he floats to shore may also bolster the Exodus typology: Mornay, in a work Sidney translated, at least in part, writes that, according to "the
Priests of Helipole," Pharaoh pursued the Israelites in order "to recover the Jewels which they carryed away with them out of Aegipt," but Moses, "warned of God strake the sea," so that his own people were saved; whereas, "the Aegyptians were partly destroyed with thunder and lightening, and partly drowned in the same waters" (Trewnesse 466). Similarly, in motivating his "mates" to kill Pyrocles and Musidorus, the captain of Plexirtus' ship incites them, as Pyrocles recalls, "with the spoil of us, which he said (and indeed was true) would yield many exceeding rich jewels" (274; p373).

The sea upon which those who have subjugated the beast are said in Rev. 15:2 to "stand" is interpreted by Bullinger, Fulke (98'), Gifford, and the Geneva Bible as "the world," because "of the rage and unstablleness thereof" (Bullinger Apocalipse 216'): both the world and the sea may be characterized as "a gulfe full of tempestes, and stormes of afflictions, troubles, temptations, and dangers of all sortes" (Gifford Revelation 300). While both the Geneva Bible and Bullinger read the adjective glassie used to modify this sea as signifying the "frailtie and brickleness" of this world, Gifford connects the quality with the ability of those who have cleaved to the Word to "stand" upon the sea that overwhelms their Antichristian enemies: ". . .it is a glassie sea; it is so hard to the faithfull that they go upon it as upon firme ground" (300).

An interpretation similar to that of Gifford is readily suggested by Sidney's first, memorable portrait of Pyrocles, who, as the reader learns only much later, has just slaughtered the ship's captain, the pirate: who had vaunted his readiness to slay God at Plexirtus' request (276; p375).

Upon the "mast which all this while had proudly borne the sail" (275; p374), but which has at the opening of Book 1 been laid low, Pyrocles "sate as on horseback" (7; p66). The "straugness" of both Pyrocles' "seat" (upon the mast) and his "gesture" are underscored: ". . .holding his head up full of unmoved majesty, he held a sword aloft with his fair arm which often he waved about his crown as though he would threaten the
world in that extremity" (8; p66). The "sun then near his western home" darts "some of his beams" upon the sea (8), so that it would have a glassy appearance. Pyrocles' "seat" upon the mast removes him from the full impact of the sea's instability, so that, unlike Plexirtus' dead crew members, he may move "safe through the gulfe of this worlde," as in Gifford's interpretation of those who have gotten victory over the beast (300).  

Pyrocles' flourishing of the sword and his metaphoric horseback position aptly symbolize Bullinger's assessment of those who stand upon the sea after triumphing over the beast (as Pyrocles has just escaped from the degenerate moral environment of Asia Minor and slain the pirate who was the captain of Plexirtus' ship): ".. .conquerours tread upon the world, and upon all the tormentes and mockeries of the world, as triumphing over all worldly thynges" (Apocalipse 216). Moreover, the omnipresent Protestant use of the biblical "sword of the Spirit" (Ephes. 6:17) metaphor makes his confident brandishing of the sword a fit symbol for the buoyant optimism of the early Reformation, as well as of the "cleaving to the Word" that has ensured his victory (as with Musidorus' clinging to the chest of jewels). Sidney himself reportedly "often told" Greville that England's "true-heartednesse to the Reformed Religion in the beginning brought Peace, Safetie, and Freedome. . .," so that "the wisest, and best way, was that of the famous William, Prince of Orange, who never divided the consideration of Estate [state] from the cause of Religion. . ." (Greville Life 35-6). England's continued prosperity depended upon its "true-heartedness to the Reformed Religion," the consideration of which should form the basis for state policy.

Pyrocles justifies his slaying of the pirate by reminding him of the "so many honest honest men, whom [his] falsehood hath brought to destruction" (276; p375). As with the destruction of the ship on which the hypocritical Plexirtus had plotted to have Pyrocles and Musidorus murdered, the pirate's death nicely illustrates Gifford's summary of the
theme of Rev. 15: God's "recompence" dealt "here in this world" to "that idolatrous and bloudie kingdome. .." (299). After the vision of the victorious faithful passing over the glassy sea and the hymns of deliverance by those upon the shore, chapters fifteen and sixteen of Revelation depict the "seven last plagues" by which "is fulfilled the wrath of God" (15:1) and which are to be inflicted upon "Antichrist and his crew . . ., particularly . . . upon the Princes and ringleaders of wickednesse of the worlde. .." (1602 Geneva Bible gloss to Rev. 16:1). The ruins of Plexirtus' ship, the dregs of its cargo, and the bodies of its crew, all of which litter the sea about the unharmed Pyrocles, contain evident tokens that this destruction fulfills the plagues prophesied in Rev. 15 and 16. Because these plagues were recognized as types of those inflicted upon the Egyptians, they, too, reinforce the Exodus typology of the New Arcadia: ". . .bycause the tyranny of Antichrist may worthilye be compared to the bondage of Egipte, the holy ghost doeth denounce the like punishments by an allegory to the plagues of the Egyptians" (Fulke 102').

Just before they pour upon the Earth the seven vials that result in the seven final plagues, the seven angels emerge from a temple "full of the smoke of God and of his power. . ." (15:8). Bale (476), Bullinger, and Gifford (301) all interpret this smoke as a sign of God's presence, suggestive of the unsearchableness of his judgments, with Bullinger adding that "it is also a token of his wrath. . ." (Apocalipse 218'). In Sidney's book, Strephon, Claius, and Musidorus, before spying the wreckage of the ship proper, discern above some discolored (as they soon learn, by blood) water "sparks, and smoke mounting thereout," with Musidorus correctly surmising that "that smoke was but a small relic of" the "great fire" that destroyed Plexirtus' ship (7; p65). The presence of the smoke reinforces the theme of the hymns of deliverance by those standing on shore: that "God is just in punishing Antichristians, and in delivering his. For although he semè to neglect his, yet kepeth he promise with the godly. . ." (Bullinger Apocalipse 216'). Though Pyrocles and Musidorus were
temporarily endangered by Plexirtus and his ungodly crew, they have been
delivered to a land of rest relatively unharmed. Pyrocles' later
description of the outbreak of this conflagration suggests the cooperation
of providence: the fire spread rapidly because "the wind, as might seem,
delighted to carry fire and blood in his mouth..." (275; p374).
Similarly, Pyrocles is able to slay the pirate, and therefore to exact
revenge, because, as he relates, upon jumping overboard to avoid being
burnt alive, he finds upon the floating mast "mine own sword, which by
chance, when I threw it away, caught by a piece of canvas, had hung to the
mast" (275). This piece of "luck" is more likely to have been considered
accidental by Pyrocles than by Sidney. Pulke shows that the plagues are
the work of providence, in revenge of the "great slaughters the pride of
the Roman byshopes hath caused..."; the author of Divine Justice...
...in the meane time turneth the calamitie upon his owne head & maketh the
sea bloudie with the slayne carkases of the Papistes" (103').
The first plague of Rev. 16:2 results in "a grievous sore upon the
men, which had the marke of the beast, & upon them, which worshipped his
image." The carcasses floating about the vestiges of Plexirtus' ship are
"full of grisly wounds..." (7; p66), perhaps indicative of the
aftereffects of the first plague. (Interestingly, nearly all of the
commentators examined for this study find evidence that this plague has
already been inflicted upon members of the Roman Church, as it "signified,
pestilence, sores, & specially the french pockes with which the popes
cardinals, bishops, & all the dregges of the popish clergy are chiefly
afflicted..." [Fulke 102'].) More striking are the signs of the
second plague, described as follows in Rev. 16:3: "And the second Angel
powred out his vial upon the sea, and it became as the blood of a dead
man: and everie living thing dyed in the sea." In the same sentence in
which he refers to the "grisly wounds," Sidney creates what would seem to
be a dramatically pronounced image of the evidence for this angel's plague
(while simultaneously and efficiently alluding to Pilate): the crew
members' "blood had, as it were, filled the wrinkles of the sea's visage, which it seemed, the sea would not wash away, that it might witness it is not always his fault when we condemn his cruelty. . ." (7; p66). Variants of the word death are recurrent in the opening pages, as if to fulfill the prophesy, "...everie living thing dyed in the sea." Apart from the "dead bodies" strewn everywhere upon the sea, even Plexirtus' ship is made to suffer a metaphoric death: all that survives of it by the time Book 1 opens is "the carcass of the ship, or rather some few bones of the carcass, hulling there, part broken, part burned, part drowned--death having used more than one dart to that destruction" (7; p66). The figurative "darts" that inflict as many forms of "death" as possible upon the ship may suggest divine vengeance: this spoilage resulted from "a shipwrack without storm or ill-footing..." (7; emphasis added). Because "seven signifieth universality and fulness," rather than any one exact number, Sidney need not depict precisely seven forms of punishment against Plexirtus' crew in order for their punishment to be seen as fulfilling Revelation's seven last plagues: as Fulke writes, the seven plagues indicate that "... the ungodly shall be stricken of God for there sundry and very many heynouse offences, not with one kind of clamities, but with divers, not with few, but with very many plagues..." (98').

Pyrocles remains unscathed because "Upon the sea, or wavering multitude, was this vial shed. Only are the false prophets received and taken of [by] the foolish... none regardeth them which hath set sure footing upon the harp rock, Christ" (Bale Works 479). Pyrocles repeats the success of "the children of Israel" who, in their escape from Egypt, "went on drye land in the middes of the Sea"; whereas, Pharaoh and the Egyptians who had been pursuing them were engulfed in water, so that they lay "dead upon the Sea banke" (Exodus 15:19, 14:30). Bale comments that the "seven last plagues" of Revelation 15 are rightly "named the last plagues; for after them shall none other be seen, the latter day finishing and clearing all" (Works 471). Sidney's placement of symbols
representative of the effects of these plagues between the princes' departure from Asia Minor and their arrival in Arcadia once more argues that he considered events of the Reformation as providing evidence for the fulfillment of prophesies from Revelation and for the imminent approach of the End. Again, the timing of Strephon and Claius' praises for Urania just after the shipwreck would have occurred repeats the ordering in Revelation of the appearance of the angel of Rev. 10 immediately following portraits of "the kingdom of Antichrist" in Rev. 8-9, demonstrating, in Gifford's exposition, that "the Lord preserved a remnant in the midst of those plagues," for whom the light of the Gospel is restored, "dispelling the darkness and errors, which came by the smoke of the pit, scattering and destroying the stinging locusts [the papists]. . . ." Gifford states with assurance, "The vision is fulfilled, or at least begun to be fulfilled in our dayes: for we live under the opening of the seventh seal" (Revelation 181). Sidney's creation of scenes and images that allude simultaneously to the Exodus of the Israelites, the visions of Revelation, and the Protestant Reformation approximates the general pattern of exegesis Lewalski attributes to Calvin, who "found in many passages a threefold reference--actually and literally to some historical situation in Israel, typologically to Christ, and (again typologically) to the state of the contemporary Church" (Protestant 118-9).

Florence Sandler has nicely summarized the adaptation by British Reformers of the typology of "deliverance" from Exodus and Revelation: "Inevitably, Britain's extricating herself from the papal authority and discovering her autonomy within her own land found its Biblical analogy in Israel's Exodus from Egypt and entry into the Promised Land." The New Testament counterpart was discovered "in the Exodus theme of the Apocalypse--under Christ, the New Lamb of the Passover, the elect had departed from Babylon, the City of Death, to reach Eternal Life" (157). A similar transition from a type of "Babylon, the City of Death," to a potential Promised Land is suggested by the passage of Sidney's heroes
from Plexirtus' ship, with its wicked crew, and from Asia Minor, a corrupt society controlled by figures such as Plexirtus and Andromana (discussed in my last chapter as representatives of Antichrist and the Whore of Babylon, respectively), to Arcadia. Yet, even though Musidorus has "escaped from Babylon," Asia Minor's culture of "death" has taken its toll upon him: he drifts to shore with so little life remaining in him that the "board" supporting him seemed to be but a bier to carry him aland to his sepulchre" (6; p64). Bale, commenting upon the bloody sea and the death of all upon it in the verses from Revelation just discussed, connects the details to the prevailing doctrine of the Church of Rome: "...dead was the doctrine that they taught, even the slaying letter itself. Dead were also their ceremonies, their rites, and their idle observations." The death he describes is primarily a metaphoric, spiritual one: all those who "seemed through glittering hypocrisy to live, wanted the very life which is hid in Christ, and that riseth of faith in his living Word" (Works 480).

In great contrast, Arcadia, the land into which Musidorus passes on "the third day after" his arrival in Laconia (readily suggesting the theme of resurrection), burgeons with vitality, an air of renewal immediately evident as Musidorus enters Arcadia with Strephon and Claius "in the time that morning did strow roses and violets in the heavenly floor against the coming of the sun" (10; p69). His weary eyes are greeted with "delightful prospects" such as "meadows enamelled with all sorts of eye-pleasing flowers; thickets, which being lined with most pleasant shade, were witnessed so to by the cheerful deposition of many well-tuned birds; each pasture stored with sheep feeding with sober security. ..." (11; p69). Imagery derived from the Song of Solomon and the Gospels, discussed in detail below, suggests that the sheep, now able to feed in security due to the successes of the early Reformation, likely symbolize on one level both individual Protestants and "flocks" or congregations of believers and that the "pasture" upon which they feed is the spiritual nourishment of
Scripture. Protestants advocated that each "sheep" partake of the same, for "all the sheepe have but one pasture, . . . the worde of god" (Theophilus, qtd. by Mornay *Treatise* 206). Arcadia's current ruler, Basilius, is not awarded a large share of the credit for Arcadia's stability, being merely "a prince of sufficient skill to govern so quiet a country where the good minds of the former princes had set down good laws. . ." (16).²

The chest of jewels that bears Musidorus to the coast of Laconia and the sword Pyrocles flourishes at his first appearance in the *New Arcadia* likely suggest not only that the initial "victory over the beast" was achieved by the dedication to Scripture of early Reformers, but also that such victories are in keeping with the successes of the Old Testament covenant line and that they will continue if Protestant nations base their policies upon the Word. Sidney refers to Musidorus "chest" or "casket" of jewels at least five times (7, 10, 13 [twice], 45; p65, 69, 72) after its initial mention, making it unlikely that the references are merely random or casual.³ Bale, commenting on Rev. 11:19, calls Christ's gospel "that ark, wherein all the riches of God's covenants and the precious treasure of his promise is reposed, to man's behoof. . ." *(Works* 403). Given the Exodus typology of the heroes' movement from Asia Minor to Arcadia at the opening of Book 1, Musidorus' chest and Pyrocles' sword may symbolically advocate the prescription offered in "The Lamentable Complaint of the Commonalitie. . ." to Parliament in 1586 for "a wonderfull victorie against the Romish Madianites." The "greatest policie and wisdome in the world," according to the authors of this petition, would be for England "to procure . . . the Lorde of Hoasts" to side with it, "which thing hee will doe undoubtedly, if the Gospell of the Kingdome of his sonne be published in every place." In support of this position, the authors amalgamate various Old Testament verses (Num. 10:33, Josh. 3:11, Jud. 7:20) that offer precedents for victories attained by Israel's due regard for the Law: "...let the Arke of the covenant go before the hoast of
Israel, to search out a resting place for them. Let the Priestes that bear the Arke of the Lorde . . . , first goe over Jorden into the Land of Canaan, and then let all the people followe after. Let us first proclaime the sword of the Lord, and then" continued success against Rome will be assured (A Parte 238; emphases added). Musidorus' chest and Pyrocles' sword, would, then, signify symbolically that they arrive in Arcadia having obtained a strong preliminary victory by adhering to this strategy. The movement of an ark or chest from one region to another would be an appropriate symbol for the restoration of the True Religion that its advocates believed the Reformation had accomplished. John Jewel uses similar imagery to describe the rehabilitation of pure worship by King David, who "when the whole religion was altogether brought out of frame by wicked King Saul, brought home again the ark of God, that is to say, he restored religion again. .." (115).

The arca by medieval times was a multifaceted symbol with a number of significations, viewed as interrelated, connected with "the process of Scriptural lectio and study." The Ark of the Covenant into which the book of the Law was placed and Noah's Ark, the physical construction of which is described in detail in the Bible, were related by some commentators to the trained memory as an arca sapientia, "built up" or edified during scriptural study, during which the "book of the Law" (as well as the rest of the Bible) was "placed" into the storehouse of the memory (Carruthers 43). One medieval painting of the Deluge depicts Noah's Ark as a wooden chest, similar to the Ark of the Covenant and the arca in which medieval books were stored, "floating above a sea full of drowned corpses. . . ." (Carruthers 43). The association of Musidorus' chest with the Ark of the Covenant has already been discussed. Because Noah's Ark was a traditional symbol for the Church, the movement of Musidorus' ark from Asia Minor to Arcadia could also signify the passing of the True Church out of the dominion of the papacy. Depictions of the flood such as that described by Carruthers, with the bodies of the wicked floating about the "ark,"
provide striking visual parallels to the destruction of Pharaoh’s crew in Exodus. Both biblical episodes, of course, were seen as instances of the preservation of the True Church under God’s auspices, a signification repeated by Musidorus’ arrival in Arcadia, with its Exodus typology. Musidorus’ cleaving to the ark, even while unconscious, suggests that he has followed the injunction of Joshua 1:8, a verse reprinted at the end of the Geneva Bible, after the final tables and indices: “Let not this boke of the Law departe out of thy mouth, but meditate therein day and night...so shalt thou make thy way prosperous, and then shalt thou have good successe.”

Once the New Arcadia’s opening is referred allegorically to the early Reformation era, other seemingly casual details may well acquire unexpected allegorical significance. For example, Strephon and Claius resuscitate the nearly dead Musidorus by “lifting his feet above his head, making a great deal of salt water to come out of his mouth...” (6; p64). This purgation, which restores life to one on the brink of mortality, may allude to the cleansing of the Church from the “fainings and inventions” with which it had been corrupted by the Roman Church, especially from the “use of material props in worship, such as holy water, sacred salt, and images,” all attacked, for example, even by the very early Reformer, Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt, a colleague of Luther at the University of Wittenberg, in his treatise “On Holy Water and Sacred Salt,” initially published in 1520 (Sire 56). Strephon and Claius’ rescue of Musidorus and their blocking of his initial impulse to commit suicide could also indicate that he is at an allegorical stage similar to that of Red Cross following his rescue by Arthur from Orgoglio’s prison, viewed by Florence Sandler as “the turning point in the Protestant account—the dawn of the Reformation with the appearance of Wycliffe and John Huss. When Red Cross is fortified in Christian Hope against Despair” and rejuvenated and schooled “in the House of Holiness, his return to the basis of the Faith suggests Protestantism’s return to the Apostolic religion” (162).
Tillyard commented long ago upon the pronounced stylistic and thematic contrast created by the sudden juxtaposition of Strephon and Claius' heightened praises of Urania to their sighting of the wreckage from Plexirtus' ship (303). On the level of political allegory, the drop in tone may point to the failure of "the princes of Christendom," whom Sidney believed needed to "be forced to wake up from their deep sleep" (Correspondence 54), to foster the early victories attained on behalf of the "Cause" at the outset of the Reformation. The fall off in tone may also signal the despair occasioned by the renewal of persecutions against Protestants and proto-Protestants by the Church of Rome, symbolized by Plexirtus' plots against the heroes, as well as the decline in Arcadia's moral atmosphere stemming from the "politically irresponsible retirement of Basilius" (Tillyard 314).

Pastoral for the Protestant "Ultra"

Sidney creates pronounced contrasts between Strephon and Claius, on the one hand, and Dametas, on the other, to develop his perspective upon the central theme of Mantuanesque pastoral: defining "the virtues of the pastor bonus and the vices of the pastor malus" (Cullen 3), or exposing the corruptions of false ecclesiastical officials and delineating the characteristics of good "shepherds" or ministers. Sidney's treatment of the three characters suggests that the traits he considered most essential to the clerical ideal were those frequently advocated by zealous Reformers: godly learning and freedom from financial avarice. Strephon and Claius' devotion to heavenly learning has already been discussed. In stark contrast to this learned pair stands Dametas, whom Basilius, the prince of Arcadia, has selected as his "principal herdman," despite Dametas' "beastly ignorance" (19; p78-9). Even prior to the Reformation, Petrarch and others had created fictional "pastors in the double sense of herdsmen and clerics," as spokespeople for bold criticism of corrupt
church officials. By the time that Baptista Spagnuoli's (Mantuan's) influential neo-Latin eclogues, originally written near the close of the fifteenth century, were assigned as required reading in sixteenth-century British grammar schools, their use as models for Protestant satire had led to the development of a "major strand" within the larger genre: Mantuanesque pastoral (Cullen 2). The issues that had come to be conventional to pastoral satire of this kind—"clerical greed and ignorance" (King Spenser's 14-5)—are precisely the qualities for which Dametas is conspicuous.  

Because Basilius and his family live in retirement, Dametas' office is an important one: indeed, Basilius "hath in a manner put the life of himself and his children into his hands..." (19; p79), as ardent Protestants believed that the eternal salvation of the British populace depended greatly upon the quality of its clergy. Dametas' unaptness for this responsibility is evident in the confusion of priorities reflected in his self-created title: "Dametas, Chief Governor of All the Royal Cattle (and also of Pamela...)") (380; p510): Dametas views his duty to preserve Arcadia's heir apparent as a parenthetical afterthought.

When Dametas discovers the doting Basilius' great liking for Pyrocles/Zelmane, he becomes "much more serviceable than" the disguised prince "can find any cause to wish him," for, as Pyrocles observes, "without doubt, the most servile flattery is lodged most easily in the grossest capacity..." (109; p173). Dametas' acts are motivated by greed for personal financial gain and a not unconnected desire for the prince's favor that leads him to cajolery. Despite Dametas' fundamental charge of denying unauthorized men access to the princesses, he allows himself to be persuaded to admit Musidorus--disguised as the shepherd Dorus precisely so that he may court Pamela--as his assistant through a combination of bribery and blandishment. Musidorus, knowing Dametas' humor, acts the sycophant, convincing Dametas that his dying brother, Menalcas, "charged him to seek the service of Dametas, and to be wholly and ever guided by
him, as one in whose judgement and integrity the prince had singular
candidacy. . . ." The "token" offered to Dametas in support of this
obviously unmerited praise speaks even more loudly to the avaricious
herdman: " . . . he gave Dametas a good sum of gold in ready coin,"
claiming that Menalcas had willed it to Dametas "upon condition that he
should receive poor Dorus into his service, that his mind and manners
might grow better by his daily example." Dametas' covetous, self-
interested motives in accepting Dorus' offer are underscored, for he "of
all manners of style could best conceive of golden eloquence, being withal
tickled by Musidorus' praises. . . ." (110; p174). Though Dametas "for
countenance sake" pretends momentarily to be "very squeamish, in respect
of the charge he had of the Princess Pamela," he quickly abandons this
consideration, "such was the secret operation of the gold. . . ." (11;
p174).

Among other shepherds of their land, Strephon and Claius are, in
Kalendar's assessment, "beyond the rest by so much as learning commonly
doeth add to nature; for having neglected their wealth in respect of their
knowledge, they have not so much impaired the meaner as they bettered the
better. . . ." (24; p83; emphasis added). When Musidorus offers them "two
very rich jewels" as a reward for their aid in rescuing him from death,
helping him to search for Pyrocles, and then delivering him to Kalendar's
house, Strephon and Claius, in direct contrast to Dametas, "absolutely
refused them. . . ." (13; p72). These are shepherds fit to "be governors of
peoples" (24; p83). Strephon's response to Musidorus' query as to why
fear does not prevent him and Claius from venturing through war-torn
Laconia to visit the shores whence Urania departed likely provides a brief
summary of the principles advocated by Sidney for the preservation of
clerical integrity: "Guarded with poverty, . . . and guided with love"
(11; p70). Strephon and Claius' refusal of remuneration may indicate
that they are obeying Christ's commands to his disciples. A reformist
woodcut, which provides the caption "Let no one come to us without an
offering" for a scene depicting the pope and his followers, includes a contrasting scene in which the risen Christ instructs his disciples before sending them among the pharisees. The caption for the second scene, based upon Mathew 10, reads: "Preach the Gospel to all creatures . . . ; you received no pay, give no pay, take no gold or silver, I send you among wolves" (Scribner 50).

Whereas Strephon and Claius have gained the respect of "great clerks" through their learning, Dametas first gains Basilius' favour when the latter, hunting and "straying out of the way," encounters Dametas and "ask[s] him the way"; Basilius, then "falling into other questions, . . . found some of his answers (as a dog, sure if he could speak, had wit enough to describe his kennel) not insensible, and all uttered with such rudeness (which he interpreted plainness. . . ) that Basilius, conceiving a sudden delight, took him to his court with apparent show of his good opinion. . . ." (19; p78). The process by which Dametas acquired his office suggests complaints by godly advocates of church reform as to how ministers gained their parishes: England, they complained, had "no election of mynisters nor ordainyng, but a confused disorder of making them mynisters, and presenting by patron instead of election. . . ." (Seconde 131). Untried individuals, these reformers objected, were "received into the ministrie suddaillie, comyng newe almost from their poperie and errors, and a number knowne of long time to have bene enemies of the truth. . . ." (Seconde 131). The only "testing" required of such individuals resembles the few offhand questions tossed at Dametas by Basilius: "The examination is very scender and insufficiente, which commonly is either of reading onelie or construing some Latine sentence, and so, upon the reporters, be it the Archdeacon or anie of the Bs. [bishops'] Chaplaines, he is made mynister" (Seconde 131-2). Similarly, the authors of "A generall Supplication made to the Parliament in Anno 1586. November" attribute the "generall famine of the word preached" wasting nearly "all the shiers and contries [counties] of" England to the
bishops' creation of "allmost an infinite number of so insufficient and unlearned ministers" possessing "no maner of abilitie to expound the holie Scripture . . . and to teach sounde doctrine, but can onelie reade upon the booke that thei are appointed. . . ." Having been "once allowed . . . for sufficient Clearks," these inadequate clerics acquired "parsonages and vicarages and other commodities . . . reaped by" their offices. By contrast, Scripture, these authors remind Parliament, "expresslie teacheth that all ministers should be able to teach sound doctrine and to convince the gainsaiers. . . ." (Seconde 2:76).

Candidates for these positions need not demonstrate their learning but merely show themselves willing to work for the wages offered or randomly acquire the support of the prince or of officials from the church hierarchy. One writer, in responding to the question of why an overextended "hireling" inadequately serving two chapels for five pounds per year is willing to work for "so little," writes that if such individuals attempted to "refuse, the Bishop will take one or other that commeth next to hand, and create him a shepheard in one day. . . ." (A Parte 39). Bishops, Reformers charged, grant "licenses to preach to divers who are of no maner of competent guifts of knowledge or other good graces needful for the due execution of that holie service" (Seconde 2:77). Many of the clergymen who came under attack for their "thoroughgoing unprofessional standing" had been ordained early in or prior to Elizabeth's reign and were, like Dametas, "late entrants" to their line of work, "out of some other trade or calling. . . ." (Collinson Religion 96). The meager education of Dametas, whose "old occupation" was "digging the earth" (384), is highlighted, for example, when he appears "counting upon his fingers" (141; p234).

The small skill or learning required by Dametas to answer Basilius' few questions is underscored when Kalendar compares him to a "dog" that, "if he could speak, had wit enough to describe his kennel" (19; p78). The comparison suggests a metaphor frequently applied by zealous reformers to .
ministers not capable or willing to "bark" (preach) loudly or powerfully enough to prevent papist foxes and wolves from harming their sheep, or congregations: "dumb dogs." The author of a 1570 document against the use of "popish apparell, and other ceremonies" charged that ". . . the hundredth Minister doeth not rule well in Englande, but eyther he is a dumbe dogge, not able to barke, or els being hid under these visors of outwarde garmentes is a papistical wolfe" (A Parte 39)." Gifford cites the primary scriptural source of the metaphor in Isaiah 56, explaining that its harshness illustrates how "foule a sinne" it is "to have charge over the Lords people, and not faithfully to feed and guide them." He also notes Saint Paul's use of a related metaphor when, "speaking of the false Apostles, which corrupteth the simplicitie of the Gospell," he "willeth the Philippians to beware of dogs, to beware of evil workmen, Philip 3" (Revelation 406).

The relevant verses from Isaiah refer to greed and lack of learning, making them especially appropriate to Dametas and the acquisitive and unlearned clergy satirized through him: "beastes of the field," glossed "enemies of the church" in the Geneva Bible, will be able to "devoure" the flocks because "Their watchemen are all blinde: they have no knowledge: thei are all domme doggs: they can not barke. . . . these gredie doggs can never have ynough: and these shepherds can not understand: for they all loke to their owne way, everie one for his own advantage. . . ." (Isa. 56:9-11). The Geneva gloss to verse ten explains the passage's import: "affliction shal come through the faute of the governours, Prophetes & pastors, whose ignorance, negligence, avarice & obstinacie provoked Gods wrath against them." The opposition between scriptural tenets and personal covetousness is underscored as well by the Geneva gloss to dogs in one of the other verses cited by Gifford, Phil. 3:2 ("Beware of dogges: beware of evil workers. . ."): these dogs, too, "barke against the true doctrine to fil their bellies."
Complaints about "the idle, blind, dumb ministry, the necessity for preaching, the dangers they all faced" were, according to Patrick Collinson, an "eternal theme" of Elizabethan religious disputes (Elizabethan 311). Robert Beale, clerk of Elizabeth’s Council, asked disenchantedly and rhetorically whether any other reformed church aside from that of England "tolerated . . . such notable absurdities and banes of God’s Church" as," for example, "the maintenance of a dumb, unpreaching ministry," revealing the ire that the unsatisfactory state of affairs provoked among advocates of more thorough-going reform of the Elizabethan Church. The topic’s currency is suggested by a seemingly not unusual day in Commons in early 1587 during which " 'the dumb ministry' was the general complaint of the House" (Collinson Elizabethan 190, 312). Such demands in Parliament for "a godly resident preaching ministry" were unceasing "from the Elizabethan Settlement to the days of the Long Parliament . . ." (Collinson Religion 96). Sidney, his readers should not forget, was a Member of Parliament in 1581 and 1584, serving on a committee that drafted a bill enacting harsh measures against seminary priests and Jesuits.  

Sidney’s undoubted familiarity with the dog metaphor for those assigned with protecting the "sheep" of the congregation from the "wolves" that threaten its safety, as well as the fact that the metaphor need not be negative when the dogs are not "dumb," is seen in his Defence of Leicester. In summarizing the motives for the attack against his uncle, Leicester, by the author of Leicester’s Commonwealth, who he is sure belongs to "the other party" (the papists), Sidney repeats the moral to an "old tale": " . . . the wolves that mean to destroy the flock hate most the truest and valiantest dogs" (Prose 130). A positive use of the metaphor is also implicit in Sir Francis Knollys’ lament that, under Archbishop Whitgift, "zealous preachers, 'the most diligent barkers against the popish wolf,’" were suspended and deprived for nonconformity (Collinson Elizabethan 247).
The immediate juxtaposition of Basilius' "straying out of the way" and his hiring of Dametas, after "asking him the way" (19), likely indicates that Basilius' willing entrustment of power to the unlearned clergy is intimately connected to both his own moral decline and that of the society he heads. Given the density of imagery conventional to Protestant pastoral in the opening "scenes" of the New Arcadia, the "way" from which Basilius strays is, in all probability, "the way of Christ," in both primary senses evoked, for instance, through John Bunyan's use of the metaphor as "his central figure" in Pilgrim's Progress: ". . .the path of all Christians through the wilderness of the world, the way 'From This World To That Which Is To Come,' and simultaneously the inner way of faith of the individual believer" (Knott 140). Sidney and the Countess of Pembroke employ the metaphor frequently in their translations of the Psalms, as when Sidney renders lines such as ". . .I walked [God's] waies, nor gainst him evilly went: / Still to his Judgmentes look't, still for his statutes car'd. . ." (37) and "The man whom God directs doth stand / Firme on his way, his way God loveth. . ." (84). Likewise, in his translations of the Psalms, Sidney, typically for his period, connects "straying" to moral error: for example, lines 93-6 of his translation of Psalm 37 read: "Marke the upright, the just, attend: / His ende shalbe in peace enjoyed: / But straiers vile shalbe destroied / And quite cutt off with helpless end" (85). His translation of Psalm 1 begins, "Hee blessed is who neither loosely tredes / The strayinge steppes, as wicked counsell leades. . ." (3). In Psalm 14, God looks down to see "that all a strayeng went: / All plung'd in stinking filth, not one well bent. . ." (28). As might be expected, the two metaphors, in the Psalm translations, as in the New Arcadia, are sometimes combined, since "the way" is that from which one "strays." For example, Sidney renders lines from Psalm 17: "Not waighing ought how fleshly fancies runn, / Ledd by thy word, the rav'ners stepps I shunn; / And pray that still thou guide my way, / Least yet I slipp, or goe astray" (33)."
imply that the paths from which one must labor to avoid straying are discerned through study of Scripture: "the way" is charted in the Word. It bodes ill for Arcadian society that Basilius seeks directions for "the way" from characters such as Dametas (it may not be accidental that the first syllable of his name suggests damnation).

Other features of Dametas' characterization likely associate him as well with the undereducated, nonpreaching clergy, as described by Gifford and others. His status as a "dumb dog" who merely recites from the prayer book or officially prescribed homilies may be alluded to by Pamela's report that "Dametas reads his rustic lecture" to Musidorus (151; p246). Dametas also ridicules and devalues education: his complaint about Musidorus' lack of shepherding skills includes a vow "that they might talk of book learning what they would, but for his part he never saw more unfeately fellows than great clerks were. . . ." (126; p220). Followers of the pope were portrayed by Protestants as hostile to the revival in learning that they associated with their own religion. In Bale's King Johan, the papist Stephen Langton (also named Sedition in the play) attempts to exact from "Nobility" a promise to "believe as holy Chyrch doth teache" and to flee "from the new learnyng" (104). Like the superstitious, papist-influenced country parishioners and clergy Gifford portrayed in and hoped to bring to the light through his dialogues, Dametas also endorses uncritically the traditions and beliefs of his forebears--an attitude unacceptable to zealous Protestants attempting to cleanse England from generations of "superstitious" beliefs acquired under its domination by the Roman Church. For instance, he admits that Musidorus (who is posing as his apprentice) "may prove well enough if he over-soon think not too well of himself, and will bear away that he heareth of his elders" (141; p235). Again, Dametas scolds Zelmane "in such mannerly manner as might well show he had passed through the discipline of a tavern" (81; p143). One of the implicit accusations
against country curates in Gifford's dialogue is that they spend much of their time in the alehouses (1'-2').

Given Sidney's development of themes conventional to Protestant pastoral in his treatments of Dametas and of Strephon and Claius, comments about other "shepherds" in Arcadia may not be as complimentary as they appear at first glance to the modern reader. While "all the people" of Arcadia are skilled versifiers and makers of "songs and dialogues in meter," none are "so excellent in that kind as the pastors, for their living standing but upon the looking to their beasts, they have ease, the nurse of poetry" (24, p84; emphases added). Zelotes, who answers the objections of the superstitious and uneducated Atheos in Gifford's dialogue, charges that many "entred into the ministerie for none other purpose, but to live an idle life, to have leysure to play at cardes. . ." (3'). While "a boye of ten" could read the official services with little effort," the proper work of the fervent minister--to teach a populace in need of much instruction "the will of God and reprove naughtiness among the people" (2')--should leave much less time for idleness. In their assessments of the ministry, Puritans similarly view the time a parson devotes to "leisure . . . rather than his labours" as the measure "of an undesirable submergence in the values of unredeemed, mundane existence. . ." (Collinson Religion 103).

The combination by the authors of "The Lamentable Complaint of the Communalitie. . . for a Learned Ministrie. . ." of the primary scriptural site from which the "dumb dog" metaphor was derived (Isaiah 56:10) with the verse that precedes it provides additional insights into Sidney's development of Dametas as an inadequate guardian of the princesses and as a representative of the "readinge and insufficient ministrie" (Seconde 1:256), which placed the fate of the Church of the England and the souls of its members at risk. The petition to Parliament reminds that "the wrath of the Lorde" will "afflict the people of that kingdome where such evill shepheards be," just as when God, in the time of Isaiah, "provoke[d]
forraigne nations to invade the land of Judea, saying: 'All yee beasts of the field come to, and devour, even all the beasts of the Forest, &c.'" God's motive, the petition claims, "followeth: 'Their watchmen are all blinde, they have no knowledge, they are all dumbe dogges, they cannot barke, they lye and sleepe, and delight in sleeping'" (Parte 215). (Dametas' at one point wrecks the coach in which he is transporting part of the royal family, leading to injuries, in part because he is "half sleeping" on the job 142; p236.)

In the New Arcadia the main threat of invasion results from the plots of Cecropia. Critics observed long ago this wicked aunt's Satanic nature and resemblances to Catherine de Medici, and my next chapter shows that she is associated with the papacy as well. Near the close of Book 1, Cecropia releases her raging beasts to prey upon Basilius' unsuspecting family, as they are gathering at "the fair field appointed for the shepherdish pastimes" (111; pl75). She later confesses that she "kept the beasts without meat, then let them loose, knowing that they would seek their food there and devour what they found..." (319; p446). When from the bordering "wood a monstrous lion, with a she-bear not far from him of little less fierceness" (111; pl76) bursts upon the field, Dametas immediately hides, caring only to save his own life, rather than attempting to defend and preserve his charge, the princess, Pamela, from these "invaders," which have been unleashed to advance the political opportunities of Amphialus, Cecropia's son and the princesses' rival as heir to the Arcadian throne. After Musidorus has slain the bear that pursues Pamela, the two discover "the gentle Dametas lying with his head and breast as far as he could thrust himself into a bush, "... full resolved not to see his own death" (115; p180). When Musidorus nudges Dametas, telling him "to be of good cheer," since it is safe to come out, Dametas fears that the prince is the bear, so that Musidorus must "pull him out by the heels and show him the beast as dead as he could wish it. ..." (115-6; p180).
Dametas' cowardice does not, however, preclude ambition, for, once he is assured that the beast is dead indeed, "he fell upon the beast, giving it many a manful wound, swearing by much it was not well such beasts should be suffered in a commonwealth" (116; p180). Dametas then "came piping and dancing, the merriest man in a parish," to present a "joyful song of their good success" before Basilius; in it Dametas attempts to claim primary credit for the defeat of the beast, since he chose as his servant Musidorus, who killed the bear (though the reader has been informed of the role of bribery and flattery, rather than considerations of Pamela's safety, in Dametas' agreement to employ Musidorus): "Thanked be I that keep a man / Who ended hath this bloody strife; / For if my man must praises have, / What then must I that keep the knave?" (114; p178).

Sidney emphasizes the stubborn persistence of Arcadia's rulers in defending their ill-considered choice of Dametas as the princesses' protector. After Pamela has informed her father of Dametas' behavior during the episode, so that his cowardice is evident even though she speaks with "the countenance of mirth," Basilius merely replies, "I have not chosen Dametas for his fighting, nor for his discoursing, but for his plainness, and honesty; and therein I know he will not deceive me" (116; p180). Yet the limits of Dametas' "honesty" have been suggested by his susceptibility to bribery. His efforts to garner unmerited applause for the slaying of the bear demonstrate, moreover, that his "plainness" does not equate with unambiguous truthfulness.

Dametas' cowardice repeats itself in a very similar fashion during the mob rebellion instigated by Cecropia's agent Clinias near the close of Book 2. During the attack of the "mutinous multitude" upon Basilius' family and the lodges in which they reside, Dametas hides in a nearby cave with Pamela and his daughter Mopsa and "at that time would not have opened the entry to his father. . ." (280; p379). To heighten the parallelism to his cravenly slinking from peril during the bear attack, Sidney has
Dametas once again appear after all danger has passed, crooning a song that credits the victory to himself: "But who by means of wisdom high / Hath saved his charge? It is even I. / . . . Who hath saved all? It is even I." His "ill-noised song" downplays the contributions of those who actually saved the royal family from the rebels, calling it "A foolish thing with fools to deal. . . ." (294; p393). Dametas makes evident to all--especially to the prince--how "wise a point he thought he had performed in using the natural strength of the cave. But never was it his doing to come so soon thence, till the coast were more assuredly clear. . . ." (294; p394). A "Complaint" to Parliament associates the cowardice for which Dametas' character is noteworthy with the "blinde Ministerie" of nonresidents, who are accounted "runagates and fugitives from the warrefare of the Lord of Hoastes. For they never purposed to goe in and out to fight the Lordes battailes, but resolved themselves to flie assoone as they sette foote in the field, by qualifications and dispensations" (A Parte 248).

Whether or not Sidney was treating the issue of residency, Dametas is presented as a runagate fugitive from Christian warfare, for the attacks from which he flees are masterminded by Cecropia, a figure centrally connected to the papacy and Antichrist. Dametas boasts of his unwillingness to participate in such "warfare," ridiculing those he relies upon to preserve his own safety: "Let others deck their pride with scars, / And of their wounds make brave lame shows; / First let them die, then pass the stars, / When rotten fame will tell their blows" (294; p394). Dametas exemplifies the "domme doggs" and greedy shepherds of Isaiah 56, who "all loke to their owne way, everie one for his own advantage," so that the beasts, or enemies of the church, can prey upon the flocks. Had Basilius been forced to rely upon the "valor" or "wisdom" of his chosen guardian, Dametas, without the fortuitous--no doubt "providential"--appearance of Pyrocles and Musidorus, he and his family would in all likelihood have fallen victims to Cecropia's assaults.
Religious issues are also suggested by Kalendar's explanation as to why Dametas' inerudition should disqualify him for the post he occupies: Basilius was foolish for admiring Dametas' "rudeness," for "...it comes of a very evil ground that ignorance should be the mother of faithfulness"; since "he cannot be good who knows not why he is good," Dametas' "rude simplicity is either easily changed or easily deceived; and so grows that to be the last excuse of his fault which seemed to have been the first foundation of his faith" (22; p82; emphases added). Kalendar emphasizes that it is Dametas' ignorance, not his humble social origins, that makes him unfit for his position as "chief herdman" and guardian of the princesses. He does not, he stresses, "accuse my master for advancing a countryman, as Dametas is---since, God forbid, but where worthiness is, ... any outward lowness should hinder the highest raising...." The problem is rather "that he would needs make election of one, the baseness of whose mind is such that it sinks a thousand degrees lower than the basest body could carry the most base fortune. ..." (25; p84-5). So pronounced is the "baseness" of Dametas' mind that Morris Henry Partee states flatly that Dametas "reprents ... stupidity" (215). The otherwise puzzling fervor Sidney devotes to condemning Dametas' ignorance, his "blunt brains" (109; p173) and "dull head" (128; p221-2), as well as his unfitness for his position, is made comprehensible by its close similarities to the laments, in the 1586 petition to Parliament cited earlier, that the people of England were forced to endure "priests (as thei terme themselves), like those that were in Jeroboams time, of the basest of the people, not onelie for their base occupations and trades, whence thei have taken them, some having bene Shoemakers, Barbers, Tailers, even waterbearers, shepheards, and horse keepers, but," even more critically, "for their so great want of all good learning and honestie, as no man will take a number of them to make them his hindes to use them for keeping of his horse or his sheepe" (Seconde 77). The hazards to Arcadian society stemming from Basilius' reliance upon Dametas constitute
an indictment very close to Gifford's warning that "the want of a sincere ministrie of the worde" was the "greatest" single source of the "flood of ignorance and darknes, overflowing the most part of the Land. . . ." (Discourse 3'). Corruption and ignorance spread outward from the clergy to the populace.

Gifford's "harsh view of the obdurate laity," which "loses touch with the sympathy extended to the common people and their dialect" in earlier Protestant portrayals of the honest, plain-speaking plowman (King Spenser's 23), may cause him to be labeled an elitist; yet it is important to recognize that it is popular superstition, not poverty, that Gifford criticizes and that he was not willing simply to condemn and dismiss "country folk" in favor of a more educated audience. Gifford's dialogues are aimed precisely at bringing such individuals to salvation by directing them toward "the knowledge and obedience of Gods will, which he hath revealed in his word" (Discourse 14'). He laboured through his dialogues, in his own words, to "profit the simpler sort, for whose sakes & in respect of whom I have taken this travell" (Dialogue "Epistle Dedicatorie" n.p.). It is the papist-beguiled Atheos who complains, "It was never merry since men unlearned have medled with the scriptures" (Discourse 17'): Gifford's model Puritan, Zelotes, wants simple folk to show that they love God more than "an old shoe" by turning their attention to his Word frequently. Furthermore, Zelotes proceeds to defend the honor in the eyes of God of poverty-stricken but faithful Christians: ". . .if yee could see how great glory the poorest true Christian is called unto, to be the child of God, yee would not revile them whom God honoureth" (18').

The intimate knowledge of Elizabethan popular culture evident in Gifford's dialogues, which has earned his recognition as "A Tudor anthropologist" by Alan Macfarlane, reveals his extensive first-hand experience with figures he may have felt were idealized by previous writers. Gifford believed that those lacking knowledge of God's Word were headed toward eternal damnation, and he toiled earnestly to save them.
Dewey Wallace summarizes the "mission" that unifies Gifford's writings as an effort to educate "the 'common sort' in true piety..." (46) and his primary career objective as "bringing the preaching and piety of grace and holiness to the common folk in his charge and throughout all England" (45). As part of this overall project, he aimed to establish in each parish throughout his nation zealous and learned preachers "by replacing or re-educating" clergy he considered unqualified (Wallace 46). Gifford combined a humanist's faith in the power of education with a Puritan's zeal for spreading the Word. In the New Arcadia, the unfavorable presentation of Dametas as compared to Strephon and Claius, who share his humble social origins but rise above them through learning inspired by love, suggests that, like Gifford, Sidney criticized not financial poverty but negligent or inadequate attention to Scripture.

Strephon and Claius' affinities to the ideals of Mantuanesque pastoral are evident if one compares their comments on the rapid shift toward more spiritual and intellectual goals that ensues from their love for Urania to passages from John Bale's translation of a Complaynte by Mantuan. The speaker of the Complaynte, addressing his heart, cries, "Awake out of thys slomber, and shake away from these unprofitable cares. . . . Leave these earthely studyes and consider who ruleth the heavens, who revolveth the clere shynyng starres?" (A8'-B1'). In like fashion, a desire to please Urania prompts Strephon and Claius, "...when others were sleeping, to sit viewing the course of heavens..." (5; p63). Sleep, in both cases, is foregone in favor of study of the heavens. Other merely physical pleasures, as well, are to be subordinated in favor of more lasting and more valuable spiritual pursuits. Mantuan's speaker chides his "folysh hart": "...thu art redy to become a slave to these stynkyng members and carryage of rott" (A8'). He urges himself, "Call thy wyttes to the[e], as yet dispersed, or dyversly affected to thinges whiche are corruptible"; turn those wits instead to the consideration of "thynges which are essencyally good, and shall never perysh, whych are celestyal..."
causes, and let no paines that are to be taken for gods honour, terrify ye" (B4'). Similarly, the love of Urania that has caused Strephon and Claius to look up to heaven has also, as Claius testifies, "...thrown reason upon our desires and, as it were, given eyes unto Cupid." Only in Urania has "love-fellowship maintained friendship between rivals, and beauty taught the beholders chastity" (5; p64). Love of Urania is the key to Strephon and Claius' rapid progress in the journey to the spiritual life that is the goal of Mantuan's speaker, to their movement toward "incorruptible" pleasures. Urania motivates the tireless labor that has enabled them, in Claius' words, "...when others were running at base, to run over learned writings; when others mark sheep, we to mark our selves" (5; p63-4). The two could serve as exemplars for the advice sounded by Mantuan's speaker: no longer slaves to the blind Cupid, they delight in the pains for God's sake that he recommends.

Strephon and Claius' unwillingness to allow their thoughts to remain "deeply bemired in the trade of ordinary worldlings," intent only upon the "gain some paltry wool may yield" (3; p61-2), shows that they have escaped from the indifference of the mass of country parishoners, which zealous preachers deplored. A Suffolk minister complained in 1587 that the people of his post were "frozen in their dregges," seemingly having "made their large Fen their God." In 1623, a minister in Kent still spoke of his parishoners as "frozen into the mud of the world and dregges of sinne." (Collinson Religion 201), the mire from which Strephon and Claius have been extracted through learning and love. Their example suggests that England's best defence against papistry was to reform its populace through education and zealous preaching of the Gospel.

The most striking contrast between Sidney's exemplary shepherds and the shepherd-speakers in most Protestant pastoral satire prior to his time is a stylistic one: the eloquence and rhetorical elegance of Sidney's pastors" distinctly differentiates them from their functional counterparts in the works of Protestant writers of Sidney's period who
aligned themselves with "the Lollard tradition of articulating appeals for reform in the voice of a blunt, truth-telling" plowman (King Spenser's 22). Sidney does not restrict his characters or his narrator to the "plain vernacular style" conventional to the genre (King Spenser's 15); however, it is precisely Spenser's "framing of his style to an old rustic language" in the Shepherds' Calendar of which Sidney complains in the Defence (64), and we have seen that Dametas' "plainness" does not fare well in Sidney's assessment.

Moreover, Strephon and Claius are followers of Urania, who bears the name of the Muse of the divine poetry movement, "one of the 'tenets' of which was that 'high subject will bring about a worthy style' (Campbell 80). According to Du Bartas' "Urania," a poem that "gave unity and direction to the whole movement" (Campbell 80), "the sacred subject itself was 'Of Divine Eloquence th' immortal source." Decorum dictated that the highest subject should induce the poet to strive for an appropriately elevated style: "Base Argument, a base stile ever yields: / but (of it selfe) a loftie subject raises / Grave stately words, and (of it selfe) it guilds / It selfe..." (Bartas 537). The very subject to which divine poets committed themselves was "a deepe, broad, boundless ocean, / Th' abundant Horn of Plentifull discourse..." (537). Writers aligning themselves with this movement labored to intimate the power of such resources through their poesie. In the Defence, Sidney cites the technical excellence of the "divine poem" of David's Psalms, "the often and free changing of persons, his notable prosopoeias," etc., as evidence of the author's devotion to God: through his ability to make readers "see God coming in His majesty," David "showeth himself a passionate lover of that unspeakable and everlasting beauty to be seen by the eyes of the mind, only cleared by faith" (22). The eloquence of the learned shepherds Strephon and Claius, therefore, likely attests to their passionate commitment to Urania both as the Muse of divine poetry and as a figure symbolically connected (through the imagery of Rev. 10) to Christ.
Whether Sidney's Urania is, in fact, to be associated with the Muse of divine poetry remains a subject of debate among critics;" therefore, other characteristics shared by Strephon and Claius and proponents of divine poetry are worth noting as well. Probably as a result of her role as the classical Muse of astrology, Urania moves those who elect her as the Muse of their religious poetry to a study of the heavens, but not primarily to attain scientific knowledge of the stars. Contemplation of the skies forces them to recognize and praise the Creator's power and grandeur, moving devotees to more profound religious understanding and ending the "blindness" that results from entrapment in "worldly" goals. Those who embrace the "heavenlie discipline" of Spenser's Urania in his The Teares of the Muses ". . . .mount aloft unto the skie, / And looke into the Christall firmament. . ." (518, 505-6). With their gazes thus directed, this Urania's disciples do not make scientific calculations but contemplate "...with humble minde and high insight, / Th'eternall Makers majestie. . ., / His love, his truth, his glorie and his might, / And mercie more than mortall man can view" (511-4). The Christianized Urania "make[s] men heavenly wise, through humbled will" (522; emphasis added). Knowledge and learning of the more bookish sort in which Strephon and Claius also engage are likewise commended by Spenser's Urania, who entitles "ignorance, the enemie of grace / That mindes of men borne heavenlie doth debace" (497-8). She condemns the "pestilence" that has "inwardly" diseased "mortall mindes . . . / With love of blindeness and of ignorance, / To dwell in darkenesse without sovenance" (482-5), the condition that Strephon and Claius have escaped. As Urania causes Sidney's shepherds to "mark" themselves, Spenser's Urania states, "By knowledge we doe learne our selves to knowe. . ." (503). Du Bartas' Urania similarly proclaims herself the Muse "Who humane-kinde above the Poles transport, / Teaching their hands to touch, and eyes to see / All th'enter-course of the Celestiall Court" (530). The typological connections between Strephon and Claius' opening praises for Urania and
Moses’ songs celebrating the deliverance of the children of Israel from Egypt, discussed earlier, also align them to the tradition of divine poetry as it is outlined in “L’Uranie,” where Urania urges poets to select her as their guide, using their talents to proclaim “holy mysteries,” just as “the leader of the Hebrew host / Gods praise did sing upon the Redsea cost” (James I 33).

Rhetorical skill combined with and resulting from knowledge would be desiderata for Strephon and Claius not only as followers of Urania but also as ideal clerics. Gifford’s Zelotes argues that each flock of believers deserves as its shepherd not a “dumb Idoll” but a powerful speaker, one with “such learning and discretion, as shall be sufficient to open and to manifest the power and dignitie of the worde unto the consciences of the hearers. . .” (Discourse 49). Dametas’ “rude” speech may be satirized along with his greed and ignorance; however, Sidney does not rest with satire but presents a positive alternative, one made attractive through Strephon and Claius’ heightened praises of Urania, rather than through a blunt plowman who remains content with less book learning.

“Devouring” the Word and Remembrance of “More Excellent Matters”

Strephon and Claius’ eagerness to “feed upon” Urania’s “sweet words” and to recollect her “honey-flowing speech” (5; p62) may provide another indicator of their status as devout sharers of the Word not motivated by avarice. In commenting upon St. John’s remark that the little book that the angel of Rev. 10 gives him to eat is “swete as honie” (10:10) in his mouth, Bullinger reminds the reader that David celebrated God’s judgments as more desirable than “much gold and precious stones, and sweter than hony or hony combes” (138'). Bullinger’s subsequent attempts to explain, though, why this book is sweet in St. John’s mouth but bitter in his belly may help to account for the mood swings between elation and anguish evoked
in Strephon and Claius by their recollections of Urania, the "heavy kind of delight" with which Strephon gazes toward the isle for which she departed (3; p61). For example, Strephon recalls with great joy "her eyes, the lightsomeness whereof had yet so natural a cheerfulness as it made even sorrow seem to smile" (4). Yet, before Strephon begins his speeches on Urania, he reveals "in his darkened countenance a doleful copy of what he would speak. . ." (3; p61). Claius, as well, speaks of suffering occasioned by renewed observation of the shores from which Urania departed: ". . .the light of this place doth call our thoughts to appear at the court of affection, held by that racking steward remembrance" (4; p62).

Bullinger explains that, on the one hand, the sweetness of the Word "is ever felt in the inward man: and the faithfull being lighted with the truth, hat[h] alwayes continuall joy. . .."; on the other hand, he will "not conceale" that the book's bitterness in the belly signifies the "paynfull and grevous" impact of the Word on the "flesh" or "outward man": Scripture "bringeth the mortifying of the flesh, travelles, paynefulnes, the crosse, and adversities innumerable, which with a strong and constant patience we must overcome" (Apocalypse 138°). Strephon and Claius' suffering could actually indicate that such a process is succeeding within them. Fulke believes that the bitterness in the belly that ensues after one devours the angel's book indicates "that he should not thinke that he had eate it up for him selfe alone, which was to bee belched up againe for the medicine of many" (66°). In the New Arcadia, Claius, to comfort Strephon, reminds him of Urania's virtues, asking him to "think with consideration" of the benefits they have received from loving her (4-5; p63). The two, moreover, enact the philosophy of the Word through their "charitable office" of rescuing Musidorus and by using their speeches to prevent his initial impulse to commit suicide (arising from the mistaken belief that his friend, Pyrocles, has drowned) (6; p64). Gifford interprets the passage from Rev. 10 politically, in the context of the
impact of the Word upon Protestant theologians such as Luther, Calvin, Martyr, Bucer, Bullinger, and Beza: its "wonderfull swetenes" motivated them to become "very mightie in the holy Scriptures"; yet, simultaneously, "they were caryed with a wonderfull zeal and indignation against the wicked doctrine of Antichrist, their bellies were made so bitter, that they prophesied, and through their prophecying, the light of the truth hath spread it selfe among nations. . ." (Revelation 18:7-8). Similarly, Strephon and Claius, associated with the Reformation through the Revelation imagery and Exodus typology discussed earlier, cannot imagine failing to praise Urania upon revisiting "any place made happy by her treading" any more than sheep may "forget to fear when they spy wolves" (4; p63), animals that served as stock figures for papists in Protestant polemical literature.51

Strephon and Claius' discussion of their farewell to Urania demonstrates beyond doubt their--and their creator, Sidney's--familiarity with the classical art of memory.52 While a recent critic has taken the pair to task for indulging in "esoterica" such as "the occult art of mnemotechnics" (Hager 137), the techniques they practice to ensure that their memories of Urania remain vivid and moving were taught as a standard division of the assuredly non-occult art of rhetoric, receiving sustained attention in such mainstream texts as Thomas Wilson's Arte of Rhetorique (208-18), the most widely used rhetoric handbook in sixteenth-century England, as well as in classical rhetoric texts that remained influential during the Renaissance, such as the Rhetorica ad Herennium.53 In keeping with the precepts of this art, their memories of her consist of a sequence of visual images: for their minds' eyes they reconstruct the "instant" that she places her foot onto the boat, that she places her hand over Claius' eyes to cover their tears, that she lights from her horse, that she turns to gaze "back toward her wanted abode" (4; p62). The moments selected by these skilled practitioners of the art of memory are ones that imply movement, again in keeping with advice in rhetorical handbooks that

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images constructed according to the art should be "doing something" (Rhetorica ad Herennium III.xxii.37); they "must bee set foorth, as though they were stirring." (Wilson 213). Discussions in rhetorical handbooks also recommended that images be memorized against specific, vivid visual backdrops, or "places," as the shepherds' "remembrance came ever clothed . . . in the form of this place. . ." (4; p62). While physical sites, such as buildings, were frequently employed to aid retention, the "places" to be stored up in the treasure house of the memory through this art were quite frequently, particularly in the post-classical period, textual loci. The mental images that those trained in the art of memory formed while reading were not created merely for aesthetic enjoyment of the images as images but to help one to internalize the text: like medieval pictura such as religious images, they were to be understood "rhetorically, as directly referential not to an object but to a text. . ." (Carruthers 222). Textual loci such as verses from Scripture were often memorized with appropriate commentary mentally "attached" to them. The verses themselves, or important "things" signified within them, were filed in the memory in association with vivid visual images.

Strephon and Claius' return "visits" to the sands of Cytheria to renew in their minds Urania's image as she parted, "dividing her heavenly beauty between the earth and the sea," likely adumbrate the mental comfort and assurance derived by the faithful from the promises of the similarly posed angel of Rev. 10, assurance that was to be especially sustaining during times of affliction. Strephon explains that, "especially in so troublesome a season," his and Claius' love for Urania will not allow them "to leave those steps unkissed wherein Urania printed the farewell of all beauty" (3; p61). The shepherd's apocalyptic mindset is underscored by Strephon's lament that "remembrance" has continually "forced our thoughts to work upon this place where we last (alas that the word last should so long last!) did grace our eyes upon her ever-flourishing beauty" (3; p61). The underlining of last here is extremely rare in the New Arcadia, and to
highlight the word still more Sidney combines rhetorical techniques such as *ploce*, the repetition of a single word within a line or series of clauses (the treble appearance of *last*), and *paronomasia*, or repetition of words that sound similar but have different senses (*last* and *alas*). The sentiment would echo the longing for the End with which both St. John’s Apocalypse and Greville’s *Caelica* conclude. The latter expands upon the former as follows: "...sweete Jesus, fill up time and come / To yeeld the sinne her everlasting doome." The "come, Lord Jesus" (Rev. 22:20) refrain is recurrent in apocalyptic and other religious writings of the period.

Their shared enthusiasm for Urania’s "flock of unspeakable virtues" is reinvigorated and reconfirmed through their speech centered upon her during their journey to this "site": "...this place gives new heat to the fever of our languishing remembrance" (4; p62). The physical site serves primarily to renew in their minds thoughts of Urania’s virtues, as well as gratitude for the benefits resulting from their acquaintance with her: as Claius explains, "...this place served us to think of those things [visual images of Urania], so those things serve as places to call to memory more excellent matters" (4; p63). In traditional, rhetorical *ars memorativa*, an image is usually created to signify the matter or *res* (most often translated into English as *thing*) that one wishes to hold in mind. The "more excellent matters" reinforced by recollection of "things" associated with Urania are, on an important level, texts from Revelation and, as has often been noted by critics and will be discussed shortly, the Song of Solomon, both texts read by Protestants as prophetic of the welfare of the Church militant, or Church upon Earth.

Sidney’s familiarity with the art of memory, combined with the recommendations in his letters (discussed below) of daily and intensive study of Scripture, make it difficult to imagine that he would have described Urania’s posture in the way that he did without realizing that it was shared by the angel of Rev. 10. Apocalyptic commentaries and
sermons, among the most popular books of Sidney's era, treat individual images of Revelation and other relevant biblical texts in sustained detail, thoroughly ingraining them in the memories of readers who devoured such texts, particularly when those readers were trained in memorial reading techniques, as Sidney was. Moreover, Sidney's own memory was evidently particularly retentive: after beginning to discourse in a letter to Sidney on the eternality of virtue and friendship, the learned Huguenot Claude Aubery interrupts himself, "I would write more in this vein, but you know the rest. For you remember, and you can remember—indeed, you are the son of Memory" (qtd. in Osborn 223). The probability that this particular image would not have lapsed from the mind of the "son of Memory" is especially high when one considers the function Gifford and others ascribe to this angel's promise: while "many places of the Scripture" provide warnings that should move believers to diligence, this angel's "solemne oath that the day of judgement shall shortly come," should, in Gifford's view, "if we bee not utterlie as dead flesh, ... touch and move us, even to prepare our selves with our loynes girded, and our Lampes burning, to waite for the comming of our Master" (Revelation 185-6; emphasis added).

The word remembrance is repeated three times in the first sentence spoken by a character in the New Arcadia. Strephon, who cites it as the power that has caused him and Claius to return to gaze upon the island of Cythera, on which Urania currently resides: "... hither are we come to pay the rent for which we are called unto by overbusy remembrance—remembrance, restless remembrance, which claims not only this duty of us but, for it, will have us forget ourselves" (3; p61). A recent critic has cited the passage as evidence that "Platonic love" creates in Strephon and Claius a "melancholic distraction" that leads them "to forget shepherding, and their rank or position of shepherd..." (Hager 140); however, the need to "lose the self" is a central tenet of Renaissance Protestantism, and "selfness" is a central sin in the writings of Greville, and, more
implicitly, of Sidney. According to Calvin, the "first step" in "the service of Christ" is "that we forgetting our selves, thinke onely of the glory of the Lorde and of the salvation of mankynde" (*v); this fundamental precept is reinforced when he reminds, "...we are redeemed by Christ, upon this condition, that we might not be our owne" (9').

Calvin's *Catechisme*, which Sidney purchased shortly after his arrival at Shrewsbury School as a young boy (Weiner 8), explains that repentance "bryngeth us to the forsaking of our selves, and to the mortifiynge of oure fleshe, that we may geve our selves to be governed by the spirite, in the service of God" (qtd. in Weiner 179). Greville, too, urges, "...Man, forsake thy selfe, to heaven turne thee, / Her flames enlighten Nature, never bume thee" (Caelifa 86). Christians must first pray that God "mortify in us with his might and power, that olde Adam"; the next petition should be that God "powre hym selfe mercifully intoo oure heartes. .." (Zwingli N3').

The profound need for the transformation of fallen human nature by divine grace is suggested by Pamela's remarks in her famous debate on atheism with Cecropia. The niece affirms that the "heart of man" is "the darkest of all natural secrets" (363; p492). This "natural" heart of darkness requires divine assistance to attain a better nature, even as the very elements are "so far from a conspired unity" that they would destroy one another ("the water willingly quenches the fire and drowns the earth") if "a right heavenly nature" did not "bridle them," in the process "as it were unnaturing them" (361; p490; emphasis added). The self that must be lost is the "dark" natural self, which, after being recognized as undesirable, may be regenerated in the image of the more perfect will revealed in Scripture. Gifford explains this essential Calvinist assumption: "...by nature the minde of every one is overspread with vanitie, and with ignorance of God: by nature the heart is full of all evill lusts." He cites covetousness, pride, self love, envy, hatred, and "cruelty, with many filthie uncleane desires," then concludes, "Untill
these things bee blotted out of the booke, and better things put in their 
place, there is no salvation. . ." (407; emphases added). Regeneration, 
following the forsaking of the "natural" self, is a precondition to 
humaneness, for ". . .nothing good can ever be wrung from our own heart, 
unless it become wholly other. . . . When his Spirit is taken away, our 
hearts harden into stones" (Calvin, qtd. in Lewalski Protestant 102). The 
injunction to lose one's self derives from Christ, who told his disciples, 
"If any man will followe me, let him forsake him selfe, & take up his 
crosse, and followe me. For whosoever wil save his life, shal lose it: 
and whosoever shal lose his life for my sake, shal finde it" (Math. 
16:24).

Mornay, in discussing Augustine's doctrine of evil as "naughtinesse" 
or deprivatio boni explains, ". . .God almightie, to shewe us that he 
made all of nothing, hath left a certeyne inclination in his creatures, 
whereby they tend naturally to nothing, that is to say, to change and 
corruption, unless they be upheld by his power"; therefore, "in respect 
that things be, they be of God; but as in respect that they corrupt and 
tend to not being that which they were afore; that commeth of the sayd not 
being, whereof they were created" (Trewnesse 26). According to Mornay's 
doctrine, the dark "natural" heart described by Pamela is the one that 
follows the inclinations of the earth from which it was created; whereas, 
the "second" and superior nature results from participation in God's 
being, from a Protestant perspective from hearing, reading, and doing the 
Word.

Strephon and Claius' fervor to rekindle their love for Urania by 
revisiting the "places" where she "walked" is elucidated by the strong 
connection Gifford draws between memory and maintaining an acceptably high 
level of religious zeal. Commenting upon Rev. 3:3, Gifford writes that 
that "place" teaches us "that when we decline, or decay in the holy 
religion, it is by forgetting, and letting slip out of our minds, the 
doctrine and the graces which we have heard and received in former times"
(Revelation 86). The prescription against such loss is to engrave the Word ever more deeply into the mind by repeated exposure, so that it will remain present and forceful: "The Lord willeth us to keepe that which we heare, . . ."; accordingly, we should renew it "dayly in us, and so it shall have power: For it is not the hearing, the bare understanding, or delight for the present time, but the power of the doctrine remaining in us which shall save our soules" (Revelation 87). According to Gifford, being a Christian required a good memory: "As our Saviour saith in the Gospell, 'Blessed are they that heare the word of God, and keepe it.' If we heare and reade, and doe not understand, or if wee understand and carelesslie forget, what are we the better?" (Revelation 6-7).

Commenting on Rev. 22:7, Pulke similarly writes that the "doctrine" of Revelation is a "passing great treasure" only to those who thoroughly internalize its words: "...if they will diligently imprente in mind, & kepe them so imprinted, he pronounceth they shall be blessed" (148'). Memories of Urania have been so thoroughly engraved in the memories of Strephon and Claius that they dominate their thoughts and control their behavior. Remembrance "still," as Strephon exclaims, "forced our thoughts to work upon this place," where last they saw Urania. The strong mental prompting for a return visit is heeded and turned to action: "remembrance commanded, we obeyed. . ." (3; p62).

Sidney's letter to his friend Edward Denney on devising an appropriate plan of studies suggests that he heeded advice on the need to print the Word indelibly in the memory. Sidney recommends that Denney devote an hour a day to his "Testament": "Holy Scriptures" are to be studied "diligently," for they are the best source of an essential form of knowledge, the "knowledge of ourselves," which "ought to be most precious unto us" and for which "the Holy Scriptures, if not the only, are certainly the incomparable lantern in this fleshly darkness of ours." An additional, strong motivation for biblical study is immediately added: "For (alas!) what is all knowledge, if in the end of this little and
wearisome pilgrimage, Hell become our schoolmaster" (Sir 290, 288). After years of assiduous reading of a text he considered so vital, following his education in a Calvinist grammar school, Sidney would have been quite familiar with the Bible's basic images and figures. The self-knowledge that Sidney claims results from reading of the Scriptures is also one of the products of Strephon and Claius' love for Urania and the learning it inspires, which causes them to "mark" themselves (5; p64).

The pronounced emphasis on memory in Sidney's treatment of Strephon and Claius is also particularly appropriate given that correspondences between Urania and the angel of Rev. 10 place them in a position parallel to that of St. John as he "eats" this angel's book. The digestion metaphor for the thorough, memorial reading that leads to comprehension and retention is an ancient one. Bullinger, commenting upon John's devouring of the little book, cites St. Ambrose's explanation that to "eat the booke" means "to lay up the understandyng of the Scriptures in the secret bowells or entrailles." The trope implies that such consumers of texts display both "earnest desire" and "singular diligence. For we devour with a gredy desire, such thynges as we have long & much coveted to eate." "Bookes and authors" are said to be devoured when they have been "perfitely learned and cunned by hart" (Apocalipse 138). The Geneva editors provide a similar gloss, explaining that the angel's command that John "eat . . . up" the book in 10:9 signifies that ministers "ought to receive the worde into their hearts, & to have grave, & depe judgement, and diligently to studie it, & with zeale to utter it."

Some critics claim that the purpose of Urania's departure at the opening of the New Arcadia is to show that Strephon and Claius' chaste love for Urania and the unceasing efforts "to seem worthy in her eyes" that motivates their learning is unrealistic in a "fallen" world. This argument posits assumptions similar to those of Atheos in the Countrie Divinitie. This character attempts to escape Zelotes' unwelcome efforts to reform him by placing the blame for his failings upon his Creator: "I
trust God will not require more at my hands than I am able for to doe: I am as he made me? if he had made mee able to do better I shoulde do no more" (32'). Zelotes warns him that such a "vaine hope . . . doth harden and blind ye unto damnation" (33'): "this notable snare of the Devil" prevents those who place their faith in it "from the seeking after the knowledge of Gods will, and stayeth them from returning home unto God by true repentance, because it breedeth this in the hearts of men, to thinke and to say, we are wel ynough, we trust in Gods mercy. . ." (34'). Zelotes' God does not allow his followers to rest content with indulging the inclinations of their fallen natures but calls them "to repentance," having assigned humans one overwhelming and all-important task: "...God teacheth howe he will be served, and he teacheth onlie in his worde: his will is that we shal learne to know him by his worde" (Discourse 28', 29'). The urgency of this goal explains the priority Gifford and Sidney assign to "the Ministrie of the woorde," by which "men may be built up in Christ. . ." (Discourse 29').

Despite Protestant hostility to the Romish doctrine of "merit," Strephon and Claius' unceasing efforts to improve themselves so that they will "seem worthy" in Urania's eyes is not inappropriate. Reformist theologians like Gifford held believers responsible not for arriving at perfection, an impossible goal, but for maintaining their desire and efforts to conform themselves to the Word as continuously as possible. Zelotes provides a very clear statement of Christians' continuous responsibility for striving to approach nearer to "perfection" than they currently are, a process he considers beneficial and essential even though all are bound to fall far short of the mark. He explains that the recognition of his own sinful nature does not hinder but necessitates his efforts to renew himself in the image of the more perfect will revealed in the Word: "I have also many sinnes in mee which I see and knowe, that cleave so fast, that I can not utterly cast them foorth: notwithstanding I hate and abhorre them. I am wearie of them. . ." (64'). Having
"professed and vowed a continuall warre against them," Zelotes will "labour by meditation in gods worde, and by heartie prayer, to bring them under, that they raigne not over me. . . ." Even though perfection is not obtainable, "yet with al the might I can, I straine and breath to come as nigh perfection as I can: my desire is good to reach it, and although I find that I come many degrees short, yet I approche nearer and nearer. This is true repentance," modeled by Paul in Romans 7 and Philipians 3; therefore, "with this I know God is pleased. . . ." (64'-65'). The "final end" of learning itself is, according to Sidney, "to lead and draw us to as high a perfection as our degenerate souls, made worse by their clayey lodgings, can be capable of" (Defence 28). Sidney's own remarkable pursuit of learning strongly suggests that he considered exactly this level of "perfection" worth striving for.

Critics who write as if Urania has vanished permanently and irrevocably ignore not only the letters through which she maintains contact with Strephon and Claius but also the fact that they know precisely where she is dwelling. When "oppressed with evils, heaven" appears "shut unto us"; however, the angel of Rev. 10 "descended from heaven" precisely to alleviate this "weakenesse of mans nature," which causes us to "feare least the great distance of place shoulde separate us from the defence of Christ." The angel (identified by commentators as Christ) does ascend to heaven once more, "yet nothing letteth, but that he may succour the godly in there afflictions. For God never . . . leaveth destitute his Children whom hee hathe once taken under his tuition" (Fulke 61'). Similarly, though she no longer dwells with Strephon and Claius, Urania remains on a nearby island, so that she, like Christ, might return at any time, and she shows her continued care for the shepherds through her letters to them.

Immediately after Strephon and Claius complete their act of charity by delivering Musidorus over to Kalendar, they receive "a letter written jointly" to the two of them from Urania, "which they no sooner had read
but that with short leave-taking" they depart, "like men whose hearts
disdained all desires but one . . . , as if the letter had brought wings
to make them fly" (13; p72). Strephon and Claius display the single-
minded devotion appropriate to the followers of a woman who bears the name
of the Muse of the divine poetry movement. The symbolic connections
between Urania and Christ established through the imagery of the angel of
Rev. 10 make it difficult to imagine that the Sidney who was so active on
behalf of the Protestant "Cause" would be disparaging their zeal.

The letters by which Urania maintains contact with Strephon and
Claius after her departure may adumbrate the belief, as stated by Calvin,
that Christ, despite his "absence according to the flesh, remains present
"with us in his word" (qtd. in Pelikan 4: 140)." The intimate contact
between God and each believer obtainable through Scripture was sometimes
underscored by metaphors comparing its books and epistles to
individualized letters. Thomas Brightman attempts to rouse his
contemporaries with his discovery of the immediate pertinence to them of
the addresses to the seven churches in Revelation: "... yow the
Christian Churches of Germany, France, & Britany, were by Epistle written
by name unto," with messages that "most mercifully admonished" each to
reform in order to avoid the impending punishment of Antichristians. Each
church should recognize her spouse Christ's style and hand: "Thou knowest
best the voice of thy husband, if they be Letters sent thee from him . .
. . it is more then tyme for thee to cast away all that filth which by too
too long securitie thou hast gathered. . . ." (A3'). Urania, connected to
Christ, the "spouse" of each believer, male or female, through the imagery
of the angel of Rev. 10, does not permit Strephon and Claius' thoughts to
remain "deeply bemired in the trade of ordinary worldlings . . . ." (3):
they are no longer settled in the "filth" of which Brightman’s paraphrase
warns. Also commenting upon the addresses to the seven churches in Rev.
2 and 3, Bullinger cautions his audience that these epistles "verely . .
. apperteine no lesse unto us, than if the messenger should now presently
enter into the Church and deliver these letters unto us" (Apocalypse 23'). In another metaphorical statement of the direct lines of communication obtainable between Christ and his followers, Gifford's Zelotes explains that because the "generall pardon" available through Christ is issued to each individual believer, it is "al one in those which beleeve, as if he had sent a particular message unto them" (Discourse 24'). Strephon and Claius' enthusiastic response to Urania's letters may well indicate allegorically that Scripture possesses for them, too, the force of direct, personal address.

Strephon and Claius' devotion to Revelation is especially appropriate, given their modest social position. Gifford confidently asserts "that a man of meane learning in comparison, may now in these dayes more easilie understand, and expound this booke far more perfectly then the learnedst Doctors could, and Fathers in ancient times" (Revelation 2). Many things in Revelation had remained to the Church Fathers and to even devout medieval scholars, in Irenaeus' words, "Aenigmata, darke riddles, and ambiguitie," because, in the Protestant interpretation, "they lived before the times in which they should be fulfilled." By Gifford's time, however, the prophecies had "come to passe," so that Reformers were able to provide "a cleere and undoubted exposition." In this exciting era, "plowmen and artificers" could, therefore, "know such mysteries, and great wise Doctours knowe them not" (Revelation 3).

Overthrowing Antichrist and the Politics of Preaching

The political dimensions of the need for an educated clergy would not have been missed by Sidney and other advocates of a Protestant League. A "Humble Petition of the Communalitie" to Queen Elizabeth for a "learned Ministrie" stresses the benefits to the British nation that would derive from the same. These supplicants assure the queen, ". . .if ignorance the
maine pillor of Poperie were pulled downe, as it were by the might of Sampson, and the wholesome doctrine of the Gospell, that leadeth to all dutifull obedience unto God, and the Prince, . . . were set up and planted in the heartes of us the people of the land" by a zealous preaching ministry, the papists' "complots and devises, though never so cunningly contrived, would not bee worth a rush, to reedifie their kingdome againe in this lande. . . ." (A Parte 312). In the New Arcadia, Strephon and Claius, as representatives of the learned, Reformed clergy, continue to study the "places" where Urania "walked" (on one allegorical level, Scripture)." Strephon's inability "to leave those steps unkissed wherein Urania printed the farewell of all beauty" (3; p62) demonstrates his enthusiastic recognition, with John Jewel, that the "most perfect prints of Christ's own steps," are detectable within the "Holy Scriptures" (78). Upon re-viewing "any place made happy by her treading," they can no more fail to renew their commitment to her than "sheep forget to fear when they spy wolves" (4; p63). Perusal of Revelation, in particular, motivates them to be alert for and teaches them to recognize papist "wolves."6

Were all the "shepherds" of the land as devout and learned as Strephon and Claius, its "flocks" would remain secure against intruders attempting to stir up support for the Church of Rome. Instead, incompetent appointees such as Dametas hide while Cecropia employs her agent, Clinias, "to whisper rumours into the people's ears." Discovering a "great aptness in the multitude," Clinias encounters little difficulty, for instance, in stirring up the mob revolt against Basilius' at the close of Book 2 (288; p387). The inability of the Arcadian "multitude" to analyze Clinias' false arguments indicates their lack of schooling in the standards of truth; for "ignorance of the people" allows "teachers of errors . . . to spread abroad there devilish doctrine and wicked opinions" (Fulke 557).

In the dedication of his English translation of Fulke's commentary on Revelation to Sidney's uncle, Lord Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick,
Gifford, too, links both the advancement of the Protestant cause and political stability in England to a more educated clergy, capable and eager to instruct and enlighten the laity of the land. Drawing upon pastoral metaphors similar to those used with Strephon and Claius, Gifford maintains that "all the mischeifes of latter time" in England spring from "that carelesnes in feeding the Lords flocke" that "hath bene so greate, that in moste places eather raveninge wolves, or els suche lewde unskilfull blinde guides as are not able to governe themselves, in stead of true pastors are made governours in the church, and have the rule over the flocke of Christ. . . ." It should not, therefore, be surprising, he continues, "...that the people in some places of this realme, for want of good instruction not knowinge there duty to God set themselves in armour to rebell againste" the prince. The continued success of Antichrist's "bloudye kingdome" depends upon maintaining the majority of the populace under "ignourance the mother of devilishe devotion," since should "his subtill practices" be "disclosed, and his abominations made manifest, . . . the greatest part of those that have there mindes still bewiched with the enchauntementes of that whore," doubtless "would even looth and detest her filthines and hate here with a deadly hatred" (*iii^).

Gifford was not alone in making such arguments. A 1584 petition warned the queen that the "confederates" of her "chief enemy," the Roman See, were "so bold as to attack" her because, through a "lacke of teaching, three partes at least of the people of thys lande" remained "so ignorant and wedded to their olde superstytion styll, that" the papists "assure themselves that, If they could prevayll once, . . . they should easely agayn cause theyr kingdom and releygon to be established." Additionally, barely one in ten of the realm's parishes had in residence "a vygylant and watchefull shephard or pastor, able and wylling . . . to chase awy from" his sheep "all foxes and wolves," especially Jesuits (Seconde 1:254).

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Powerfully preaching to the people the "true" interpretation of Revelation was considered a singularly effective means of disclosing the "corrupt" beliefs and assumptions that had accrued under the papists (and that continued to be maintained by papist-leaning country clerics still in office), because the book "paynted out before" one's "eyes, the forme and shape both of the true Church, and also of the false, which is the Synagogue of Sathan" (primarily the Church of Rome, which Gifford had just indicted) (Fulke *iii*'). Instruction in the true form of worship and plan of salvation continued to be urgently required even after the nation had become officially Protestant: though the papists had been "outwardelye banished" from the realm, Gifford warns, "the corruptions of Antichrist were so depely roted in the hartes of men, that even to this daye, . . . they remayne still in the mindes of the people" (Fulke *ii*'), leaving them susceptible to continued "seduction" by those hoping to reestablish papist control of the land.

In the seclusion of his retirement, Basilius "gives no other body leave to visit him at any time but a certain priest, . . . excellent in poetry," whom Basilius "makes . . . write out such things as he best likes, he being no less delightful in conversation than needful for devotion. . . ." Perhaps not insignificantly, the first concern of Basilius' implied by the ordering of these two needs served by the priest is compatibility and personal pleasure, rather than devotion. Aside from this divine, Basilius has granted free access to himself and his daughters to only "about twenty specified shepherds" in whom, some for exercises, and some for eclogues, he taketh great recreation" (23; p82-3; emphases added). In Sidney's time, England formally had twenty-four bishoprics, aside from the provinces of the archbishops of Canterbury and York (Meyer 75). Yet, the dioceses of Oxford and Bristol remained unoccupied during most of Elizabeth's reign, that of Ely went unfilled from 1581-1600, and occasional vacancies of other posts were not uncommon (Haugaard 157), so that Sidney's designation of "about twenty specified shepherds" would
approximate fairly closely the number of bishops in the Elizabethan Church when he was writing the *Arcadia*. The widespread Elizabethan use of the shepherd metaphor for ecclesiastical pastors, along with the reference to the priest who has earned Basilius' favor (possibly a figure for an archbishop) in the same sentence, increases the probability that the twenty shepherds represent the Elizabethan bishops. The word *priest* itself is probably not without political significance: a nonofficially sanctioned "puritan Prayer Book" included in a 1578 edition of the Geneva Bible and in many later editions replaced the word *priest* with *minister* throughout, removing other such "popish" terms as well (Collinson *Elizabethan* 165). The literary skills of the specially designated shepherds differentiate them significantly from Dametas, who, it has been argued, is on one level a representative of the much more numerous unlettered country clerics of the Elizabethan Church. Basilius is also, in the same sentence as the references to the priest and the twenty shepherds, said to have "hidden his head" (23; p82) through his seclusionary retirement. One implication may be that the ruler remains willingly ignorant of the more ordinary conditions in the church by surrounding himself with its more learned and skilled representatives.** (True, Basilius does have direct contact with Dametas, but he merely disregards his obvious shortcomings, and this character allows Sidney to satirize rural clerics.)

Moreover, the potential allegorical significance of Basilius' entrusting his daughters to the guardianship of Dametas, as a representative of the unlearned clergy, deepens when one considers that, at certain points in his allegory, Sidney links the two sisters to the Old and New Testaments of the Bible. For example, Philoclea calls Pamela her "schoolmistress" (451), as Paul calls the Law "our scholemaster to bring us to Christ, that we might be made righteous by faith" (Gal. 3:24). Bullinger's *Second Helvetic Confession* (1566), which Andrew Weiner labels "the most generally accepted sixteenth-century statement of the reformed
faith" (8), follows its paraphrase of Paul’s description of the Law as "a schole master" with a reminder that no human can meet the standards set by the Law: "Neither could, nor yet any flesh is able, to satisfie the law of God, and to fulfill it, for the weakenes that is in our fleshe, and still remaineth in us, even to the laste gaspe" (qtd. in Weiner 12). The Law was ordained not only to teach humans "the will of God" but also to prompt them "to knowe them selves, to goe into themselves, and to consider how that the holy workes which God requireth, are not in their owne power, for which all the world have great neede of a Mediatour" (Bullinger Old Faith 65). Since humans ultimately cannot fulfill the letter of the Law, it necessarily convicts them, forcing them to acknowledge their absolute dependence upon Christ, who "hathe redeemed us from the curse of the Law. . ." (Gal. 3:13). Pamela’s harsh reaction near the beginning of Book 3 to the one kiss Musidorus steals from her after her pity for his despair prompts her to "thaw away the former iciness of her behavior" (308; p435) holds him to similar standards of infallibility: ". . .laying the cruel punishment upon him of angry love and louring beauty, showing disdain--and a despising disdain," she banishes him from her presence: "Away! . . . unworthy man to love, or to be loved! . . . let me see thee no more, the only fall of my judgement and stain of my conscience!" Musidorus runs into the woods, his reaction suggestive of that arising from the loss of God’s favor after the Fall in Eden: he is ". . .not only unhappy, but unhappy after being fallen from all happiness, and . . . fallen from all happiness not by any misconceiving but by his own fault, and his fault to no other but to Pamela. . ." (309; p436). Mornay’s Trewnesse reflects the devastation Reformers assumed the Law would wreak upon humans, had it not been freely and fully atoned by Christ: "Because man could not and cannot satisfy the Law, God must do so if religion is not to be merely 'a definitive sentence of death, and an expresse condemning of us.'\textsuperscript{45} Musidorus responds to his fall from Pamela’s favor as if he has been so sentenced and condemned: "It was not an amazement, it was not a sorrow,
but it was even a death which then laid hold of him (309; p436). It should be recalled, moreover, that Musidorus, the lover of Pamela, carries the symbolic "Ark of the Covenant" into Arcadia.

The suggested allegorical significance for Pamela (which does not in any way control every aspect of her characterization) may strike moderner readers as unlikely. Yet, in the dedicatory epistle to his apocalyptic drama Christus Triumphans (whose many generic and thematic similarities to Book 3 of the New Arcadia were discussed in Chapter 2), Foxe writes that his character Nomocrates represents "the total power of the law," depicted "to the end that neither more nor less than what is fit should be allowed to it" (Two Latin 211). (John Hazel Smith, the play’s editor, observes that Foxe’s character was called Diclogus in manuscript, a name he translates "letter of the law" Two Latin 226). Pamela is obviously a much more positive character than Foxe’s tyrant. Yet, while both princesses are "over-excellent" (17), indeed "second to none (and far from any second, only to be matched by themselves)" (423), Philoclea is a distinctively more attractive personality. Greville writes that God "keeps one course with Israel, and with us; / The fleshe still knewe his power, but not his grace..." (Religion 62). Comparisons of the two sisters often suggest this contrast between power and grace, between the dominant "character traits" of the mighty Old Testament "Lord of Hosts" and the New Testament Christ of mercy. Kalendar’s attempts to enumerate the respective attractions of each sister hint at such distinctions: ". .methought there was (if at least such perfections may receive the word of more) more sweetness in Philoclea, but more majesty in Pamela: methought love played more in Philoclea’s eyes and threatened in Pamela’s: methought Philoclea’s beauty only persuaded--but so persuaded as all hearts must yield, Pamela’s beauty used violence--and such violence as no heart could resist" (17).” Later, in withstanding Cecropia’s wily arguments and psychological manipulation, "Philoclea with sweet and humble
dealing did avoid" her "assaults"; whereas Pamela "with the majesty of virtue did beat them off" (337; p465).

The power of Philoclea's beauty to prevail through mere persuasion, without "violence," may be elucidated by Mornay's extensive discussion, in the work Sidney translated, of the contrast between "the majestie of the Romaine Empyre" or "a worldly Conquerour" such as Cyrus or Alexandar (Trewnesse 594-5), on the one hand, and of Christ and his followers, on the other. While, from the perspective of human reason, invitations by Christ such, for instance, as, "Let him thinke himself happie that he may suffer a thousand miseries for me, and that in the end he may dye for my names sake" would seem to lack mass appeal, being "perswasions" that are effectively "disswasions" (594), within "fortie yeeres the world is filled of this doctrine, and the countries are conquered to Jesus Christ by those fewe Disciples preaching his bludshed and sheading their owne. . ." (597). Such power to conquer without violence, to "drawe perswasion out of disswading" can arise, in Mornay's view, only from Him "that made both the heart of the man that hearkeneth, and the speech of the partie that speaketh" (597). Obviously, the "conqueror" who need not rely on violence earns the higher praise from Mornay's Christian perspective: "Alexandar vanquished the Persians in Battell: how much more honorable had it bene, if he had done it with a blast of his mouth: . . . Alexandar increased his kingdome . . . by killing, and Jesus by dying" (614).

Danby has rightly compared Philoclea to Shakespeare's Cordelia (64), and she is a close cousin to Spenser's Una. A few of her typological associations with both Christ and the New Jerusalem, were discussed in Chapter 2, as part of my discussion of Book 3 as apocalyptic drama, and others are discussed in Chapter 6. I now cite but a few examples of the New Testament ideals that govern her character. For example, Neda Jeny observes that Philoclea labels herself Pamela's servant several times, whereas "it never occurs to" Pamela "to call herself Philoclea's servant." Philoclea, moreover, "is convinced that Pamela and Pyrocles are infinitely
worthier than she" (50). These concepts point to some of the many echoes in Philoclea's speech of Philippians 2, for instance, "...in mekeness of minde[,] everie man esteme other better then him self ... . Let the same minde be in you that was in Christ Jesus, who ... made him selfe of no reputation, and toke on him the forme of a servant. ..." (2:3, 5-7).

Likewise, as Christ "humbled him self, and became obedient unto the death, even the death of the crosse" (Phil. 2:8), Philoclea is characterized by nothing so much as her humility and is "not skilled in any thing better than obedience. ..." (143).

In another example of this pattern of symbolism, during the Phalantus tourney in book 1, Musidorus wears Pamela's portrait in miniature "in a tablet" (102; pl66); whereas, the disguised Pyrocles, defending the beauty and honor of Philoclea, has no physical, visible representation of his mistress, for, as he explains, "...her liveliest picture, if you could see it, is in my heart, and the best comparison I could make of her is of the sun and of all other the heavenly beauties" (103; pl67). The "tablet" versus "heart" settings for the sister's portraits mirror notable locales of the commandments of the Old Covenant, written upon physical tablets of stone, versus the doctrine of Christians after the Incarnation, imprinted invisibly upon the heart. The imagery appears in the Geneva gloss to Jeremiah 31:33: "In the time of Christ my Law shal in stead of tables of stone be writen in their heartes by mine holie Spirit. ..." Paul, too, calls the Corinthians "the epistle of Christ, ... written, not with yncke but with the Spirit of the living God, not in tablets of stone, but in fleshlie tables of the heart" (2 Cor. 3:3). The underlying contrast pointed to by the distinction is between "the outward ministerie of the priesthood of Levi" and "the ministerie of the Gospel, and the Apostolicall ministerie" (1602 Geneva gloss). Granted "tablet" was also simply another word for a picture frame, but the specific words tables and tablet were constantly employed to define the Law "written by God himselfe in two Tablets" (A Parte 535; emphasis added),

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and I am arguing for a clustering of sets of images with each sister and for the fit of this imagery within a larger allegory.

Pamela and Musidorus' roles as teachers to their younger relatives Philoclea and Pyrocles, respectively, also suggest their allegorical associations with the Old Testament. Mornay calls Israel "a Schoole or Universitie founded by God, wherein he himself voutsafed to teache, that men myght learne their owne Salvation" (Trewnesse 523). The elder cousin by "three or four years, ... Musidorus, what he had learned either for body or mind, would teach it to Pyrocles, and Pyrocles was so glad to learn of none as of Musidorus," for whom he "bore a reverence full of love." (164). As Pyrocles acknowledges, Musidorus "taught me by word, and best by example, giving me in him so lively an image of virtue as ignorance could not cast such mist over mine eyes as not to see and to love it. ..." (235; p237). Philoclea, too, reveres her older sister, so that, even in the face of Anaxius' death threat to both princesses, she asserts her intent to imitate her example: ". ...even in the darkness of that horror, I see a light of comfort appear--and how can I tread amiss, that see Pamela's steps? I would only ... that my schoolmistress might live to see me say my lesson truly" (451; p580). Philoclea's desire to follow in her sister's footsteps echoes the many biblical verses that counsel believers to walk in the paths and tread after the steps of members of the covenant line, as when Paul calls Abraham, "...the father of circumcision, not unto them onely which are of the circumcision, but unto them also that walke in the steppes of the faith of our father Abraham..." (Rom. 4:12; emphasis added). This widely used biblical and Christian metaphor is not specific to Protestantism: Erasmus heeds that the Christian "must nedes entre in to this strayte waye ['mortyfyenge of the flesshe'] / in which few mortal men walke. But this waye Chryst hym selfe hath trode / & have troden synce the world began who so ever pleased god" (P77).
The lessons that Philoclea derives from treading after Pamela, as well as Pyrocles' "reverence" for Musidorus' example, suggest that they are learning at what Mornay called the university of Israel, established by God. The fundamental textbook preserving the wisdom of this school is the Old Testament, which, from the perspective of a zealous Protestant such as William Harrison, "revealed the fluctuating fortunes of the True Church to have been a reflection of Israel's apostasy and disobedience, and made of her return to obedience through God's mercy a lesson which could be directly applied to sixteenth-century believers" (Parry 27). The fortunes of Israel, the Old Testament type of the True Church, had "waxed and waned according to the zeal with which it obeyed God, and either suppressed the False Church or foolishly allowed it to flourish" (Parry 16). Those wielding power in contemporary states, accordingly, would do well to foster the "True," Reformed religion and diminish the dominion of the "False" Romish church. Philoclea and Pyrocles can continue to model their behavior on that of their elder relatives, who are symbolically associated with the Old Testament, because God's intervention in the lives of those in the Old Testament covenant line was a crucial means by which he had revealed his unchanging will (Parry 27). The precepts to be extracted remained relevant: as Harrison urged "...if thou canst applie ther errors and corrections with ther recoveries and returns unto thy self and therwithall consider the secrete and manifest working of God in the preservation of one and favourable ponishment of the other, ... thou shalt see a merveilous sight for thy comforte and find a ready path as St. Peter saith to make thine election certeine" (qtd. in Parry 27).

Philoclea has not only attained this comfortable vision but has by this point in Book 3 surpassed in the clarity of her wisdom her sister and schoolmistress. The first clause of her words of solace ("...even in the darkness of that horror, I see a light of comfort appear...") likely allude to 2 Pet. 1:19: "We have also a moste sure worde of the Prophetes, to the which ye do wel that ye take hede, as unto a light that shineth in
a darke place, until the day dawne, and the day starre arise in your hearts." The 1560 Geneva Bible glosses the dawning day of this verse as "A perfiter knowledge then under the Law" and the daystar as "Christ the sunne of justice, by his Gospel." The 1602 Geneva Bible glosses the two phrases respectively, "A more full and open knowledge, then was under the shadowes of the Law" and "That clearer doctrine of the Gospel." Philoclea's ability to retain hope even in the face of the death threatened to herself and her sister by Anaxius likewise shows her access to a more fully defined basis for hope and to a brighter light of truth and hope than that visible to Pamela. She maintains her integrity and hope in perilous circumstances, suggesting that she keeps the eye of her mind focused on Christ, who "is a light in darkenes, and the sight of whom "is to good men joyfull in perils" (Bullinger Apocalipse 177). The elder sister is adamently bent upon maintaining her virtue to the end and even glories in the strength she displays in the face of the tortures inflicted upon her by Cecropia and her servants: ". . .Pamela remained almost as much content with trial in herself what virtue could do, as grieved with the misery wherein she found herself plunged" (422; p554). Yet, she clings to the important Christian virtue of hope (". . .now abideth faith, hope & love, even these thre. . ." 1 Cor. 13:13) less consistently than Philoclea, whose sentiments, as has been suggested, approximate those of the New Testament more closely. Though Pamela does not mention suicide, and does not, therefore, break the Old Covenant commandments, she at times seems almost eager to suffer martyrdom, abandoning hope in the present life. Whereas to Philoclea "a light of comfort" appears even amidst "the darkness of . . . horror." Pamela counsels her sister only to prepare to die with virtue intact: "let us make that profit of our former miseries, that in them we learned to die willingly" (451; p580). After a later reiteration of similar sentiments, she specifically disparages hope: "Why should we delight to make ourselves any longer balls to injurious fortune? . . . As for me and my
sister, undoubtedly it becomes our birth to think of dying nobly, while we
have done or suffered nothing which might make our soul ashamed at the
parture from these bodies. Hope is the fawning traitor of the mind” (455-
6; p584-5). Philoclea’s greater humility ensures that she never presumes
to speak for her sister in such a way, and her less shadowy insights into
the divine plan prevent her from depreciating hope.

Another of Philoclea’s allegorical associations that would be
complementary and may also be relevant is Gifford’s exposition of the
"little sister" of the Canticles: "...the Church upon earth in Salomons
time did consist of the nation of the Jewes: the Church of the Gentiles
was not then come, which is called her little sister" (Song 18). The
Church of the Gentiles at that time is referred to as a little sister
because, prior to the Advent "she is not yet grown up, her time is not
yet come to be betrothed" (274). As a matter of fact, "...she was not
yet in being..." (275). Yet, she is spoken of as though she already
existed, since "...the decrees of God for things to come are so
certaine, and infallible, that faith apprehended them, and speaketh of
them before they be, even as if they were" (275). Gifford offers the
standard interpretation of the Bride of the Canticles as both the Church
as a whole and "everie faithful soule" among the Church’s members (A4’).
The bride, her mother, and her little sister are each a representative of
the "true Church," a significance "that may seeme somewhat harder to be
understood..." The explanation, however, is actually quite simple,
according to Gifford: "...it is the maner in the Hebrew tongue to call
the whole the mother, and the parts of the whole are called daughters and
sisters..." There is only "one universall Church, yet because the
same is never whole in the world at one time, the whole Church upon earth
is sayd to have a mother, for she is but a part of the universal Church"
(17-8). A reading of the New Arcadia’s elder sister, Pamela, as
associated with the Church of the Jews, and its little sister, Philoclea,
as connected to the Church of the Gentiles, which "in greatness and in
number of true children" eventually "farre exceeded the Church of the Jewes" (275), would nicely complement the princesses' Old Testament/New Testament symbolic connections.

My sixth chapter demonstrates that the sudden death of Cecropia's husband (Basilius' brother and, accordingly, until quite late in Basilius' life, heir apparent to the Arcadian throne) represents the break of the Church of England from the papacy's dominion under Henry VIII. As part of the same family history in which she describes to Amphialus his father’s death, Cecropia relates that, even beyond her husband’s death, "the grief of grieves was when" Pamela and Philoclea were born, thereby "cut[ting] off all hope of" even Amphialus’ succession" (319, p446). Sidney’s association of Pamela and Philoclea with the Old and New Testaments suggests that the births of these native heirs may refer to the translation of the complete Bible into English under Henry VIII, thereby making it directly available for the first time to the nation's lay populace, an event that Reformers believed dealt a massive blow to the papacy’s hopes for restoring its authority in England. The dashed hopes of Cecropia, whose allegorical associations with Antichrist and with the papal church are discussed in Chapter 6, for gaining (through her son) authority in Arcadia, after the princesses' births, would mirror the impact upon the papal church of the rendering of Scripture into the vernacular in England. The births of Pamela and Philoclea only in Basilius' extreme old age likely suggests that only "in the latter yeres" of Henry VIII’s reign was the Bible "delivered" to the people of England. As a 1583 document described the events:

... the vessels of gold and silver of the house of God, even the Bible containing the olde Testament and the new, which Antichrist had taken out of the Temples of this land, and hidden under the pavements of the Synagogue of Rome, that did King Henry the eight take from them, & it was delivered unto the servants of the Lorde, who used it to lay "the foundation of the house of God in this lande" (A Parte 258-9). Cecropia will not permit the sisters "to have conference with any other but such as [she] had already framed to sing all her songs
to their tune" (354; p483), as Protestants charged that the Roman Church did not provide the laity with adequate direct contact with the Word, fostering instead dependence on priestly intermediaries, themselves subservient to the pope (Antichrist). Similarly, Cecropia keeps "curtains drawn" (from the outside) over the windows to the princesses' chambers (425, p557), preventing Pyrocles from being able to derive comfort from looking upon Philoclea (and Pamela and Philoclea from seeing one another), as Reformers charged that the papacy hid Scripture from the people. In direct contrast both to Cecropia and to Basilius, who keeps his daughters in seclusion and under the supervision of Dametas, the New Arcadia's narrator calls Pamela and Philoclea "these diamonds of the world (whom nature had made to be preciously set--in the eyes of men," to be the chief works of her workmanship, the chief ornaments of the world, and princesses of felicity). . ." (422-3; p554; emphases added). The criticism of the Elizabethan church implied by Basilius' tight restrictions on the access to his daughters and his entrusting them to the supervision of Dametas seems quite similar to that voiced in a lament by Gifford's Zelotes: "It is a great pitie that the woorde of god is not laide open in all places, that the people might come to the understanding of Christ and his power, in translating them out of the power of darknesse into his kingdome of light: which is wrought with great and diligent teaching, because men are made of a dull metall, and hard to conceive spiritual and heavenly things" (Discourse 83'). So long as the "princesses of felicity"/Word of God are under the custodianship of Dametas/the unlearned clergy, the forceful preaching and teaching required to move dull-minded humans to comprehend "heavenly" matters will not occur.

Sidney's choice to link two women allegorically to the Old and New Testaments would employ the gender, for example, of Athanasius' metaphorlic description of the Holy Scriptures as "the Mistresses of the true faith" (qtd. in Mornay Fowre A3'). The sisters, as C. S. Lewis' asserts, "can be praised without reservation"; his characterization of the sisters as "true
natives of Arcadia" (338) is particularly apt. The princesses as symbolic representatives of the Scriptures would be the means of approaching the condition of inner and outer peace reputed to prevail among Arcadia's residents: Kalendar reports that Arcadia has "ever been had in singular reputation" primarily "for the well-tempered minds of the people, who, finding that the shining title of glory so much affected by other nations doth indeed help little to the happiness of life, are the only people which, as by their justice and providence give neither cause nor hope to their neighbors to annoy them, so are they not stirred with false praise to trouble others' quiet. . ." (16; p75). Not a few of Arcadia's inhabitants portrayed during the period of the New Arcadia's action, though, "emboldened by [Basilius'] absented manner of living" (291; p390), are incited rather easily to participate in the riot orchestrated by Clinias near the close of Book 2. Four to five thousand of the land's residents, moreover, had spent the night prior to this revolt carousing in celebration of Basilius' birthday, the "barbarous opinion being generally among them, to think with vice to do honour, and with activity in beastliness to show abundance of love," the majority of them aiming "to show the depth of their affection in the depth of their draught" (290-1). Not only can these individuals not avoid conflicts with their neighbors, but they take up arms against their own prince (although he himself is not without fault for their misbehavior). Basilius' resolve to seclude himself and his family especially so that his daughters may be sequestered from the populace and potential suitors (21, 23; p81, 82) hastens the deterioration evident in the contrast between the past reputation of Arcadia's residents and the growing unrest of more than a few of them. Beyond Basilius' personal absence from the political scene, Arcadia's overall moral climate declines from its potential because the Word is not made duly prominent among its inhabitants (Pamela and Philoclea, the "princesses of felicity." are not displayed "in the eyes of men").
Bale elaborates upon the specification that those who have gotten victory over the beast are said in Rev. 15:3 to sing the songs of Moses and the Lamb as follows: "Of both testaments they make utterance, declaring the wonderful works and terrible judgments out of the old law, and out of the gospel of gladness the most sweet mercy of the Lord. Without ceasing open they the scriptures unto other. . .." (Bale Works 472). The use of New Testament, primarily Revelation, imagery in Strephon's praises of Urania has already been discussed. The Old Testament imagery in their lauds derives primarily, as many critics have noted,44 from the Song of Solomon. Once again Gifford, who wrote a commentary on that book as well, provides helpful guidance. It is interesting to note beforehand, though, that allusions to Revelation are concentrated in the speeches of Strephon (although there is a bit of crossover); whereas, those to the Song of Solomon appear in Claius' encomia. I have just noted that references to the Old Testament are concentrated in the characters of Pamela and Musidorus, while allusions to the New Testament appear in connection with Philoclea and Pyrocles. As in these cases, the Old Testament allusions are linked to the elder partner, Claius (Poems 242); whereas, the New Testament imagery is located primarily in the speeches of the younger confederate. Sidney seems to have been interested in creating Old Testament/New Testament partners in friendship (Claius/Strephon, Musidorus/Pyrocles, Pamela/Philoclea) but same-Testament lovers (Pamela/Musidorus, Philoclea/Pyrocles). Only Urania, symbolically associated with the eternal Christ, is loved without rivalry or harm by adherents to both Testaments.

The complementarity implied by the friendships between characters associated with the Old and New Testaments may signal Protestant respect for the Old Testament.45 Bullinger defends this section of the Bible against "ignoraunt, unlearned and foolish people" who would cast it away.
On the contrary, he argues, it should be held "in greater reputation, forasmuch as we knowe now thorow Christ, what every thing signifieth, & wherefore every thing was thus and thus ordained, used, & spoken. . . ." The books of the New Testament "hang altogether and referre them selves to the Scriptures of the old Testament" in such close conjunction "that these can not be rightly understood without the other, no more then the glose without the text. The text is the law & the Prophètes, the exposition are the Evangelists and the Apostles" (Old Faith 123-4). In contrast to medieval theorists, Protestants highlighted "the continuities between the two covenants in regard to the spiritual condition of the faithful" (Lewalski Protestant 125).

Claius' lines likely contain a few examples of symbolism based upon Revelation. The "day-shining stars" that are Urania's eyes (5) may allude to metaphoric portrayals of Christ as "the bright and morning starre, which promiseth that the daye of most cleare lighte shall shortlye come, when . . . the faithfull shall injoye perpetuall lighte" (Fulke 151', on Rev. 22:16). Bale expounds the same phrase: "To all them which walk after David's faith am I the bright morning star of grace, removing the filthy clouds of error; the shining clearness of godly understanding, finishing the dark night of ignorance. . . ." (Works 635). Bale's commentary would be particularly appropriate given Urania's role in motivating Strephon and Claius' learning and given that a fervent Protestant like Sidney would have viewed the Reformation with which Urania is also connected as the the dawn of a new era after the darkness of Antichrist/the Church of Rome's dominion.

Claius' use of the simile, "as we can better consider the sun's beauty by marking how he gilds these waters and mountains than by looking upon his own face, too glorious for our weak eyes," to intimate the power of Urania's "sun-staining excellency" (5; p63) may allude not only to "Plato's Myth of the Cave" (Duncan-Jones "Urania" 128) but also to the face of the "Sonne of Man," which "shone as the sunne shineth in his
strength" (Rev. 1:16). The figure from Rev. 1 is pictured with his face surrounded by rays in woodcuts to a number of Renaissance editions of the Apocalypse. Probably even more relevant, given Urania's other associations with the angel of Rev. 10, is the specification that this angel's " . . . face was as the sunne . . . " (10:1). The angel of Rev. 10 is also shown with a sun-like face in Renaissance woodcuts to Revelation. Since both the "Sonne of Man" of Rev. 1 and the angel of Rev. 10 were identified by commentators as Christ, the two possibilities are not mutually exclusive.

Bale believes that the face like the "bright sun" of the angel of Rev. 10 signifies the fervor of the ministers who "descended down from heaven with Christ . . . . as messengers sent of God," with whom he also connects the angel: "Their outward shew is altogether Christ, which is the sun of righteousness. None other light shew they but his: none other doctrine declare they but his holy gospel. . . Only teach they the shining charity of God, the fervent zeal and burning desire towards man's salvation" (Works 368-9). Strephon and Claius, "men whose hearts disdained all desires but one" (13; p72), break off their praises of Urania, "for pity sake," to perform "their charitable office" of rescuing Musidorus from drowning (5-6; p64). Much more pronounced in Claius' encomia of Urania than probable allusions to Revelation, though, is imagery echoing that of the Song of Solomon. Protestant exegesis of this book, as well, acquired apocalyptic overtones, highlighting "a progressive, historical development whereby the narrative of Bridegroom and Bride is often carried forward to the millenium or at least to a state of millenial expectation" (Lewalski Protestant 64). Most of the symbolism evocative of the Song of Solomon is concentrated within a single 122 word sentence (counting hyphenated compounds as a single word) that contains multiple relevant images, each of which would have served as a memory "hook" onto which commentary on the image would be attached. For example, Urania's "breath . . . more sweet
than a gentle south-west wind which comes creeping over flowery fields and shadowed waters in the extreme heat of summer . . ." (5; p63) recalls Canticles commentary upon breath/wind, upon flowers, upon shadow, upon water, and upon extreme heat, not to mention upon the concept of sweetness, discussed earlier in connection with Urania. (Almost no detail of Scripture was deemed by these writers insignificant or unworthy of elaboration.) The elements of water, wind, and perhaps also of flowers (through the reference to the garden) are combined in the words of the Spouse/Church in 4:15-6: "O fountaine of the gardens, o well of living waters, and the springs of Lebanon. Arise, o North, and come o South, and blowe on my garden. . . ." The Geneva Bible gloss to the North and South winds called upon in verse 16 is based upon the common scriptural metaphor of the wind for the Holy Spirit or Holy Ghost: "She desireth Christ to conforte her, and so powre the graces of his Spirit upon her, which Spirit is ment by the North and South winde." Gifford, as well, believes that the Church's supplication to Christ in the verse is for "the inspiration and gracious gifts of the holy Ghost, that the sweete fruites in her may more abound. . . ." He finds curious speculation upon the exact signification of the "two contrarie winds" specified therein unproductive, affirming as the "principal" point: "...the Holy Ghost is figured by the winds. . . . It is an heavenly breathing which she here requireth, even the inspiration of the spirite of grace. . . ." (163). Sidney's imagery here instances his frequent penchant for reversing common gender roles: whereas, in the Song of Solomon, the female Church/Spouse in these verses calls upon Christ, in the New Arcadia, the male shepherds long for the return of Urania's breath like the "gentle south-west wind."

The "fountaine," "well of living waters," and "springs" of verse 4:15 constitute, according to the Geneva Bible gloss, the Church's confession "that all her glorie, & beautie cometh of Christ who is the true fountaine of all grace." The lines, "...beholde, winter is past. . . . The flowers appeare in the earth ..." (2:11-2), are paraphrased
in the Geneva gloss: "That is, sinne and error is driven backe by the
comming of Christ which is here described by the springtime, when all
things flourish." Sidney’s book pointedly opens in spring, at the vernal
equinox." Gifford concurs with the Geneva gloss, adding that before "the
elect" are "called their hearts bee even like the earth in winter, under
the colde frost and stormes of sinne: for there can no sweete thing grow
up. . . ." Once they become regenerate, though, "holesome fruites doe bud
forth," along with "sweete flowers," and other such indicators of the
"warmth of [Christ’s] spirit," and the "sweete dew of his graces. . . ."
(80). The "flowery fields" over which Urania’s breath "more sweet than a
gentle south-west wind" flows most likely betoken regeneration as well.

The Strephon and Claius of the Old Arcadia should not automatically
be equated with the Strephon and Claius of the New Arcadia. Indeed, what
the reader familiar with the earlier version of Sidney’s book should
notice immediately upon turning to the revised work is the transformation
the pair have undergone, a transformation they attribute to Urania’s
remarkable power to motivate their diligent learning, including study of
the heavens. Symbolic parallels between Urania and Christ strongly
suggest that the transformation should be equated with regeneration. As
Andrew Weiner has argued, the Strephon and Claius of the Old Arcadia are
trapped in an overwhelming despair that results directly from their
"idolatrous passion" for Urania (141). Having attributed to her "a kind
of combination of" the powers of "the celestial Venus and Christ," they,
upon being "rejected by her, . . . are in the position of those who fear
the wrath of the Lamb (Rev. 6:11), seeking sanctuary from judgement." The
desolation arising from their rejection by a woman they have attempted to
transfigure into "a deity" foreshadows that "which they will experience
when they come for judgement before him whose love they themselves have
rejected. . . . Having rejected God, and having been rejected in turn by
Urania, they are left spiritually adrift amidst the storm of their
passions and fears" (140, 142). The desire expressed by Claius in the

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Fourth Eclogues of the Old Arcadia to have himself "laid under mountains" (286) parallels the sentiments of the "kings of the earth, & the great men, and the riche men, . . . and the mightie men," who, upon the afterclaps of the opening of the sixth seal in Rev. 6, "hid them selves in dennes, and among the rockes of the mountaine, and said to the mountaines and rockes, Fall on us, and hide us from the presence of him that sitteth on the throne, & from the wrath of the Lambe. For the great day of his wrath is come, and who can stand" (6:15-7). Whereas the Strephon and Claius of the Old Arcadia are paralleled to those of guilty conscience who will flee from the throne at the Last Judgement, their counterparts in the New Arcadia long for nothing so much as the End. In the Old Arcadia, Strephon and Claius become despondent at Urania's "never yielding better than hate for their love. . . ." (285). Whereas love of Urania in the revised work prompts the shepherds to reflect upon "the course of heavens, . . . to run over learned writings," and to "mark" themselves (5; p63-4), in the original Arcadia, Strephon freely acknowledges, "I . . . Embrace that most that most my soul destroys. . . ." (287). In the New Arcadia, love enlightened by learning allows the shepherds to move beyond despair; they are enabled to "think with consideration, and consider with acknowledging, and acknowledge with admiration, and admire with love, and love with joy in the midst of all woes. . . ." (4). Rather than returning the shepherds' affections with hatred, as in the Old Arcadia, Urania in the revised work displays courtesy and kindness toward them, as when she places "her hand over [Claius'] eyes when she saw the tears springing in them" at her departure (4; p63). The act may additionally prefigure apocalyptic biblical verses such as Rev. 6:17: "...and God shall wipe away all teares from their eyes" and the nearly identical statements in Rev. 21:4 and Isa. 25:8. This possibility may seem like overreading to modern sensibilities; however, details such as this one evidently provided potent sources of inspiration for Renaissance writers. In Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress.
Christian assures Pliable that in the heavenly kingdom toward which he is traveling: "There shall be no more crying, nor sorrow; For he that is owner of the place, will wipe all tears from our eyes" (150). The vision of the New Jerusalem in Spenser's translation of A Theatre for Worldlings includes the promise, "For he shall be their God, / And all their tears he shall wipe clean away" (15.67; Poems 484). Joseph Wittreich, writing on King Lear, calls "the wiping of tears, an event of signal importance in the Apocalypse, . . . taken as a promise that a time of justice would follow a period of great affliction. . . ." ("Image" 191). John Jewel comforts the faithful: "... at the last day . . . whatsoever we suffer here in the meanwhile for his sake, Christ will wipe from off our eyes all tears and lamentation, and . . . we through him shall enjoy everlasting life and shall forever be with him in glory" (39).

The "shadowed water in the extreme heat of summer" that Urania's sweet breath surpasses elicits from the memories of those familiar with commentaries upon the Song of Solomon passages such as the Church's remark upon her beloved: "under his shadowe had I delite, & sate downe. . . ." (2:3). Gifford's commentary upon this and related verses is once again illuminating. He explains that the Church will not only be fed by the "great shepearde," Christ, "with his wholesome foode of life, but also" refreshed by him, "as it were in the shadow when the sunne shineth hottest, that is, when persecutions be the greatest. For by the parching heate of the sunne, is meant the heate of persecution as our Saviour teacheth, Math. 13. . . ." (42). The need for sustenance and relief during the "heat" of persecution would have been important to sixteenth-century Protestants, who generally viewed persecutions against themselves and the forerunners of their movement by the Church of Rome as a sign of the release of Antichrist shortly prior to the formal start of the Reformation. Plexirtus' failed attempt upon the lives of Sidney's heroes, which results in the shipwreck with which the New Arcadia opens, would be one instance of such persecutions. Elsewhere, Gifford writes that the
heat from which "the shadow of Christ" (57') provides refreshment is not only oppression by external enemies but inner turmoil as well: Shadows refresh those that are parched with the boiling heat of the Sun." Aside from the "hot persecutions" to which the Church is subjected, "there be also firie temptations of the divell, and burning heat of guiltines for sinne in the consciences of all the elect, until they are refreshed by Christ" (56'). Strephon and Claius' single-minded dedication to Urania would also be accounted for by the fullness of the relief offered by this shadow: "the faithfull having found the Lord Jesus, and being comforted and refreshed by him, do hold themselves close under his shadow, they make their abode there, and seeke no further. . . . in him there is a full sufficiencie to refresh them in persecution, and to quench and coole all the heat of their sinnes" (57').

Claius' pronouncement that Urania's "eyelids are more fair to behold than two white kids climbing up a fair tree and browsing on his tenderest branches" (5; p63) is remniscent of comparisons in the Song of Solomon of the Church's breasts to "two yong roes that are twinnes, feeding among the lilies" (4:5) and of her teeth to "a flocks of shepe in good ordre, which go up from washing: which everie one bring out twinnes..." (4:2). The feeding metaphor begun with the references to the kid's partaking of the tree's "tenderest branches" is continued in the finale to Claius' expansive sentence: "...no more all that our eyes can see of her (though when they have seen her, what else they shall ever see is but dry stubble after clover's grass) is to be matched with the flock of unspeakable virtues laid up delightfully in that best-builted fold" (5). The commentary to the Clarendon New Arcadia explains, "Of the grasses, clover was among the highly esteemed..." (508), so that this detail, together with the "tenderest branches" consumed by the kids, associates Urania with superlative fodder.

The feeding metaphor and the related issue of the choicest form of spiritual "nourishment" are central to Gifford's commentary. His
discussion begins with the common scriptural metaphor of Christ as "the great shepherd," by whom "the Church on earth seeketh only after . . . to be fed." The True Church calls upon Christ, aware "that there is but one true shepheard, who feedeth all his sheepe with the same pasture: she looketh for no wholesome foode, unles it bee with the auncient Churches" (41). Gifford "demonstrates" through his commentary that the Protestant flocks graze in this one authentic pasture, advancing the standard reformist position that their churches were returning to the doctrinal purity of the Primitive Church, founded upon the Word and cleansed of the corruptions and "human inventions" that had accrued under the pope's jurisdiction: "...the true Chruch doth ... depend upon Christ Jesus alone for her foode, rejecting all the doctrines of men...." (42). The pope's pasture, by contrast, offered most unwholesome fare. Tyndale complained that, although Christ commanded his followers to feed his sheep, the pope "this eight hundred years feedeth not at all; but poisoneth their pasture with the venomous leaven of his traditions, and with wresting the text unto a contrary sense" (281). Those in search of the "one true faith, one holy religion and worship of God, one pure doctrine, one spirituall foode or pasture" need only, in Gifford's paraphrase and elaboration of Christ's injunctions to the Church, "...goe forth in the steps of the sheepe, looke into the wayes of the ancient Churches, looke what doctrine and what religion they professed, looke what shepheards fed them, joyne your selves to the tents of the same shepheards, and feede in the same pasture" (51').

Gifford returns to the metaphor of following in the "steps of the ancient flocks" (52) repeatedly in this section. The metaphors of "walking in God's ways," following in the steps of the faithful, etc., are, of course, recurrent in Scripture. Strephon and Claius, who, it has been argued, are, on one level, allegorically re-inscribing biblical texts in their memories by returning to the "places" where Urania walked, show a penchant for similar metaphors, as with Strephon's refusal to
"leave those steps unkissed wherein Urania printed the farewell of all beauty" (3; p62) or Claius' desire to re-view "any place made happy by her treading" (4; p63). As might be expected, Gifford affirms that the surest delineation of the steps leading to Christ's pastur is found in His Word: Protestants are proceeding along the paths charted therein; whereas, the papists have strayed off into less salutary fields. The issue differentiates the True and False Churches: Reformers "looke unto the steps of Abraham, Izhak and Jaakob, and other holy men whom the Scripture commendeth, unto the faith, the doctrine and the religion of Moses and the Prophets, yea of the Apostles and Martyrs of Christ Jesus, wee look how they worshipped, and how they lived. . . ." Protestants know that this information is available definitively only in "the sacred histories of the Bible . . .: for if the word of God did not testifie of them, how should we know their steps to bee the steps of Christs flocke?" Papists, by contrast "will none of this: but they will let passe the steps of Abraham. . . . of the Patriarks and Prophets, of the Apostles," preferring instead to follow in "the steps of certaine Popes, Cardinal, Monkes, Friers, and a deale of such vermine, which for the space of some five or sixe hundreth yeares hath crawled upon the earth. They send us to the decrees of Popes and popish prelates, and to their own constitutions. . . ." (52-3').

Claius' claim, "no more all that our eyes can see of her (though when they have seen her, what else they shall ever see is but dry stubble after clover's grass) is to be matched with the flock of unspeakable virtues laid up delightfully in that best-builted fold" (5; p63), has prompted one critic to ask rhetorically, "Is not Claius now seeing her through the eyes of his hungry goat? . . . His eyes have become hungry goats" (Hager 143). This reading ignores the context created by the Canticles allusions and the emphasis upon feeding metaphors in Renaissance commentaries on the book. Since Gifford's imagery of the Word as pasture is seconded by Mornay's quotation of Theophilus, noted earlier (". . . all
the Sheepe have but one pasture, . . . the worde of god" Treatise 206), a more probable interpretation of Urania's "best-builted fold," in which one may discover a "flock of unspeakable virtues," is Scripture. Bullinger praises the Word as the most impressive of constructions or edifications when he follows his assessment that "no books in the world, . . . may compare with the books of holy scripture, as concerning sincere truth, pure simplicitie, and playne order," with the comment that even "buildings most skilfully builded of men, and contrived in most goodly order. . . . seeme vyle, in case you compare them with the workemanship of God. . . ." (106'). R. W. Scribner lists the sheepfold as one of three images central to the biblical parable of the good shepherd. The fold is the place wherein "the sheep may shelter and through whose door they may safely come and go. Beyond the sheepfold is danger. . . ." (50).

Urania's "honey-flowing speech" (5; p63), highly esteemed by the shepherds, may allude to verses from both the Song of Solomon and Revelation. In the former book, Christ praises his beloved, the Church (as the Spouse was identified by commentators): "Thy lippes, my spouse, droppe as honie combes: honie and milke are under thy tongue. . . ." (4:11). Gifford's commentary builds upon the biblical metaphor of the "milke of the worde" (for example, 1 Pet. 2:1: "As new born babes[, desire the syncere milke of the worde, that ye may growe thereby. . . .".)" to label honey as a complementary form of sustenance: "...her speech is not onely most sweete, but holsome and nourishing: which is expressed in these wordes, Honey and milke are under thy tongue: honey and milke are for nourishment" (151). Strephon and Claius' longing, indeed their "greed," to "feed upon" Urania's "sweet words" (4; p62) need not, especially in the context of the Canticles imagery, indicate an unsatisfactory or unfulfilling relationship. Gifford explains that the sweet apples and "precious wine" of which the bride/Church partakes in chapter 2 bring her into a "passion: yet her appetite & desire of them is not thereby diminished, but" increased to such an extent that "[s]he
calleth for flagons of that wine to comfort and refresh her spirits, and to have those same apples strowed under her. . . ." The faithful who follow Christ "into the house of wine" and "unto the banquet of heavenly things, doe not receive the same in full measure, but as it were a taste is given them by small drops," drops that in Rom. 8:23 "S. Paul calleth the first fruits of the spirit" and in Eph. 1:13-4 he describes as "the earnest of the spirit. . . ." Yet, these few drops allow them to apprehend the "wonderfull sweetnes" of "those heavenlie things," so that they become "even as it were sick with love, and readie to swound with the desire of having more. . . ." God has ordained, however, that even "his redeemed" are not, during their earthly lives, "filled with those precious things which bee in Christ, in whom there is all fulnes"; in this world "they doe still hunger and thirst after them exceedingly" (64*).

Urania’s association with the angel of Rev. 10 makes it likely that commentary on the detail that the book that angel gives St. John to devour is "swete as honie" in the Evangelist’s mouth should be considered as well. Bale’s remarks on the passage, which he paraphrases, "More dulcet than honey are thy words, Lord, to my mouth," seems particularly appropriate in view of Urania’s role as the Muse of divine poetry: "... nothing so sweet in the mouth as it is. Nothing was to Paul so delicious, when he once savoured it; no, nothing so pleasant. Neither colours of rhetoric, paintings of poets, wisdom of philosophers, nor holy traditions of fathers, could then delight him." Once converted, "Nothing was in [Paul’s] mouth . . . but that delectable verity, and that sweet gospel of God. . . ." (Bale Works 376-7). Proponents of divine poetry displayed a like distaste for all but Word-based subject matter.

My discussion of the imagery through which the shepherds recreate Urania’s presence, drawing upon their shared memories, will have suggested that the reader is left with no specific conception of her physical appearance. Even when they are superficially discussing Urania’s bodily appearance, Strephon and Claius replace explicit physical descriptions
with images drawn from Scripture. Their Reformed, iconoclastic imaginations are another sign that they are no longer willing slaves to their own idolatrous passions, as were their Old Arcadian counterparts.

A poem added only to the 1593 Arcadia, probably by Sidney's sister, the Countess of Pembroke (Duncan-Jones "Urania" 125), illustrates the propensity of the shepherds in their "former lives" (prior to the New Arcadia) for gazing upon Urania's physical features as an end in and of itself, rather than using images of the same as "memory-hooks" to call forth "more excellent matters" (4; p63). Engaged in a game of barley break with Urania, Strephon's eyes "play" more eagerly upon "her back-parts" (Poems 250). A much more explicit depiction of her physical appearance emerges. Strephon, away from Urania, dwells upon her bodily appearance: "Her chery lipps milke hands, and golden haire / I still do see, thugh I be still alone" (254). The description of Urania's capture of a pet sparrow, a traditional emblem of "lechery" (Ringler 482), clearly implies that the shepherds become jealous of the bird's physical proximity to Urania's lips and breasts: "How rosy moist'ned lipps about his beake / Moving, she seem'd at once to kisse, and speake. / Chastned but thus, and thus his lesson tought, / The happy wretch she putt into her breast, / Which to their eies the bowles of Venus brought..."44 Her breasts are described in detail: "...they seem'd made even of skie-mettall best, / And that the bias of hir bloud was wrought. / Betwixt them two the peeper tooke his nest, / Where snugging well he well appear'd content / So to have done amisse, so to be shent" (244). (Ringler glosses bias as nipple.) As Ringler observes, the use of the sparrow as an emblem for lechery is based upon John Skelton's Philip Sparrow, which includes the lines "...And many times and ofte / Betwene my breastes soft / It wolde lye and rest. ..." (482). Rather than moving them to contemplation of heavenly matters, poring over books, or charitable actions, the pair's simultaneous physical embrace of Urania during the game is described with imagery reminiscent of that associated with "original sin": "Then those
delights through all their sinews breed / A creeping serpentlike of mortall woe" (252).

Alan Hagar has written that Sidney in the New Arcadia "ran the risk of writing in prose poetry of such concentration it requires the attention called for by the most ironic and hyperbolic Elizabethan poetry" (136). The attempt here to recover appropriate contexts and conventions for an understanding of the paeans to Urania with which the book opens shows that Sidney did, indeed, write prose of such density. Whether or not his doing so constituted a danger is a matter of taste. This study implies, as well, that it is not only dense ironic poetry to which Sidney’s prose should be compared.
1. Protestant commentators were aware of the close correspondences between this angel’s oath and that of an angel in another of their favorite apocalyptic books, Daniel (12:7). See, for example, Bullinger Apocalipse 132° and Fulke 64°.

2. The focus upon education and literacy in Protestant commentary upon this angel makes this aspect of Urania’s characterization nicely complementary to M. J. Doherty’s recent discussion of her as a mediatorial Wisdom figure in the Solomonic tradition (xxii, 26, 57).

3. Sidney has deliberately changed Strephon and Claius’ social origins. In the Old Arcadia they were not native Arcadians or shepherds but gentlemen of noble birth, as Lindheim (145-6) and others have observed.

4. Myrick believes that the shepherd’s heightened praise of “the divine Urania . . . is couched in just the mood of reverent adoration appropriate to the poet’s prayer to his Muse,” so that “it is not unlikely . . . that Sidney consciously intended the passage to have the content and emotional tone of the epic invocation. . .” (116).

5. See Chapter 1.

6. The punishments inflicted against the “ungodlie” in the Wisdome of Solomon also result in “fyre in the middes of the water. . .” (16:19). According to the gloss to 16:17 in the Oxford Study Edition of the Bible, “The strange quality of fire burning in water is derived from Jewish exegesis of Exod. 9.24.” Cf. Greville’s Caelica 69. Greville’s poems are cited by stanza number. His A Treatise of Religion is cited from The Remains; A Treatise of Monarchy is cited from the Fuller Worthies’ edition of his works; all other poems are cited from Geoffrey Bullough’s edition of the Poems and Dramas, which does not include all of Greville’s poetry. Turner mentions the “Christian overtones” of the phrase “waste of fire in the midst of water,” elaborating only: “The beautiful face of nature becomes a ‘wast,’ a spiritual wilderness, in the midst of the waters of life; yet the wilderness is where the Christian soul is tested” (120).

7. A shepherd eager to defend Urania’s reputation during the Phalantus tournament in Book 1 asserts that Artesia is not “more match to Urania than a goat is to a fine lamb. . .” (99).

8. See Chapter 1 for additional discussion of Protestant interpretations of Rev. 15 and 16.

9. In expounding the nature of the “Popes Legates, Ambassadours, Priestes,” etc., whom he identifies as the locusts of Rev. 9, Bullinger claims that they “pretende a great humanitie, and they be furnished wyth fayre speach, so as you would thinke if humanitie were lost, it might be founde in them: but they fayne these thinges . . . to deceive men by creeping into their bosomes” (119°). Pseudamus (“False Lamb”), who figures the pope in John Foxe’s Christus Triumphans, is described as “such a master of deception, that, from his appearance when you see him, you’d declare him to be a lamb” (Two Latin 311).

10. Cf. Bale, “. . .ships in the scripture betokeneth” churches (Works 345). See Scribner 107-15 on various popular woodcuts employing the “ship of the Church” metaphor, with both positive and negative connotations. In one of these illustrations, Roman clergy, predominantly monks and friars, overload a ship in which they are fishing for “laymen” with a “prodigious draught” of the same, who are easily captured because, as the caption explains, of “the simplicity of Christians” (110-2). Pyrocles and
Musidorus similarly display "youthful credulity" in "persuading" themselves, counter to all of their past experiences with Plexirtus' promise breaking, that he had reformed, attempting to make their "memory" conform with their wishes by ignoring its own records (272; p371).

11. Cf. Bullinger Apocalipse 216".

12. Cf. Introductory Letter, "To Our Beloved in the Lord the Brethren of England, Scotland, Ireland, &c. . . ." 1560 Geneva Bible ***iii" and Gifford: " . . . the Lorde sendeth forth into all places . . . . . . . . his faithfull ministers, well furnished. Such as our Saviour compareth to householders that bring forth of their treasures with all store of heavenly, and spirituall foothe things new and old, Math. 13. ver. 52" (Revelation 225). Mornay observes that St. Basil praised the Old and New Testaments as the "treasure of the church" (Fowre A6'). Solomon calls the Wisdom available through God, which he personifies as a woman, "an infinite treasure unto men"; he "counted riches nothing in comparison of her. Nether did . . . compare precious stones unto her. . ." (Wisdom of Solomon 7:14, 8-9); Erasmus writes that the reader who approaches Scripture "with hygh purenes of mynde" will see "the precyous jowels of rych Salomon . . . the secret treasure of eternall wysdom" (B9'). Fulke lauds "the incomparable treasure of the truth of Gods gospell" (B1').

13. One Protestant title for the Pope, "the Archpirate of Rome" (used, for example, in a 1586 document, "Certaine pointes concerning the policie and government of the Ecclesiastical State," addressed to Queen Elizabeth and Parliament [Peel Seconde 2:11]) may be relevant, especially considering the metaphor of the "ship" of the Roman church.

14. Perhaps, in view of the other, more explicit, apocalyptic overtones in the opening scene, signifying the approach of the End.

15. Cf. Fulke: The sea is "as harde as glasse, so that the faithfull may be tossed to and fro, but they cannot be drowned in it" (98').

16. Cf. " . . .God should reigne in us by the Scepter of his word. . ." (Mornay Trewnesse 50'). See King Iconography (63-7) on Reformation iconography of the sword as both "an evangelical symbol for the Bible" and a "symbol for royal authority and the administration of justice" (60, 63). Both meanings are likely to be relevant, as Pyrocles is prince of Macedon and heir to his father, Euarchus' kingdom. He is also the one who slew the pirate in command of Plexirtus' ship. Scepter-miter (monarch, papacy) opposition in Greville's poetry is discussed in Chapter 3.

17. Gifford, too, finds the contemporary manifestation of this plague in the "French pocke," claiming the disease's prevalence in monks, bishops, friars, nuns, and other papists. He sees the "bodily whoredom" that leads directly to the plague's physical symptoms as having been preceded by the "spirituall whoredom" of those who worshipped the image of the beast (Revelation 307-8). Bullinger offers a similar interpretation, writing that "French pockes" chiefly corrupt the Abboyes of Monkes and Nunneres, and Colledges of Priests, above other" (Apocalipse 219'). The 1602 Geneva Bible gloss to 16:2, which points out that this angel's plague "is described almost in the same wordes with that sixt plague of the Egyptians, Exod. 9.9," interprets the plague more generally as "a spirituall ulcer, and that torture or butcherie of conscience seared with an hot eiron, which accuseth the ungodly within, and . . . stirreth up and forceth out the sword of God's wrath."
18. Gifford connects the blood in this verse to the wars stirred up by "the popish kingdoms," commenting, "There hath beene much bloudshed in all ages, and among all nations, but most horrible in the kingdomes of the poperie, and especially of latter times. The Popes themselves (as histories do report) have been the chief raisers up of warres in setting the kings at variance. . . ." (Revelation 308). Bullinger concurs, concluding, "... so must there no warre be moved, but by popes of Rome, Byshops, and Prelates" (220'). Plexirtus, whose ship is here destroyed, is prone to instigating bloody conflicts, between, for example, the brothers Tydeus and Telenor (263-4; p362-3), and between his own father and half-brother, Paphlagonia and Leonatus (a king and his legitimate heir), as is discussed Chapter 3. Languet told Sidney that Queen Elizabeth should be warned "how the papists are encouraging these disputes among us ['all who have cast off their allegiance to Rome']" (Correspondence 122). Cf. Jewel 60.

The indication that "every" living thing in the sea should die as a result of this plague need not preclude Pyrocles' remaining alive, for the expression is merely "a conveniante hyperbole for the Allegorie. . . ." (Fulke 103'). Also, Pyrocles is described as being rather on than in the sea.

19. Pyrocles' resistance to the "seductions" of Andromana, a figure for the "Whore of Babylon," is discussed in Chapter 3.

20. Luther had attacked the pope as "a tyrannical Pharaoh," and Henry VIII was lauded by reformist courtiers "for delivering the English people as a new Moses. . . ." (King Iconography 74-5). See also Lewalski Protestant 129-31.

21. Cf. Gifford: "The Lord . . . never destroyeth his Church, but when his Gospell is abused in one place, he removeth it to an other; as when the Jews were obstinate, it was taken from them, and given to the gentiles. . . ." (45).

22. As Duncan-Jones observes in connection with this and other passages from the Arcadia, Sidney was "sceptical about Elizabeth's personal gifts. . . ." (Courtier 177).

23. Greville uses similar imagery in describing the "little flocke, Gods owne elect," who hold "His Lawe their wisdome, for the rest they care not: / Amonge all flouds this Arck is still preserved, / Stormes of the world are for her owne reserved" (Religion 111).

24. Cf. Eire 95; Bale Pageant 24'; Kirchmeyer 12'-13'; Jewel 94 and Marnix 15'-16'. Martyr explains the papists' rationale for the practice, which he then denounces: "The fact of Elizeus, ['wherein he applied sault to helpe the waters of Jerico'] doe the priests of the Pope imitate of a certaine perverse zeale, who not onely use sault in the baptizing of infantes, but doe also powre it into their holy waters, which may rather be called haynous waters" (4.138). Martyr attacks as one of the "many wicked & blasphemous thinges" to be found "among those sayings of the schoolemen" the belief that sins are forgiven through "the use of consecrated water . . . in respect of merit, because they sprinkling themselves with that water, doe devoutlie (as they speake) lift up their minde unto God, desiring the forgiveness of sinnes. . . ." (4.139).

25. Tillyard views the contrast as illustrative of that "between the idea of man's 'erected wit' and the pitiful spectacle of what in crude fact man has made of man" (303), a reading complementary to my own emphasis upon the religio-political allegory.
26. I have taken this phrase from Osborn, who labels Sidney "a Protestant 'ultra' in politics." (499).

27. On Mantuanesque pastoral see Cullen 1-26 and King Spenser's 14-20. John Bale's translation of Mantuan's eclogues "anglicized Mantuan as a model for Protestant satire" (King Spenser's 15) shortly before Sidney's birth. The esteem in which native vernacular works such as Pierre Plowman, the pseudo-Chaucerian Plowman's Tale, and true Chaucerian verse were held by Tudor Protestants, who read the earlier poems "as powerful appeals for correction of ecclesiastical abuses and the social ills stemming from them," reinforced the appeal of rustic characters for writers of Sidney's time who wished to address these topics (King Spenser's 15).

28. Compare Knappen's characterization of the Puritan minister: "Permanently in opposition, he was barred from the more lucrative and influential positions in the church and so was freed from the temptations and corruptions which came with power. To his parishioners he could nearly always appear as a poor, studious man of God. When authorities added semi-martyrdom to his other crosses by suspending or depriving him, while the ignorant idler in the next village went on quite undisturbed in his slothful way, the appeal of the Puritan message was further strengthened" (381). Sidney's own support for Puritan clerics suspended for nonconformity is well-documented, as is that of his uncle, the Earl of Leicester, who has been labelled by Izack Walton the "cherisher and patron-general" of the puritans (Collinson Elizabethan 53). (See, for example, Weiner Sir 5 and Sinfield Faultlines 184.) Also, cf. Gifford: "...let us labour to abound in spiritual graces, but especially the holy love: if it be quenched, woe be unto us" (Revelation 47), and "If we attain unto that faith that worketh by love, happie are we, our heart and conscience shall be found sincere" (Revelation 406).

29. Cf. the letter from Thomas Lever to Bullinger, qtd. in Meyer 95.

30. The authors cite 1 Tim. 3:3, Titus 4:9, and other documents.

31. Edmund Grindal, as Bishop of London, wrote to Archbishop Mathew Parker, in a letter dated 15 Aug. 1560, with a plea to become more "circumspect" as to which candidates were accepted to the ministry, acknowledging that "...occasioned by the great want of ministers, we and you both, for tolerable supply thereof, have admitted unto the ministry sundry artificers and others, not traded and brought up in learning, and, as it happened in a multitude, some that were of base occupations." (qtd. in Meyer 89). Cf. Collinson "Church" 185.

32. For other instances of the "dumb dog" metaphor to denigrate nonlearned, reading clerics see A Parte 71; Seconde 1:150, 152, 162 ("dumbe dogg or idoll shepheard") 291, and Parry 252. See also Haigh "Church" 219. A Second Admonition to Parliament complains of "boy ministers, & dumbe dogges not able to barke..." (Frere and Douglas 110). Gifford anticipates very probable objections to the metaphor: "It may seeme a very hard and a very uncharitable speech to call men dogges: but when the holy Ghost doth it, we may be bold"; he could assert with confidence, therefore, that "they be wonderfull abominable and vile in the sight of the Lord, whom he calleth dogs." He also notes the dog metaphor in Mathew 7:6 (Revelation 406). An extended example of Sidney's use of the dog and wolf metaphors is discussed in Chapter 6.

33. Many of these documents complain that the Book of Common Prayer "maintains an unlearned and insufficient ministry." (Seconde 1: 272). Queen Elizabeth was less optimistic about the prospects for supplying each congregation with a learned, preaching minister. When, during a 1585
meeting with bishops and councillors, she criticized the former for permitting "variety in preaching and ritual." Lord Burghley attempted to turn her criticism against the bishops for their ordaining of nonlearned clerics, leading Archbishop Whitgift to respond that producing educated ministers for each of the 13,000 churches of England would be impossible. At the very suggestion, Elizabeth interjected, "Jesus, thirteen thousand! . . . It is not to be looked for. . . . My meaning is not you should make choice of learned ministers only, for they are not to be found, but of honest, sober and wise men, and such as can read the scriptures and homilies well unto the people" (Haigh 41). Of 9,000 livings he considered in 1584, Whitgift estimated that barely 600 "were capable of supporting a learned man" (Collinson Religion 95).

34. On Sidney's career in the House, see Duncan-Jones 270, 197; Wallace 262, 313-5; Neale 374, 385-6.

35. A 1532 Lutheran woodcut by Erhard Schoen depicts God the Father and some angel assistants clearing the half of a vineyard that had been supervised by the pope and some monks of the "human laws and doctrines" that were the fruits of their cultivation (indulgences, mass-books, rosaries, vestments, etc.). The monks who had cultivated the vineyard have been forced out, and a large hound has been stationed at the gate to thwart any attempts at return (Scribner 190). Scribner finds the dog "the only poorly integrated image" in the woodcut, surmising that it may be "a classical reference to Cerberus." However, as Scribner also observes (192), the woodcut alludes to Isaiah 56:9-10, so that the metaphor of watchmen as dogs in this text would explain the hound depicted visually. One reason that the popish corruptions are successfully removed from the vineyard, therefore, would likely be that the guardians are no longer "dumb" dogs (the Lutherans can bark).


38. Dewey Wallace concludes, "... Gifford launched an unrelenting attack upon the customary and the traditional in the name of scriptural principles: the precedent of the forefathers is to him of absolutely no value whatever when it runs counter to the plain commands of scripture; and where it does not it is of no independent value apart from scriptural principle" (41). As Walker observes, Gifford, in his dialogues, was interested in depicting "and sharpening the differences between 'countrie divinitie' and true faith in the interests of converting the former to the latter" (45).

39. Cf. A Second Admonition to Parliament: "... if to reade the scriptures, the homilies, and the course of oure booke of common prayers were inough, ... then a boy of ten yeares old may do the ministers office. ... And in deede boyes and senseless asses are oure common ministers for the moste parte. ..." (Frere and Douglas 101).

40. Sidney seems to go out of his way to link Dametas to bushes and hedges. Later, Dametas appears carrying hedge cutters ("a hedging bill" 80). He may, thereby, by symbolically connected to another unsatisfactory category of clergy, known as "hedge priests," priests who had held their offices under Queen Mary, were later deprived, but "continued to serve Roman Catholics surreptitiously" (Meyer 128).
41. Greenlaw describes Clinias as the Iago of the "Machiavellism" of the New Arcadia's villains, summarizing his character as "sophist, tragedian, hypocrite." ("Sidney's" 334).

42. Dametas' cowardice is displayed most extensively in Book 3, during his rift with his fellow-in-fear, Clinias, an episode that Sidney critics have aptly labelled with the narrator's own summary assessment of their exchanges: "the combat of cowards" (385; p516).

43. The marginal gloss refers the reader to 1 Kings 12:31 and 13:34 to learn of the priests of "Jeroboam's time." Cf. Frere and Douglas 9 and 23.

44. Tillyard emphasizes the shepherds' high style (303).

45. On Urania as the Muse of the Divine Poetry movement, see Campbell "Christian Muse" and Divine 1-2, 75-92, and Prescott 205-14. See also Steadman "Meaning" and Sinfield "Sidney and Du Bartas." Sinfield finds "no indication" in the New Arcadia "that Urania represents the muse of divine poetry," calling "the suggestion that her departure before the start of the story indicates that this will be a secular rather than a religious work... appealing" ("Du Bartas" 14). Duncan-Jones writes that Urania at the opening of the New Arcadia "stands... as Venus Urania, a type of the Heavenly Beauty which inspires Heavenly Love; and she may at the same time be the Muse of Christian Poetry" ("Urania" 127).

46. Sidney's translation of Du Bartas' La Sepmaine, unfortunately now lost, was entered in the Stationers' Register in 1588; Florio claimed in print to have seen it (Campbell Divine 84-5, 98). The translations of "L'Uranie" by both Joshua Sylvester and King James (included in The Essays of a Prentice in the Divine Art of Poesie) are somewhat uneven and occasionally obscure. My citations are to the translation that renders the meaning of a given passage with the greatest clarity.

47. For example, Sinfield "Du Bartas" 14.

48. Cf. Gifford Discourse 56'.

49. See Carruthers 169 and 167 for some medieval commentary on the devouring of books in Rev. 10:9-11 and Ezekial 3:3. Milton wrote of "that mysterious book of Revelation which the great Evangelist was bid to eat, as it had been some eye-brightening electuary of knowledge, and foresight, though it were sweet in his mouth, and in the learning, it was bitter in his belly, bitter in the denouncing" (Prose Works 1:803). The note to electuary in the Yale edition (cited here) defines it as "A medical conserve or paste, consisting of powder or other ingredient mixed with honey or syrup" (1:803).

50. Bale finds a similar, though more generalized meaning: "When the knowledge of truth is once received, and surely settled in the heart, it engendereth a spirit of indignation, and a zeal of God very bitter against all wickedness. It maketh us with Jeremy to detest all vice, and with Ezekial to abhor all sin. It provoketh us also, with Moses, Elias, David, and the prophets, grievously to complain of the world's abominations, and with Christ and his apostles dolorously to lament the sore decay of the wicked" (Works 376).

51. See King Spenser's (16-8) for the biblical verses from which Protestants drew pastoral metaphors of sheep, wolves, and foxes. In the ecclesiastical eclogues of Spenser's Shepherdes Calender, wolves and foxes function "as allegorical types for both Roman Catholic priests and
crypto-Catholic clergy within the Church of England, who prey upon an innocent 'flock' " (19).

52. Sidney refers specifically to the art of memory in the Defence (51). Susan Galloway examines the role of memory in the two Arcadia's and Astrophila and Stella, largely in the context of writings by Petrarch and Dante. J. A. Van Dorsten discusses references to the art of memory in the Defence and a possible instance of its application in the Arcadia.

53. The association of occultism with the art of memory likely derives from Frances Yates' influential Art of Memory, which devotes particular attention to Giordano Bruno and other figures whose interests tended in that direction. Mary Carruthers' study should be consulted on the subject: the art carries no necessary connection to the occult in the rhetorical tradition from which it derived.

54. See, for example, Carruthers 129.

55. See, for example, Carruthers 108-9, 73.

56. Definitions of rhetorical terms are from Vickers 144, 143.

57. Robert Kimbrough's observation on Urania as "Aphrodite Ourania or the Celestial Venus" acquires new dimensions when the symbolic connections Sidney establishes between Urania and Christ are recognized: "...the world of Arcadia is the fallen world, but one that is informed. That is, Venus has come to earth, involving it with purpose, and has left; therefore, worship of Venus is tribute to the source and end of life at the same time that it is the means of coming to understand the source and end" (127).

58. Cf. Amos 31. A. C. Hamilton points out that Urania's effect upon Strephon and Claius contrasts greatly to that of the title character of Montemayer's Diana, the work Sidney imitates in the opening exchange between his shepherds, upon the men who love her. In Montemayer's work, "...memory of the beloved withdraws the lover into self-regarding, self-pitying narcissism" (Sir 128). Roberts adds, "...Sidney eliminates all of Montemayer's suggestions of the beloved's unworthiness. ..." (227).

59. As Davis has argued, evil is defined in the New Arcadia as "the motion of the perverted will toward the self, to the harm of self and others. Just as evil appears here in psychological terms as cupiditas, so too is good a willing act of submission, charitas. ..." (178). The specific word selfness appears, for example, in Astrophil and Stella 61 and in Greville's Monarchy 14, 19, 131, 190, 241, 296, Life 115, and Caelica 101. He describes the unfavorable moral climate he saw as dominant in the England of his later years as a "market of selfnesse" (Life 19). Compounds of the word self (self-love, etc.) are recurrent in Greville's writings, as when he criticizes a "great lord" for "keeping men like reeds, to his self-end bent. ..." (Monarchy 346). The New Arcadia's ideal of selfless love is discussed by Craft in "Remaking the Heroic Self." Dana recognizes in Sidney's treatment of Strephon and Claius "something of the Christian paradox of being low in order to be high" (309).

60. See Danielson on this concept in the writings of Sidney and Greville.

61. See Carruthers 164-7.

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Patrick Scanlon, for example, writes, "Urania's flight from Arcadia most probably represents the removal of love from a less-than-ideal society, where human beings must live with only a vision of perfection. . . . the form love takes cannot be so clear-cut as it is presented in Urania" (221). Duncan-Jones writes, "...the point about Urania, above all, is that she has gone away. . . . and only her earthly counterpart, Venus Pandemos, remains in Arcadia" ("Urania" 129). The remark is true in so far as the shepherds' love for Urania is contrasted to the initial attitudes of Pyrocles and Musidorus toward the princesses, and even more so to the lust of Basilius and Gynecia for Pyrocles/Zelmane. Yet, Strephon and Claius need not be indicted for the prevailing atmosphere of Arcadia, and I do not agree that the shepherds' opening exchange "is rather a bitter complaint for a departed Muse than a hopeful address to a present one" (130). Strephon and Claius' freedom from the "tyranny" of the blind Cupid is the ideal toward which the heroes will be educated. As Mark Rose accurately observes, "The vital fact about Urania was that she was able to throw 'reason upon desires,' to give 'eyes unto Cupid.' The central problem for Sidney's forsaken characters is to recover this power, to find some way, in other words, of reconciling reason with passion" (45).

62. Cf. Knappen's summary of an important Puritan belief: "In this life it was impossible to eliminate temptation and the tendency to sin. But it was possible and necessary to eradicate any inclination to enjoy or persist in wrongdoing" (343).


64. Cf. Bullinger Apocalypse 6f.

65. Protestants would have held the path of Christ, "the great shepherd himself whose steppes wee must followe" (Gifford Revelation 38), to be mapped with the greatest certainty and purity in Scripture.

66. Peter Martyr warned that the "great want of ministers" in England would allow "wolves and anti-Christs" to prey upon its churches (1 Feb. 1560 letter to Thomas Sampson, qtd. in Meyer 88).

67. It is interesting to speculate on the possible thematic relationship between Basilius' making the priest "write out such things as he best likes. . . ." (23) and charges such as those in the 1572 Puritan manifesto, the Admonition to Parliament, which complains that, whereas in the "olde" (apostolic) chrch there was "nothing taught but Gods word. Now princes pleasures, mennes devices, popish ceremonies. . . ." (Frere and Douglas 12).

68. In summarizing her survey of Protestant attitudes toward the Old Testament (Protestant 125-9), Lewalski writes that these exegetes considered "Christians . . . greatly blessed by the abrogation of the Old Covenant, since it was more burdensome, more obscure, and more terrifying than the New Covenant, but for all that, Christians are at one with the Israelites of old in regard to the essence of their spiritual lives" (129).

69. John Danby, after labeling his own initial formulation of "Sense and Sensibility" for Pamela and Philoclea "too crude," writes that the "discriminations" between the two sisters in Kalender's remarks, quoted here only in part, "are finer than we have been in the habit of making for three hundred years. The two princesses are put side by side and differentiated. Yet Sidney deprecates any subordination of one to another. . . . the pair are so unlike as to seem poles apart. Each
princess is herself a perfection. Nothing could add to either. They are not complementary to one another, for that would argue their mutual incompleteness. And yet when we have said all this there is still the overruling impression on one's being weighed against the other. . ." (59).

I agree with Daby that "Sidney seems to have been sure of the distinctions he was making. . ." (60).

71. The extreme emphasis upon Philoclea's humility (see, for example, 337, 354, 364, 415, 419, 439, 455; p465, 483, 493, 545, 550) would ensure that the persuasion enforced by her beauty would not be classed with the "pride of the Sophists and the Orators" of Christ's time, whose "worldly" orientation leads Mornay to link them to the "majestie of the Romaine Empyre" (594).

72. King discusses "the iconoclastic sanction of the abstract symbolism of the sun in the place of anthropomorphic images of the deity. . ." (Spenser's 128).

73. The phrase of men is taken from the textual apparatus in the Clarendon edition (423), which indicates that it was used in the '93 edition of the Arcadia. The phrase of her creatures appears in the place of of men in the '90 edition. Either of these phrases brings out the significance argued for here more clearly than that used in the main text of the Clarendon edition, of her, which is taken from the Cambridge University manuscript. The symbolism of Scripture as precious jewels (likely alluded to by the diamond comparison) was discussed earlier in this chapter.

74. For example, Duncan-Jones "Urania" 128; Turner 117-8; and Hager 142-3.

75. See, for example, King Iconography 8.

76. William Harrison similarly wrote, "There is but one faith in Christ's salvation, revealed in both Testaments," although, according to Parry, he "discerned a qualitative difference between the Law and the Gospel. . ." (19). Parry points out an important distinction within Protestantism itself in attitudes toward the Old Testament: "Luther regarded the Old Testament Law simply as the means to make men despair of their ability to do good, for Christ in the New Testament had released those graced with a faithful understanding from the bondage of the Law. Calvin found the Gospel to be a perfect rendering of the Law which retained its contemporary moral relevance when spiritually interpreted in the manner of the covenant line" (204).

77. The Clarendon gloss to sun-staining reads, "By being brighter, depriving the sun of lustre" (508).

78. See Strand nos. 2, 16, 33, 57, 78.

79. See Strand nos. 9, 42, 66, 91.

80. Hager has argued that Strephon and Claius must be "converted to their social function by Musidorus's near-suicide, "having previously "gloried in rising above their earthy professional duty in contemplation of their love for Urania" (139). The shepherds, however, perform their act of charity without hesitation at the first opportunity provided them. As Roberts writes, while they "appear completely absorbed in their reflections, they turn immediately to aid the shipwrecked princes, thus demonstrating virtuous action" (226). The symbolic connections between
Urania and Christ make it quite unlikely that their taking time to praise her should be accounted blameworthy. Hager's argument that Strephon and Claius' love for Urania provides them with "a taste for the life of contemplation, which was not properly theirs," as shepherds, but "belonged to the 'great clerks' . . ." (142) imparts to Sidney a classism and elitism directly counter to the tradition of Protestant commentary on Rev. 10 within which, it was earlier argued, he was working.

81. Cf. King Iconography 203.

82. Fulke writes, "...that whiche holsome and seasonable windes are to the world, the same is the holy ghoste, to the Churche" (44'). Davies and Hunter explain that the Hebrew word used for the spirit of God in the Old Testament is Ruah, a feminine noun signifying "God's breath, or the motion of breathing" and connected with "God's manifesting of himself within the Creation" and with spiritual illumination (103).

83. See the commentary to the Clarendon edition (509).

84. The Geneva Bible gloss cross-references this verse to Christ's words in Luke 23:28-30: "Daughters of Jerusalem, wepe not for me, but wepe for your selves. . . . For beholde, the daies will come, when men shal . . . .beginne to say to the mountaines, Fall on us: and to the hilles, Cover us. . . ." The verses from both Luke and Rev. allude to Isaiah 2:19 and Hosea 10:8, as is also indicated by the Geneva cross-references.

85. Weiner, whose book does not cover the New Arcaida, states in a note that "the situation" in that work "is far less clear" and that love of Urania has there "far more positive effects . . . upon Strephon and Claius." Yet even he (215), like so many other critics, cites Kalendar's mildly condescending evaluation of the forces to which Strephon and Claius attribute their progress in learning ("...(notwithstanding it is a sport to hear how) they impute to love, which hath ensued their thoughts, say they, with such a strength" 24) as if it clearly undermines the validity of the shepherd's zeal. Lindheim, too, believes that Sidney "undercuts the simplicity of [Strephon and Claius'] vision with Kalendar's playful suggestion. . . ." (18). Cf. Roberts 226. But see my discussion of Kalendar in Chapter 5.

86. The page numbering in Gifford's commentary on the Song of Solomon jumps from 64 back to 45 and then continues the error until the end (p. 290), so that pp. 45-64 appear twice. Pages 45-64, therefore, are cited with a superscript 1 or 2 to indicate the first or second appearance of the page.

87. See Knott 140 and, for example, 1 Pet. 2:21: "For hereunto ye are called: for Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an ensample that ye shulde folowe his steppes." Davis, who writes that, "using Urania as both tutor and loved object," Strephon and Claius "have climbed a certain way up the Platonic ladder" (Map 84), lists as one of their wrongs their tracing of "'the footsteps of God' in the created universe and in their souls, thereby perceiving their essential harmony with the emblematic universe of divine order around them" (86).

88. Gifford refers to the metaphor frequently, citing the verse from 1 Pet. 2:1 in connection with other biblical metaphors for "the foode of our soules," such as Christ, "the bread of life" (135). He comments on the "milke of the worde" metaphor most extensively in elaborating upon the significance of the breasts of the Church/Spouse (138-9).
89. CF. Astrophil and Stella 83. Connell discusses the poem, relating it to the Astrophil poem (120-2).
Chapter Five

Erasmus in Arcadia?

My third and fourth chapters have argued that Sidney presents through the Asia Minor narratives and the opening scenes of the New Arcadia a highly politicized apocalyptic and allegorical history of the Christian Church to the outset of the Reformation. My arguments in these chapters were based primarily upon a series of distinctive images from Revelation that Protestant commentators like Gifford, Fulke, and Bullinger often associated with particular historical events, persons, groups, and tendencies important to the development of the Christian Church. These images, I have shown, appear in the same relative chronological sequence in Sidney's narrative as would the corresponding images from Revelation, if the latter were arranged (from earliest to latest) according to the dates or historical periods assigned to them by these Protestant commentators.

This chapter and the next two will provide examples of means through which the New Arcadia's allegorical history is extended in certain scenes after (in chronological, not narrative, sequence) the princes' arrival in Arcadia. Such scenes comment upon events after the Reformation had commenced. Sidney's allegory in these sections is no longer communicated principally through images from Revelation, primarily, I believe, because contemporary Protestant commentators upon the book had not differentiated their historical applications of the images and prophecies to events after the successful establishment of Protestant churches adequately to allow for such a fictional project. These relatively early Protestant commentators--although they, of course, allowed that certain of
Revelation's images and prophecies referred to events in the Early Church, before the rise of the papacy, and to the Last Judgement and the New Jerusalem beyond historical time--discovered in the book primarily a prophetic account of the crimes of the papacy (a periodized history of Antichrist and his church) and of this False Church's persecution of professors of the True Faith, an account that justified, indeed, demonstrated the providential sanction of, the Protestant separation from this corrupt institution. Most of Revelation's images and prophecies (except those applied to the Early Church and the New Jerusalem) had been used up in such justifications, so that detailed applications of particular images to historical events and individuals after the establishment of official Protestant churches are rare among the commentators upon whom I have been focusing. These authors believed that the great majority of the Apocalypse's prophecies had already been fulfilled, a claim they supported by drawing upon past history as evidence. Certainly, the level of subtlety in Sidney's treatment of the controversial Erasmus for which I argue in the present chapter would not have been possible merely through allusions to Revelation's images and prophecies, as they were expounded by Gifford, Fulke, or Bullinger, whose treatises contain only passing allusions to Erasmus. References to Erasmus that do appear within these commentaries usually cluster him with other figures from the era just before the Reformation, citing his Biblical scholarship or his early writings critical of corruption and abuses within the Church of Rome, without mention of his later refusal to join Protestants in exiting that church. The methodology through which Sidney communicates his allegorical history, accordingly, changes after the opening scenes involving Strephon and Claius and the destruction of Plexirtus' ship.

The present chapter argues that Sidney both commends Erasmus' initial contribution to setting the stage for the emergence of Protestantism and critiques his later failure to join Protestants in
departing from the Church of Rome's auspices. He does so through a series of imitations and reworkings of Erasmus' well-known colloquy, "The Godly Feast," during episodes in which Kalendar appears and, subsequently, by assigning to Kalendar behaviors and opinions that Protestants ascribed to the historical Erasmus. The next two chapters illustrate how, primarily by drawing upon recognized conventions and topoi and prevalent metaphors from Protestant literary and polemical works, Sidney extends his allegorical church history after the princes' arrival in Arcadia to comment upon post-Reformation events and controversies, with an increasing focus upon events within or directly related to England.

As with all of the images and incidents appearing within his allegorical history to the start of the Reformation, all of the passages that carry this history into the era after the emergence of Protestantism are new to the revised Arcadia. Once again, it is crucial to my argument that such allusions appear in the New Arcadia in a sequential chronological arrangement corresponding to that of history. The deliberateness with which Sidney inserted and interspersed these new sections within and among existing scenes from the Old Arcadia (rather than merely adding them in a lump at the beginning or end of the earlier work, as certainly would have been less troublesome) shows that chronology was a dominant interest as he revised and recreated the Arcadia.

Sidney first turns his readers' thoughts to Erasmus and his work by introducing a previously unnoticed dense series of allusions to Erasmus' colloquy, "The Godly Feast," whereby are established multiple close parallels between Eusebius, the host within that dialogue, and Kalendar, the princes' first Arcadian host, to whose care Musidorus is entrusted soon after his rescue by Strephon and Claius in the New Arcadia's opening scenes. Both Kalendar and Eusebius are exemplary hosts who manage to do much with little: under Kalendar's creative yet commonsensical supervision, "thrift" becomes the "fuel of magnificance." Kalendar's estate is built from strong and durable stones "not affecting so much any
extraordinary kind of fineness as an honourable representing of a firm
stateliness. . ." (12, p71). Similarly, the channels and pillars at
Eusebius' country house, mistaken by his guests for costly marble, are
actually "imitation marble made of cement" painted white, concrete
evidence of the owner's capacity to compensate "for lack of wealth by
ingenuity" (51-2). Behind Eusebius' home is a garden bordered by an "open
meadow" on the left side and an orchard on the right (55), with the garden
intersected by a stream flowing through a "narrow channel" (of "imitation
marble"), within whose waters the garden's "herbs are reflected as though
in a mirror. . ." (51). Kalendar's estate is likewise backed by a
combination "field, garden, and orchard," amidst which a "fair pond"
serves as "a perfect mirror to all other beauties, so that it bare show of
two gardens, one indeed, the other in shadows. . ." (14, p73).

At both country homes nature and art strive to surpass one another.
Eusebius, justifying the frescoes of gardens adorning the walls of
galleries adjoined to his live garden, explains: "...we are twice
pleased when we see a painted flower competing with a real one. In one we
admire the cleverness of Nature, in the other the inventiveness of the
painter; in each the goodness of God. . ." (52). Likewise, in Kalendar's
garden the trees and flowers are so "cunningly set. . . that it seemed
that art therein would needs be delightful by counterfeiting his enemy,
error, and making order in confusion" (14, p73). Products of each man's
artifice are noteworthy for both their beauty and their endurance.
Eusebius' painted, eye-pleasing garden is especially delightful because it
"grows and pleases in midwinter" (52). Similarly, the narrator praises
Kalendar's house and its accoutrements as "more lasting than beautiful
(but that the consideration of the exceeding lastingness made the eye
believe it exceeding beautiful). . ." (12, p71).

While both Kalendar and Eusebius host meals during the episodes
under consideration, each man's guests underscore the primacy and
superiority of the intellectual feasts afforded by the conversations over
which the homes' owners preside. When Kalendar apologizes to Musidorus for having delayed supper for so long with his discourses on affairs in Arcadia, therein having neglected the example "of Homer, ... who never entertained either guests or hosts with long speeches, till the mouth of hunger be thoroughly stopped," the prince assures his host that "he had already been fed more to his liking than he could be by the skillfullest trencher-men of Media" (25). In "The Godly Feast," too, one of the guests, Timothy, praises as paramount the "food for thought" furnished by the conversation at Eusebius' luncheon, affirming that, while the guests' "mere bodies have had quite enough," their "minds have fed even more richly" (74).

The level of familiarity with the Colloquies that Sidney could expect of his educated contemporaries should be borne in mind throughout my discussion of Sidney's references to "The Godly Feast." Erasmus' dialogues were, of course, staple texts for the study of Latin that was so central to the curricula of sixteenth-century grammar schools. The repetition and rote learning involved in early, formal language instruction during this era make even seemingly incidental details within texts translated as part of this training particularly likely to abide within the students' long-term memories.

Additionally, just as would-be poets, among others, might return in more mature years to texts such as the Aeneid that they had thus studied in childhood in order to reconsider their themes at a more profound level and, perhaps, to stimulate inspired invention, so those, like Sidney, especially interested in Reformation politics and theology might reread Erasmus' controversial classic after their knowledge of and/or devotion to the Protestant "Cause" had broadened and intensified. Even by Sidney's time, the Colloquies had provoked a long record of censures and condemnations by critics within the Church of Rome, incited by Erasmus' criticism within the volume of clerical and monastic greed and corruption and of popular superstitions, especially of issues that came to be...
associated with Protestantism, for example, chastisement of fixation and over-reliance upon external ceremonies, long and frequent pilgrimages, rote prayer, the intercessions of saints, relics, and so forth, at the expense of sincere, Christocentric piety demonstrated in everyday acts. The Colloquies were recommended for burning in 1522 by the inquisitor and Louvain Carmelite prior Nicholas Baechem, who discovered "Lutheran heresies" therein. A 1526 petition to the French Parliament by the Sorbonne, the University of Paris's faculty of theology, "the most celebrated and influential body of academic theologians in Europe," formally censured the volume, citing "sixty-nine passages as 'erroneous, scandalous, or impious. . . .'' (Thompson xxx). Pope Paul III recommended in 1538 that the work be prohibited. The dialogues, along with all of Erasmus' other writings, were condemned on Pope Paul IV's Index of 1559; Pius IV's revised Index of 1564 still utterly forbade the Colloquies, whereas some of Erasmus' other religious works were listed as admissible, in expurgated form, at this time. The Colloquies were once again condemned by the Council of Trent.1

The Colloquies would be of interest to Protestants not only for the opposition they had elicited within the Roman Church but also for the praise they had earned from early Reformers. Johannes Sleiden, "the official historian of the Lutheran League," commended the dialogues for having "pointed up long established errors and vices" (qtd. in Mansfield 85). First-generation Reformers in England displayed a particular interest in the Colloquies, publishing some of the dialogues, probably under the patronage of Thomas Cromwell, "to gain popular support for the dissolution of religious houses" (Devereux 50-1). That often-politicized English translations of Erasmus' works were exploited to promote contemporary religio-political causes is not surprising, for the earliest Reformers in England had adopted Erasmus "as an ally against religious legalism and superstition, a spokesman in the attack on monasticism, and an exponent of the vernacular Bible" (Devereux 5).4 The desire of readers

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to discover for themselves clues as to the personal positions of the elusive Erasmus in contemporary debates on church reform may also have triggered their interest in rereading the dialogues. Whether Erasmus' Colloquies were studied as part of grammar-school Latin training or were read or reread during adulthood for their religio-political content, they were, therefore, among "the books most educated men were expected to know. . ." (Thompson Colloquies xxxi). Indeed, for over two hundred years after their initial publication, the Colloquies enjoyed "a double career, as a schoolbook and as adult literary entertainment" (Thompson xxv-xxvi), having passed through over a hundred printings of assorted editions within Erasmus' lifetime alone (Devereux 50).

The fact that a number of Sidney's literary allusions seem to have gone unnoticed by his early readers does not change the fact that his source texts were so well-known by his contemporaries that Sidney himself could have expected them to be recognized. As was observed in my second chapter, allusions in the New Arcadia to the Aeneid, a work almost universally familiar to Sidney's educated contemporaries, went unnoticed in print until the twentieth century.

Particularly because all allusions to "The Godly Feast" are new to the revised Arcadia, readers must keep in mind just how significantly Sidney expanded and reworked the corresponding passage from the Old Arcadia in creating the initial episodes at Kalendar's estate for the revised work. After reviewing major alterations and additions introduced in revision, I will consider the thematic implications within Sidney's work of the pointed and sustained series of allusions to Erasmus' dialogue near the opening of the revised Arcadia.

In the opening pages of the Old Arcadia, the narrator simply informs readers briefly and directly of the history of and current conditions within Arcadia and introduces and provides background information upon main characters, including Pyrocles; Musidorus; Arcadia's ruler, Basilius; and Basilius' family, as well as upon Basilius' "principal herdman,"
Dametas, and Dametas' family. The very first reported detail concerning the two cousin princes after their arrival in Arcadia is that they both are "lodging in the house of Kerxenus, a principal gentleman in Mantinea," a city near the solitary lodges into which Basilius and his family have retired (10). Within the same sentence in which this information is disclosed, Pyrocles, as he will do in the New Arcadia, at his host's estate perceives a picture of Philoclea, with whom he soon falls in love. Readers are provided with no more elaborate details concerning the princes' arrival in Arcadia or at Kerxenus' home: merely a half sentence, therefore, is devoted to these matters.

New to the revised Arcadia are not only all of the allusions to "The Godly Feast" just discussed but also Strephon and Klaius' opening lauds to Urania, their successful rescue of Musidorus and attempted rescue of Pyrocles, and the extended descriptions of the wreckage of the ship in which the princes had been traveling. My fourth chapter argued that apocalyptic imagery in these passages dates events in the New Arcadia's opening scenes to the start of the Reformation period, not necessarily in England but in Europe generally. (It will be recalled, for instance, that Gifford and other commentators connect images from some of the pertinent verses from Revelation to the actions of figures such as Luther in the Reformation's earliest stages.)

Among the most striking of Sidney's alterations and expansions of the opening sections of the revised Arcadia, when read in juxtaposition with the corresponding passages from the original version of the work, is that the arrivals of the two heroes to the estate of Kalendar (the New Arcadia's counterpart to Kerxenus) have been separated from one another in both time and manner. As has been said, in the Old Arcadia less than a sentence is devoted to explaining that the two princes arrive together to his home. In the New Arcadia, by contrast, Musidorus, after being rescued by Strephon and Claius and unsuccessfully attempting to rescue Pyrocles, is delivered by the two shepherds to Kalendar, under whose care, the
shepherds assure the prince, he "may recover again [his] health. . . ." (10). Almost immediately after Strephon and Claius depart, Musidorus, weary and ill from the combined tolls of the battle aboard Plexirtus' ship, "the sea and late travel," is seized by "an extreme burning fever," so that he lingers "some while with no great hope of life." The prince must recuperate at Kalendar's estate for six weeks before "the excellency of his returned beauty was a credible ambassador of his health. . . ." (13). Before Pyrocles ever reaches Kalendar's home (42), his cousin not only undergoes this period of healing but also is, subsequently, informed by his host of affairs in Arcadia, learns from his host's steward something of Kalendar and his family's own background and of the love and trials of Argalus and Parthenia, and, finally, participates in a battle between the Lacedaemonians and the helots, during which he and Pyrocles are reunited. Thirty pages of text (in the Clarendon edition), therefore, now separate the advents of the two princes to Kalendar's estate.

Is there a thematic relationship between two of the most noteworthy alterations in Sidney's revisions of the Kalendar/Kerxenus episode--the additions of extensive allusions to Erasmus' colloquy and the prior arrival of Musidorus, without Pyrocles, to the estate, where he now undergoes a period of convalescence? As part of my discussion of the imagery of the opening scenes of Book 1, I argued that the object to which Musidorus is, literally, connected at his first appearance in the New Arcadia--the "coffer" or "chest" of jewels that, lying under his breast, allows him to float safely to shore after the destruction of Plexirtus' ship and that his hands grip tightly, though he is unconscious (5)--symbolize Scripture, drawing upon traditional imagery of the Bible as both precious jewels and as an "ark," which my examples showed that Reformers applied to the Gospel, as well as to the Old Testament covenants. I mentioned also that Sidney refers to this chest of jewels, which is new to Arcadia, at least five times after its initial appearance and that Protestants like John Jewel employed the imagery of the movement of
an ark or chest from one region to another to suggest, according to Old Testament typology, the Reformation's restoration of the True Religion. Finally, I argued that, together with the object that Pyrocles holds at his first appearance in the New Arcadia, a sword, the images with which the heroes are initially associated function symbolically as do the sword and ark referred to together, for example, in a 1586 petition to Parliament, advocating allegorically a position similar to the one it advanced. The petition urges that England could assure that "the Lorde of Hoasts" would defend and aid it, especially in its conflicts with "our enemies the Papists and Jesuites," by acting in accordance with Old Testament precedents in which Israel procured divine assistance by obeying God's Law: "...let the Arke of the covenant go before the hoast of Israel, to search out a resting place for them. Let the Priestes that beare the Arke of the Lorde... first goe over Jorden into the Land of Canaan... Let us first proclaime the sword of the Lord, and then" continued success against Rome will be assured (Register 238; emphases added). This petition's authors assume that the ark is borne by priests, who first carry it over a body of water into its new resting land, as Musidorus—after escaping the destruction of Plexirtus' ship, which I argued in Chapter 4 symbolizes the Roman church—carries (or is carried by) his coffer onto the coast near Arcadia, where he arrives before Pyrocles.

At some points in the New Arcadia, therefore, I believe, Musidorus is an allegorical representative of the priesthood generally. John Hankins has observed Spenser's penchant for "composite figures," suggesting that Redcross in Book 1 of the Fairie Queene "may well represent the whole line of English royalty, or the English Crown" and Una "the English Church" (208-9). One of the projects that this dissertation argues that Sidney undertook as he revised the Arcadia—a politicized, allegorical history of the Christian church from Apostolic times to his
own era--would, because of its extended chronological range, make such "composite figures" highly useful to Sidney as well.

The role of Kalendar, as a figure modelled upon a character from one of Erasmus’ dialogues, in rehabilitating Musidorus may, in light of the allegorical role of the latter as a composite figure for the priesthood just suggested, therefore, pay tribute to the historical Erasmus’ contribution to setting the stage for the Reformation. The Kalendar episode, one must bear in mind, occurs at a point in the larger allegorical church history for which I have been arguing in the New Arcadia that would correspond in chronological sequence to the period in which Erasmus was contributing his own remarkable--and controversial--efforts to the church’s reform.

Though Erasmus himself was certainly not a Protestant, Reformers themselves paid tribute to his work as having been vital to preparing the way for their own appearance with quite different, more radical, solutions to the problems he had so eloquently and movingly detailed.⁵ Foxe wrote in the Acts and Monuments: "...who seeth not, that the penne of Luther following after Erasmus and set forward by writing [presumably meaning printing] hath set the triple crown so awry on the popes head, that it is like never to be set streight agayne" (qtd. in Devereux 19). Luther’s German protector, Ulrich von Hutten, praised Erasmus for having "first bestirred the minds of men for liberty," viewing him as Luther’s forerunner, while Heinrich Bullinger lauded Erasmus as "a truly great man, worthy of eternal praise" (qtd. in Eire 46, 52). Theodore Beza, in his Icones (1580), listed Erasmus, along with Luther and Melanchthon, as among "the main instruments for restoring the Christian faith among the Germans. ..." (qtd. in Mansfield 95). Particularly important to my argument for the significance of Kalendar’s role in regenerating Musidorus is Protestant recognition of Erasmus’ nearly unequalled effectiveness in educating the public on the dangers and pervasiveness of monastic and clerical ignorance, immorality, and greed, as well as of not-unconnected

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popular superstitions. Many Reformers grouped Erasmus’ work with that of Luther and Zwingli as having led to the downfall of “monkish deceptions” (Mansfield 73). In adulation that furnishes, as Thompson observes, a “good example of the ‘Protestantizing’ of Erasmus by his English admirers,” Nicholas Udall (the author of Ralph Roister Doister) asserted in the introductory matter to an English translation of Erasmus’ Paraphrases, of which he was the editorial supervisor, that no “writer more wittily, more earnestly, more aptly, more finely, more substantially, more pithily, more plainly [doth] describe and paint out the usurped estate, preeminence, and pomp of the bishop of Rome, than” does Erasmus (Thompson “Tudor England” 51-2). Foxe wrote that Erasmus “had somewhat broken the waye before, and had shaken the monkes houses. But Luther gave the stroke and pluckt down the foundation. . .” (qtd. in Mansfield 113). Luther himself, in a characteristically ambivalent assessment of his great predecessor, whose work he has just been reading, remarks in a letter of March 1, 1517: “. . .daily I dislike him more and more. Nevertheless,” he proceeds to note with pleasure, the man he can still label “our Erasmus . . . is constantly yet learnedly exposing and condemning the monks and priests for their deep-rooted and sleepy ignorance” (qtd. in Thulin 27).

Of course, contemporary appreciation of a link between Erasmus’ criticism of conditions within the Church of Rome and the emergence of Protestantism, which I am arguing that Sidney recognizes allegorically through Musidorus’ revitalizing (yet temporary) stay at Kalendar’s estate, was not limited to Reformers. Erasmus was accused by his opponents within the Church of Rome with having furnished “ammunition to Luther” (Mansfield 14), with having “laid the egg that Luther hatched” (Mansfield 32), and with being Luther’s “fellow-traveller, indeed his fellow-worker” (Mansfield 32).

Kalendar’s prominent role in restoring Musidorus to health (after the prince’s life has first been saved by Strephon and Claius), as I have just argued, honors Erasmus’ pivotal influence in promoting public
awareness of the need to reform both clerical behavior and idolatrous and superstitious modes of worship within the Church of Rome. As the quotations above illustrate, many other influential Protestants would have joined Sidney in applauding Erasmus for this welcome fruit of his indefatigable labors. Yet, Kalendar's most crucial and enduring assistance to and impact upon the princes occurs at a point in the allegorical church history I have been tracing that corresponds to the period immediately prior to and/or just after the formal outset of the Reformation. After his initial, albeit critical, role in Musidorus' convalescence and, perhaps, in kindling Pyrocles' interest in Philoclea and in marriage (discussed below), he is presented as a much more problematic figure, one whose advice is not consistently reliable and whose mode of life comes to seem increasingly unfulfilling and inadequate to the princes, especially to Pyrocles. This treatment of Kalendar reflects the growing dissatisfaction (evident in the quotation from Luther above) of many Protestants with Erasmus after he refused to join their camp in departing from the Church of Rome, failing, in their opinion, to acknowledge the implications of his own writings criticizing dominant behaviors and practices within that institution. The typically ambivalent Protestant assessment of the Dutch humanist is voiced, for example, by Thomas Cooper, later to become bishop of Winchester and of Lincoln, who wrote in 1562 (as part of a defense of the Protestant John Jewel): "...we do now esteem Erasmus, as we have always, for a man of excellent learning, and a singular instrument provided of God to begin the reformation of his church in this latter time; and yet think we not all his opinions to be true" (qtd. in Thompson "Tudor England" 59; emphasis added). Erasmus' contribution to initiating trends that would prepare the way for the emergence of Protestantism is commended, a position suggested by Sidney's portrayal of Kalendar as well; yet, thereafter, Kalendar's conduct and counsel become progressively less reliable and praiseworthy,
as Protestant critics charged was the case with Erasmus as the Reformation proceeded.

As I have shown, Sidney could expect his educated contemporaries to notice the dense series of allusions to "The Godly Feast" that accompany Kalendar's first introduction in the New Arcadia. Readers familiar with the Old Arcadia are especially likely to notice Sidney's deliberate insertion of these allusions in revision and the vast expansion of his entire presentation of the princes' host. Sidney could reasonably have expected that readers (especially those trained in the didactic theory of literature advanced in the Defence) might reflect upon the purpose of the extended imitation of Erasmus' colloquy and the parallels thereby created between Kalendar and Eusebius, as well (if they were familiar with the original Arcadia) of the massive reworking of this episode of which such references are a part.

After the strong parallels initially established in the New Arcadia between the two hosts and their estates through Sidney's protracted allusions to Erasmus' colloquy, Kalendar's later behavior is placed in distinctive contrast to that of Erasmus' Eusebius at the close of "The Godly Feast." Through these contrasts, I will now argue, Erasmus' own positions in Reformation controversies are faulted. When the host in that dialogue explains that he must depart to attend to his business in a nearby village, a guest asks him if he is going hunting. The good-humored but zealous host replies, "...yes, but I'm hunting for something other than boars and stags." He explains that he must prepare a dying friend's soul "to depart as befits a Christian"; indeed, he will furnish "good counsel" that will aid the man "whether he dies or recovers." Elsewhere, he will attempt to mediate a serious quarrel between two "stubborn" men, so that it does not grow into a large-scale feud. Such, Eusebius concludes, "are my quarry" (78). Kalendar, on the other hand, leads the princes and a party of huntsmen in the "hot pursuit" of a literal stag.
By retaining the reference to a host's hunting but changing the nature of the quest from a spiritual to a literal one, Sidney highlights the disparity between the behavior of the exemplary host in Erasmus' written dialogue and of the princes' beneficent protector, Kalendar, whom Sidney at times associates allegorically with the historical Erasmus himself. The density of references to "The Godly Feast" in this section of the New Arcadia, including a final plot parallel in which each host announces plans to embark upon a variety of hunting, following upon descriptions of his estate and of a meal with extended conversation, make the discrepancy between the types of hunting pursued by Kalendar and Eusebius pointedly conspicuous. In addition, the exchange on hunting appears in the concluding lines of "The Godly Feast," making it especially likely to endure in the memories of readers. The twist upon the conclusion of Erasmus' dialogue shows that Sidney did not introduce the prolonged series of allusions to the colloquy in his descriptions of the princes' host's estate merely because his capacity to invent "original" material was at an ebb: the marked divergence at this point from previous correspondences suggests thematic import. When contrasted with Eusebius' decisively Christian "hunting," Kalendar's happy-go-lucky stag chase seems an emphatically inferior pursuit.

While biographical evidence certainly cannot be conclusive in my argument for fictional allegory, Sidney's known personal aversion to hunting--especially taken together with the contrast between Kalendar's literal and Eusebius' "spiritual" hunting--may be seen as increasing the probability that Kalendar's fervor for the chase is not being presented as wholly admirable. In a letter to Hubert Languet, Sidney cites "absurd hunting parties" as evidence of the "disgraceful indolence of the German princes" (Correspondence 66-7). Sir John Harington recollected, "...the noble Sir Phylip Sidney was wont to say, that next hunting, he liked hauking worst. ..." The deer itself is also portrayed sympathetically in the New Arcadia, whereas Kalendar appears predatory in the scene.
while the stag is "at bay." Kalendar "with a crossbow sent a death to the poor beast, who with tears showed the unkindness he took of man's cruelty" (54, p116); in the ensuing feast the stag, generous even after death, "bestow[s] himself liberally among them that had killed him" (55).

That Kalendar's pursuit of a literal hunt may substantiate my previous claim that he is being presented within the New Arcadia as an adherent of the Church of Rome may be indicated by a hunting metaphor employed by Martin Luther, whose heated public conflicts with Erasmus over issues relating to church reform were, of course, notorious. Near the opening of the Babylonian Captivity of the Church (1520), a treatise marking his "final and irreparable break with the Church of Rome," in which "he enters and takes her central stronghold and sanctuary--the sacramental system by which she accompanied and controlled her members from the cradle to the grave. . ." (Steinhæuser 117, 115), Luther announces to the world: ". . .I now know of a certainty that the papacy is the kingdom of Babylon and the power of Nimrod the mighty hunter. . . . I beg both booksellers and readers to burn what I have published on that subject and to hold to this proposition: THE PAPACY IS THE MIGHTY HUNTING OF THE ROMAN BISHOP" (Three Treatises 120). Certainly, at least one highly prominent and influential Reformer, in a conspicuous position within one of his most widely read works, associated hunting with the papacy and its pursuits (obviously judged to be corrupt).

Once again, I believe, Sidney causes Kalendar to act in opposition to opinions expressed in Erasmus' own writings, to illustrate the Protestant claim that Erasmus would not follow the implications of his own publically professed criticisms of the Roman church through to their logical conclusions. In The Praise of Folly, a work of which Sidney's comments in the Defence reveal him to have been a careful reader, the clearly ironic praise of hunting by Folly shares many similarities with the acclaim of the pastime by Kalendar and his band of huntsmen in the New Arcadia. Enumerating the manifold ways in which humans are "deluded" into
remaining content with "that kind of madness which is peculiarly my own," Folly describes "the fellows who renounce everything else in favor of hunting wild game...." (53). Kalendar, similarly, reveals to Pyrocles and Musidorus, as they ride toward the wood for the chase, "how well he loved the sport of hunting when he was a young man; how much, in the comparison thereof, he disdained all chamber delights," and on and on (53). The class of fools characterized by Folly in this passage "protest they feel an ineffable pleasure in their souls whenever they hear the raucous blast of the horns and the yelping of hounds" (adding, in lines that make evident her irony, "Even the dung of the dogs, I am sure, smells like cinnamon to them" 53). In the New Arcadia, Kalendar's huntsmen sport "horns about their necks to sound an alarum upon a silly fugitive." The hounds' "cry" is "composed of so well-sorted mouths that any man would perceive therein some kind of proportion, but" Kalendar's "skilful woodmen did find a music." The suggestion in the narrator's remark seems similar to that of Folly in the lines just quoted: while "any man" can detect "some kind" of harmony, or lack thereof, in the dogs' barking, only huntsmen discover delightful "music" therein. Even after they have killed and eaten of the stag they tracked, Kalendar's men are still eulogizing among themselves the hounds' "cry," along with their "cunning" (54-5). Voicing the conviction of this category among the deceived, Erasmus' Folly next asks, "And what is so sweet as a beast being butchered?", adding ironically that, whereas the hewing of oxen and bulls "is properly given over to the humble plebian, ... it is a crime for game to be slaughtered except by a gentleman!" The nobleman's company gazes in silent awe and admiration as he ritualistically carves the victim they have stalked and slain (53-4). In Sidney's book, the gentleman, Kalendar, will "not suffer" those among the "younger sort" of his party eager to slaughter the deer with their swords to do as they wish, but, as was noted previously, himself "with a crossbow sent a death to the poor beast...." Afterward, the "whole company" assembles ere the stag, having been
butchered, "bestowed himself liberally among them that had killed him."

Erasmus' Folly cites the raptures (obviously excessive) experienced by members of a gentleman's company "if some bit of the animal is handed one of them to taste" (54), suggesting a distribution of the beast's carcass similar to that in the New Arcadia. In the latter work, the men in Kalendar's party praise amongst themselves "the fatness of the deer's body" (55), commendation of the venison's flavor that, like that related by Folly, probably results, at least in some measure, from self-delusion. This section of The Praise of Folly concludes, lest Erasmus' persistent irony throughout Folly's portrayal of the hunters be missed, "...thus with their butchering and eating of beasts they accomplish nothing at all unless it be to degenerate into beasts themselves, though they think, all the while, they are living the life of a king" (54).

The discourses upon the past, upon his own devotion to hunting, and upon the sport's virtue with which Kalendar entertains the princes as they embark upon the stag chase read, as well, like a parodic imitation of George Gascoigne's laments in The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hunting (1575), a work often designated "the 'definitive' Elizabethan hunting manual..." (Duncan-Jones Courtier Poet 93). After illustrating this probable parody, I will suggest how it, too, would reinforce my argument about Kalendar's function during certain episodes as a figure through whom Sidney both recognizes and critiques Erasmus' role in reforming the sixteenth-century church. Though based primarily on Jacques du Fouiloux's French guide, The Noble Arte's "most substantial" original section, on assemblies before a prince or other notable personage, offers advice that, according to Duncan-Jones, "Both visually and verbally, ... appears to be based on sports at Kenilworth," the estate of Sidney's uncle, Leicester, during Queen Elizabeth's stay there as part of her 1575 Progress (Courtier Poet 92-3). Since Sidney and his family were on site at Kenilworth for the queen's visit, Gascoigne's manual may well have been of interest to Sidney. In his youth, not only did Kalendar forsake...
"chamber delights" to hunt, but "...the sun, how great a journey soever he had to make, could never prevent him with earliness, nor the moon with her sober countenance dissuade him from watching till midnight for the deer's feeding" (53). Similarly, Gascoigne professes in his prefatory poem "in the commendation of the noble Arte of Venerie" that he "might at large expresse how earely huntsmen ryse, / And leave the sluggish sleepe for such, as leachers lust devyse" (n.p.). Kalendar's huntsmen are "handsomely attired in their green liveries" (54), in accordance with the advice of the **Noble Arte of Venerie**: "Phoebus saith that they ought to be clad in green when they hunt the hart or buck" (qtd. in Skretkowicz 517). Gascoigne in *The Noble Arte* rues that "Princes and Noble men" of his day are so preoccupied with acquiring "worldly wealth," through which they hope to "make theyr names immortal...", that they often, through such pursuits destroy both "bodie and soule," thus contracting the spans of their own lives. His recommended antidote is a return to the healthier pursuits of yore, like hunting, a prescription for which he cites the "evidence" of any observer's personal experience: "...a man shall hardly see any of them reygne or live so long as they did in those dayes that every Forest rong with houndes and hornes..." In his prefatory poem in praise of the sport, Gascoigne also extols hunting's capacity to divert the mind and improve health: "It occupies the mynde, which else might chaunce to muse / On mischiefe, malice, filth, and fraudes, that mortall men do use. / And as for exercise, it seemes to beare the bell, / Since by the same, mens bodies be, in health mainteyned well." Yet, he remains optimistic that (perhaps influenced by his own advice) "the nobility and youth of England" will again take up hunting and "sondry other noble pasttimes of recreation, according to the steps of their honourable ancestors and progenitors" (110). Like Gascoigne, Kalendar lauds hunting's salutory effects upon the constitution and its ability to deflect wearisome thoughts, advising Pyrocles and Musidorus, as they advance toward the the wood harboring the stag: "...you will never live
to my age without you keep yourselves in breath with exercise, and in
heart with joyfulness. Too much thinking doth consume the spirits. . ." (53). Like Gascoigne as well, Kalendar proceeds to glorify the past (when hunting was a more frequent pursuit) in negative comparison with the present: "Then spared he not to remember how much Arcadia was changed since his youth, activity and good fellowship being nothing in the price it was then held in, but according to the nature of the old-growing world, still worse and worse" (53-4).

This tendency to exalt the past is also exhibited by Dametas, who I argued Chapter 4 stands as the New Arcadia's representative of England's unlearned, unregenerate rural clergy, who continued to harbor dangerous popish sympathies even after the nation's official conversion to the Protestant faith. As is explained in my discussion of Dametas, zealous Protestants often ridiculed papists for uncritical acceptance of the "traditions" and beliefs of their forebears. Proponents of the Roman Church in Gifford's dialogues frequently claim that the beliefs of their "fathers" are good enough for them, extolling to young Protestant devotees of the "new learning" who challenge their assumptions the "merry world" of the past, before Puritans attempted to impose their rigorous standards upon their neighbors (including the speaker) and before Protestant conflicts divided the land.12 Fervent Protestants of the time desired, by contrast, to divest the church of generations of superstitions and idolatrous practices adopted by its members and integrated into its worship services during its dominance by the papacy. Mornay, for instance, rebuts Rome's self-identification as the True Church, based upon its "antiquitie, multitude, succession of places and persons," and so forth, by asserting that ". . .antiquitie alone, ought to make us thinke that in the Church there is a great sickenesse and much filthinesse, and that even for this cause alone without any longer confutation, it behooveth us to bring a broome to purge it, and to call for a Physician. . ." (Treatise 50-1). Dogma and observances that ran counter to Scripture
were not justified merely because they were traditional and customary. Protestants, also, of course, countered Rome’s self-proclaimed right to authority through antiquity by maintaining that their own church was returning to still more ancient and authoritative precedents than the merely human traditions established under the papacy’s dominion: the Primitive Church and the Word of God. This stereotyping of characters willing to bow to the pope’s authority as backward-looking and tending to glorify the past is in all probability related to the use in Protestant satire of “generational conflict as a conventional allegorical figure that could be directed against either ‘old’ Catholic believers or headstrong Protestant youth.” The title character of R. Wever’s Lusty Juventus, "is torn between the ‘young’ faith of the Protestant and the ‘old’ carnal corruption of the Catholic" (King Spenser’s 34).11

As Kalendar eulogizes the past at the expense of the present, so Luther parodies Erasmus’ complaints about the former unity and peace of Christendom, before Protestant schisms divided the Church. In his On the Bondage of the Will (De Servo Arbitrio 1525), written in direct response to Erasmus’ On the Freedom of the Will: A Diatribe or Discourse (De Libro Arbitrio: Diatribe Seu Collatio 1524), for instance, Luther writes: ". . .you, my dear Erasmus, complain in many books about these tumults and the loss of peace and concord. . ." (Rupp and Watson 129). Sidney’s substitution of the prevalence of recreational hunting for the “unity” enjoyed under the papacy before the Protestant split from the Roman Church as the enthusiast’s explanation for the superiority of the past to the present suggests a devaluation of what has been lost. The papists (including Erasmus), like Folly’s hunters, overrate the objects of their devotion, which their personal biases prevent them from judging objectively. Sidney’s allegory, as I have interpreted it, thus replicates the analogy between hunting and papism in Luther’s metaphor from the Babylonian Captivity, quoted above.

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I argue in my next chapter that in Book 3 Sidney draws upon the traditional use of the deer as a symbol for Christ\textsuperscript{12} to suggest a standard Protestant charge—that in the daily "sacrifice" of the Mass Christ is crucified anew—by comparing Amphialus, during a scene in which his behavior is also analogized to that of a Mass priest, to an individual who kills a deer. Kalendar's slaying of the deer, given the correspondences between Kalendar and Erasmus for which I have been arguing, might, therefore, allude to Erasmus' writings in defense of the Roman Church's official teaching about the Mass.\textsuperscript{13} Crucially, too, both Kalendar and the woman to whom Amphialus is analogized in Book 3 not only slay a deer but consume it, suggesting the "corporal eating" of Christ's body and blood assumed by the doctrine of transubstantiation. The metaphoric comparison between the sacrifice of the Mass and the slaughter of the deer might have been suggested not only by the conventional symbolism of the deer as Christ but also, ironically enough, by Erasmus' own satiric portrayal in The Praise of Folly of the ritualistic conduct of the "gentleman" as he butchers the deer and of his reverent observers: "...with his head bared, on bended knees, with a knife designed just for this (for it is sacrilege to use any other), with certain ceremonial gestures he cuts just the proper members in the approved order. The company stands in silence, wondering as at some great novelty, although it has seen the same spectacle a thousand times" (54). The wording of Thomas Chaloner's 1549 translation of the second of the sentences just quoted suggests the Mass comparison even more readily: "Whiche duryng, the standers by, not speakeynge a worde, behold it solemnly, as if it were some holy Misterie, havyng seen the like yet more than a hundred tymes before" (54).\textsuperscript{14}

One wonders if Sidney may not have been poking some fun at Gascoigne's hunting manual and/or one of Queen Elizabeth's favorite forms of entertainment as well. The Noble Arte of Venerie was "published ... as a celebration of the Queen's delight in hunting," an activity that occupied a "major part of the time during a Progress." (93).\textsuperscript{15}
Gascoigne himself participated in and devised many of the entertainments planned and/or performed during the queen's 1575 stay at Kenilworth and "...used the Progress and its aftermath for an all-out bid for favour and protection" from Elizabeth (Courtier 100). After his Kenilworth performances, Gascoigne "enjoyed a brief career as England's leading court poet..." (138), with his talent being rewarded by the queen with a post in the Netherlands. Yet, as Duncan-Jones observes, though "Gascoigne's sphere of connexions and interests matched Sidney's at many points--Gray's Inn, the Netherlands, English metrics, erotic prose fiction, courtly entertainment" and "though Sidney must have been familiar with the man and his work for over a decade...", the absence of any allusion to him in the Defence of Poesy is noticeable" (138). If echoes of The Noble Arte in Kalendar's conduct and comments during the deer chase were conscious on Sidney's part, they would, given the interpretation of the scene I have just offered, reinforce Duncan-Jones' suggestion that Sidney did not harbor an especially high regard for Gascoigne.14

Another pronounced distinction between the hosts in the two works--one that, like the variance in the types of hunting each pursues, strikes readers all the more forcefully after the expectations of similarity created by the initial sustained congruities in the descriptions of their estates--is the pointed deviation in the cultural traditions represented by the artwork at each locale. Kalendar's "house of pleasure" is filled with "delightful pictures" created by "the most excellent workman of Greece." These paintings depict classical figures such as Diana, at the moment Acteon sees her bathing, Atalanta, Helena, Omphale, and Iole (145). In "The Godly Feast," while Eusebius' "summer courtyard" sports a few pictures of figures such as Anthony and Cleopatra and Alexander the Great to serve as reminders of the need for temperance (one of the so-called "classical" virtues), nearly all of the remaining pieces are biblically inspired (76). On the wall of an upper gallery "is painted in order the entire life of Jesus as related by the four evangelists," while portrayals
of "corresponding figures and prophecies of the Old Testament" adorn the opposite wall (77). The fountain of the naked Venus occupying a central position in Kalendar's Arcadian garden is, as Skretkowicz has observed, "not merely decorative but a quasi-religious idol appropriate to a temple" (xxix). Eusebius' fountain, by contrast, "symbolizes" Holy Scripture, "that unique fountain which refreshes all those who are heavy laden, and for which the soul, wearied by the evils of this world, pants. . . ." (51). The figure occupying a similarly prominent position to Kalendar's Venus in Eusebius' garden is of Jesus, who stands, as the host testifies to his guests, "as protector not only of my garden but of everything I own; in short, of body and soul alike" (51). Paintings and statues figure prominently in Erasmus' well-known dialogue, and the marked disparity in the cultural affiliations of the artwork in the two locales is unlikely to escape the notice of readers who consider the descriptions of the two estates in juxtaposition, as Sidney's sustained allusions to Erasmus' colloquy call upon them to do.

Perhaps Luther's repeated charges that Erasmus preferred classical to biblical studies may be suggested by the variance between the classical narratives commemorated by the images decorating Kalendar's estate and the Judeo-Christian, primarily Scriptural, events and individuals celebrated by Eusebius' art. Luther repeatedly (though, many of us would judge, unsoundly and unfairly) accused Erasmus himself of paganism, not to mention of drawing "the young into paganism" (Phillips 100). Summarizing what he considered a crucial distinction between the central motivating forces in their careers, Luther claimed, "Erasmus sticks to his own heathen business. He doesn't care about ours, that is, theological affairs" (Table Talk 77). While classical writings supply substantial, if still subordinate, sources for the dinner conversation at Eusebius' home, Sidney's allusions to and departures from this colloquy call attention not to this aspect of the work but to the contrast in the cultures whose values and beliefs are enshrined in the artwork at each locale. It might
be objected also that Sidney highlights these differences to indicate a
closest between the thematic interests of his own work (romantic love)
and those of "The Godly Feast"; however, the dense series of apocalyptic
imagery added in revision to the New Arcadia's opening scenes calls into
question the assumption that its central concerns are primarily secular.
Again, Sidney's own delight in classical studies is well known: the
implied charge against Erasmus, if Sidney agreed with these accusations by
Luther, would be one of failure to maintain appropriately Christian
priorities.

Probably more significantly, however, in light of the allegorical
evaluation of Erasmus' contribution to church reform for which I have been
arguing, the disparate cultures memorialized by the artwork at the two
estates may suggest, once again, a discrepancy between the doctrine
advanced within "The Godly Feast" and Erasmus' real-world actions. As
Craig R. Thompson observes in the introduction to his translation of the
dialogue: "The centrality of the Bible in Reformation controversies, the
role of the laity, and the spate of vernacular translations of the Bible
are implied or foreshadowed by 'The Godly Feast'" (47). The prominence
within "The Godly Feast" of theological tenets and positions that
Protestants liked to claim as their own would make the dialogue an apt
choice for signalling by a contrast between its premises, on the one hand,
and Kalendar's behavior in the New Arcadia, on the other, the previously
discussed Protestant charge that Erasmus was too hesitant, and ultimately
unwilling, to act upon the premises that (Reformers believed) were
inherent within or implied by his own writings.18

For example, the central Protestant tenet of justification by faith
might be detected within one of the appropriately trilingual--Greek,
Hebrew, and Latin--mottos inscribed upon the figure of St. Peter that
greets the humanist host, Eusebius', visitors at his courtyard door: "The
just shall live by his faith" (50). Further highlighting the "Protestant"
prioritizing of faith over works (though the two, in fact, were generally
seen as interlinked) is Eusebius' commentary upon the inscription: the host explains that Peter shows himself a not "uncivil porter" by warning "that we do not attain to the true Christian life by works of the Mosaic law but through gospel faith. . ." (50). A "Protestant" emphasis upon grace, as opposed to human "merit," might be seen as indicated by other of the host's remarks as well. When his guests admire the small chapel at his country home, with its figure of Christ on the altar, Eusebius suggests: "Let us pray that since we can avail nothing of ourselves, he in his infinite goodness may never permit us to stray from the path of salvation, but, after we have rejected Jewish forms and the deceits of this world, may guide us through gospel truth to life eternal--that is, draw us to himself by himself" (50). Criticism of Jews who, ". . .foolishly puffed up by keeping" the rites of the Law, "would neglect what God especially requires of us" is extended and elaborated upon later in the dialogue. Jews are said to be "Saturated with greed, pride, theft, hatred, envy, and other sins": supposing "God much in their debt because they frequented the temple on holy days," they, in sum, "embraced the shadows and neglected the substance" (61). Renaissance Protestants often analogized the reliance upon external rituals and works within Judaism and within the Church of Rome. A similar criticism, albeit in muted form, is at least suggested within the "Godly Feast" itself, through its reference to "...the great majority of Christians" in contemporary society, whose "main reliance in life is on ceremonies" (68), a viewpoint that is promptly and explicitly repudiated: "The notion that nothing else is needed for Christianity I reject absolutely. . ." (68). Of course, Protestants would have readily transferred the colloquy's censure of "Jewish" greed, preoccupation with holy days, and so forth, to the Roman Church.

Perhaps most noteworthy and commendable to the majority of sixteenth-century Protestants would have been the dialogue's advocacy of independent lay Biblical study and interpretation. Dinner conversation
within "The Godly Feast" consists primarily of lay exegesis of Scripture by Eusebius and his guests, one of whom (in an opinion tacitly assented to by the others, who proceed to act upon it) explicitly sanctions such practices as "Permissible even for sailors, in my opinion, provided they're cautious about passing judgement." He speculates that "...Christ, who promised to be present wherever two men are gathered together in his name will help" the group's own impending endeavor, because they "are so many" (57). A scriptural basis for his previous endorsement of lay Biblical exposition, within the limits indicated by his proviso, is, thereby, suggested: Christ's presence and grace allow the attendees to confer about the verses most profitably (as their subsequent commentary amply demonstrates) among themselves, bypassing the need for the "good theologian" that Eusebius initially suggests might be needed to explain to the others the proper interpretation of the passages to be considered.

Erasmus himself called attention to the exercise in lay scriptural exegesis at the dialogue's center in "The Usefulness of the Colloquies," a defense (first appearing in a 1526 edition of the Colloquies) designed to exonerate the work from multiple attacks upon it, especially those by academic theologians at Louvain and Paris (Thompson Colloquies 623). Erasmus here asserts that "The Godly Feast" offers "ample demonstration of what the feasting of all Christians should be like," a broad relevance attained precisely because all of its characters are "laymen and married men." He adds, "If certain priests and monks patterned their own banquets after this model, they would understand how far short they are of that high standard by which it were appropriate for them to excel the laity" (628). This combined support of nonsupervised lay Biblical study and suggested strictures against clerical ignorance and profligacy, from a Biblical scholar as eminent and influential as Erasmus, would have been sure to please most Reformers of Sidney's day: certainly, Mornay, Gifford, and Greville would have applauded. Though such themes were
recurrent in Erasmus' writings, their prominence in "The Godly Feast" may have heightened Protestant enthusiasm for and estimation of that dialogue.

Also attractive to Protestants would be "The Godly Feast"'s criticism of monastic abuse, clerical greed, and popular superstition within the Roman Church. Opening exchanges refer to "...the very priests and monks themselves, who for the sake of gain usually prefer to live in cities—the most populous cities," as they will yield the largest financial profit (48). Eusebius later opines, "...those who adorn monasteries or churches at excessive cost, when meanwhile so many of Christ's living temples are in danger of starvation, ... and are tortured by want of necessities, seem to me almost guilty of a capital crime" (70), a judgment he proceeds to elaborate and substantiate with examples. Censured as well are the "incredible riches" and "innumerable precious jewels" heaped upon the tomb of St. Thomas in Britain, wealth Eusebius believes would be better bestowed upon the poor (70).

As mentioned in my discussion of the allegorical significance of Kalendar's role in Musidorus' recovery, Erasmus' criticism of clerical corruption was among the most significant reasons for his popularity with Protestants and for his being accounted by many of them as among those who had prepared the way for the Reformation. However, Protestants would cite such instances of abuse and depravity as evidence of the Roman Church's identity as the Church of Antichrist; whereas, Erasmus himself worked for reform within the Church of Rome itself. His steadfast unwillingness to depart from the Church of Rome, however, led to the later charges by Reformers that he refused to acknowledge and act upon the implications of his own writings.

A few other, more minor, similarities between Kalendar and Erasmus in Book 1, while not in any way determinitive in and of themselves, seem worth noting, given the more substantial comparisons between the two for which I have argued above. Kalendar at least twice makes light of the ardency of Strephon and Claius' dedication to Urania and the
transformative power they attribute to their love for her. When, upon receiving a letter from Urania, the pair depart almost immediately, "with short leave-taking . . . . , like men whose hearts disdained all desires but one . . . . , as if the letter had brought wings to make them fly" (13). Kalendar, witnessing their instant reaction to Urania’s message, " . . . quickly guessed and smiled at the matter. . . . " (13). Later, even as he commends to Musidorus Strephon and Claius’ rapid progress in learning, he dismisses as "a sport" hearing how the two "impute" the same "to love, which hath endued their thoughts, say they, with such a strength" (24). Yet, as I argued in my discussion of Strephon and Claius as ideal "pastors" of the clerical variety in Chapter 4, not the shepherd’s zeal, as most critics have assumed, but Kalendar’s levity may be inculpated by the remark. Erasmus’ delight in jest, especially as evidenced even in his religious writings, was commented upon, and frequently censured as inappropriate, by sixteenth-century Protestants and papists alike. His enemies within the Church of Rome, for example, claimed that Erasmus "wrote . . . too much in the spirit of the jester" (Mansfield 49), that he had "alwaies a delight to scoffe at religious matters. . . . " (Mansfield 40), that he was characterized by "a certain lightness of temperament. . . . " (Mansfield 23). Protestant critics, too, charge that Erasmus " . . . sports equivocally with theological subjects. . . . " (Mansfield 84) and " . . . dealt too lightly with the serious business of religion" (Mansfield 119). Luther was particularly harsh and repetitive in voicing this allegation, labelling Erasmus "as a Democritus, an Epicurus, a mocker of Christ" (Phillips 102), " . . . a real Momus [in Greek mythology, the personification of Ridicule]," who "mocks and laughs at everything, at all religion, and even at Christ" (qtd. in Thulin 98) and who "neglects sacred matters to chase jokes. . . . " (qtd in O’Rourke 91).

Foxe records an anecdote in which Erasmus confesses the truth of many of Luther’s accusations against the Church of Rome, yet proceeds immediately—still maintaining his notorious playfulness and wit—to
rebuke as immoderate his style and methods. When Frederick, Elector of Saxony, was called upon by Emperor Maximilian, King Charles of Spain, and Pope Julius to "inhibit Luther from all place and liberty of preaching," the duke first asked counsel of a number of "aged and learned" individuals, including Erasmus. Erasmus, according to Foxe, responded "jestingly and merrily to . . . the duke's request, saying that in Luther were two great faults; first, that he would touch the bellies of monks; the second, that he would touch the pope's crown: which two matters in no case are to be dealt withal." Erasmus continued that, while reformation of the church was desirable and "very necessary" and "the effect of [Luther's] doctrine was true; but only that he wished in him a more temperate moderation and manner of writing and handling," advice that led Duke Frederick shortly thereafter to exhort Luther by letter "to temper the vehemency of his style" (Acts 4:263).

In the New Arcadia the previously quoted remark in which Kalendar rather condescendingly designates as "a sport" Strephon and Claius' ascribing to love of Urania their swift advances in knowledge and wisdom follows immediately upon his praise of their dedication to learning and their lack of preoccupation with financial wealth. Of course, ignorance and greed were two of Erasmus' most oft-repeated charges against the clergy, so that Sidney's shepherds would be acting in accordance with Erasmus' recommendations for clerical reform. While Erasmus was certainly not alone in extending such advice, it would be especially appropriate that Kalendar, as a figure associated with Erasmus elsewhere in Sidney's book, should praise Strephon and Claius' for traits endorsed in his own writings that became crucial to the Protestant clerical ideal (learning and freedom from avarice), then proceed to merrily dismiss as naively overzealous their speedy action in direct response to love for Urania and to the words she sends them. Crucial in this context are the symbolic connections between Urania and the angel of Rev. 10--interpreted by most Protestant commentators of Sidney's day as Christ--that were discussed in
Chapter 4. Kalendar’s voicing of the attributes central to their allegorical function as model clerics readily calls to mind the Protestant recognition that Erasmus’ writings pointed the way to many of their own recommendations for reform. Yet, his sport at their zeal would mirror Erasmus’ bantering censure of Luther’s intemperance in Foxe’s anecdote and suggest the standard Protestant complaint that Erasmus himself ultimately would not act upon or acknowledge the full implications of the accusations he had raised against the Church of Rome.

Just before succumbing to the illness requiring his six-week period of convalescence at Kalendar’s estate, Musidorus delivers his chest “full of most precious stones” to Kalendar so that, in the event of his own death, they may be used to “redeem” Pyrocles from his pirate captors (13). I argued in Chapter 4 that this chest of jewels symbolizes sacred Scripture. Kalendar’s temporary custody of this ark may honor Erasmus’ painstaking labors to purify the Bible from the textual corruptions of the Vulgate. Erasmus travailed untiringly in the hope and belief that improved editions and teaching of the Bible and of the writings of the Church Fathers “would allow what in his estimation would be the greatest blessing of all those offered by the Renaissance: the restoration of biblical theology, liberated from Scholastic accretions and centered once more on what he constantly calls ‘the sources’” (Thompson Colloquies xvii). Of course, this objective was one he shared with (and helped to inspire among) Protestants, who maintained a high level of respect for his editions of and notes to the Bible, as well as patristic texts. Indeed, the brief interval between the 1517 outset of Luther’s public controversies with the Roman Church and Erasmus’ first (1516) edition, with notes, of the New Testament, was used to bolster accusations that Erasmus harbored “Lutheran sympathies” and was responsible for having “laid the egg that Luther hatched . . .” (Thompson Colloquies 464). Consequently, Musidorus’ entrusting of many of his jewels to Kalendar when he departs from his estate to search for Pyrocles (though partly a ploy to
avoid arousing Kalendar's suspicions, by causing him to expect the princes' rapid return (56) may commemorate the lasting contribution of Erasmus' biblical editions to the "Protestant Cause," despite his later, more controversial, stances on church reform. Such commendation may be hinted at by one rationale for Musidorus' delivery of many of the jewels to Kalendar when he departs: to offer the host "honourable thanks . . . for his charge and kindness, which he knew he would no other way receive" (56).

The interpretation of Kalendar's custody of Musidorus' chest of jewels that I have just offered would assign Erasmus' work, especially his Biblical scholarship, a substantial position in the advancement of the True Faith (which to Sidney, though not to Erasmus himself, was practiced within the Protestant Church, by his own time). Sidney's connection of Erasmus to the symbolic chest of jewels, as well as the position assigned to Erasmus (or to one of his central legacies, in contemporary Protestant assessments--his editions of Scripture) in the advancement toward the triumph of Protestantism through Kalendar's position within the New Arcadia's larger allegorical church history, would match fairly closely imagery and implicit order of succession appearing in a painting described in a 1521 report by a papal nuncio. Luther and Ulrich von Hutten on this symbolic canvas, which supposedly adorned the palace of the Elector of Saxony in Germany, convey "an ark of the covenant," with Erasmus, followed by John Huss, walking before them, bearing a harp and singing "Psalms in the manner of King David. . . ." The painting's inscription purportedly read, "The arch-shrine of true faith" (Thulin 56).

The esteem in which Kalendar is held by his neighbors and his position at the center of affairs, with prompt access to information from multiple sources--his being "so much haunted that no news stir but comes to his ears . . ." (9)--might refer to Erasmus' vast international fame and influence and his travels about Europe, with frequent stops at the courts of monarchs and emperors. Theodore Beza commemorates in an early
poem an "...Erasmus about whom the whole world now resounds" (qtd in Mansfield 94). As Craig Thompson observes, Erasmus' "unequaled prestige as the acknowledged spokesman of letters and humanistic learning, and a perplexing but highly significant role in the Reformation brought to Erasmus a degree of fame such as no earlier writer, perhaps, had enjoyed in his own lifetime"; indeed, Erasmus may have been the "leading writer of his time, if we mean by this the writer with the largest international reputation. ..." (Colloquies xiii). The "great goodwill" borne toward Kalendar by the Arcadian prince (9) might suggest Erasmus' fame and influence with monarchs and at the court, perhaps especially during his stay at England and before his positions vis-à-vis Luther and others made him a more controversial figure among Protestants.

Kalendar's advocacy of and association with marriage may suggest Erasmus' numerous and controversial writings "favouring marriage over virginity," which were condemned by the Council of Trent and forbidden on papal indexes (for example, that of 1564) (Mansfield 26-7). Pyrocles, it will be recalled, first falls in love with Philoclea (or her portrait) at Kalendar's estate, where the wedding of Argalus and Parthenia is also celebrated, with Pyrocles and Musidorus as guests. Beholding the bride's beauty incites still further the flames of love kindled in Pyrocles by Philoclea's image, so that he exclaims to Musidorus during the ceremony: "O Jupiter! ... How happens it that beauty is only confined to Arcadia?" (48). The first detail Kalendar supplies Musidorus concerning his only son, Clitophon, is that the latter is away, "preparing for his own marriage which I mean shortly shall be here celebrated" (19-20). The degree to which Kalendar is associated with marriage in the New Arcadia is especially striking when one recalls just how relatively brief his role in that work is.

After the princes depart from his estate, Kalendar by and large fades into the background, playing an insignificant role in the remainder of Book 1 and in Book 2. In Book 3 he appears in only one scene, in which
Basilius calls upon him and Philanax, the counselors in whom he "chiefly trusted" (415), for advice as to how to respond to Cecropia's threat that, if Basilius does not raise the siege of her castle in short order, she will command the heads of Zelmane/Pyrocles, Pamela, and Philoclea to be chopped off "before his eyes" (414). The action of the New Arcadia reveals the counsel Kalendar furnishes his ruler on this occasion to be clearly erroneous and unavailing, though well-intentioned and superficially attractive. This scene, too, may (and I argue below, probably does) criticize Erasmus' positions on church reform, especially after the establishments of national religions by secular rulers created pressure on influential public figures such as Erasmus to take sides in conflicts between Protestants and followers of the papacy. More broadly, Kalendar's misguided advice on this occasion supports my earlier contention that his slighting of Strephon and Claius' devotion to Urania should not, as many critics have supposed, be assumed to reflect Sidney's own estimation of the shepherds' single-minded zeal.

Unfolding events within the New Arcadia's action prove Kalendar's advice to have been invalid and inadequately considered. In sum, Kalendar advises Basilius, "Remove the siege, and after seek by practice or other gentle means to recover that which by force you cannot. . . ." He appeals to the prince primarily as a father, assuming that this one decision will determine whether the princesses "live or die" and asserting his confidence that, as a father, Basilius will already have established as his highest priority that his daughters remain alive (416). The faults underlying Kalendar's implicit assumption that Cecropia will honor her pledge that the three captives will live if, and only if, Basilius' forces are withdrawn are, however, evident from her words and actions both before and after the threat is communicated, as well as from Philanax' opposing counsel to the prince. Because Amphialus has been nearly killed in a battle with Musidorus just before this episode (413), Cecropia has obtained "the government of all things in her own hands" and can control
absolutely her son's knowledge of events both inside and outside the castle (414). She determines in advance of the ultimatum issued to Basilius that if one of the princesses will not consent "to satisfy her son's love," she will "satisfy her own revenge in their punishment"; the conditional threat on their lives is dispatched merely so that she and her grievously wounded son may be "the freer from outward force" and all attention may be devoted to forcing the sisters to yield or face the consequences (414).

After Basilius submits to her blackmail by withdrawing his troops, conditions for the princesses not only do not improve, but they rapidly deteriorate. Disencumbered from external military preoccupations as a result of the Basilians' retreat, Cecropia is enabled to concentrate the full power of her evil mind upon devising new methods to compel the princesses to comply with her demands. Though Kalendar and Basilius apparently do not anticipate this outcome, readers are not surprised; for, as has been evident from her first introduction and we are reminded just at this juncture, Cecropia is "in nature violent; cruel because ambitious; hateful for old-rooted grudge to [the princesses'] mother, and now spiteful because she could not prevail with girls, as she counted them; lastly, . . . held up by a tyrannical authority. . . ." (419). Pursuing "the bias of her own crooked disposition," Cecropia, therefore, begins "to confirm some of her threatened effects," first merely removing all physical comforts in their food and lodging, then attempting to terrorize them with nighttime noises; finally, "resolving all extremities rather than fail of conquest, . . . . at length abominable rage carried her to absolute tyrannies": she sets a pack of malicious "old women" to physically torment the princesses (419-20). With the external threat having been willfully removed by Basilius and with Amphialus confined to his bed--so that she no longer need worry about maintaining even the appearance of good intentions--Cecropia rapidly comes "not only to desire the fruit of punishing" Pamela and Philoclea, "but even to delight in the
punishing them" (421). As a consequence, the princesses are "brought to the uttermost distress that an enemy’s heart could wish, or a woman’s spite invent, Cecropia daily in one or other sort punishing them still with her evil torments, giving them fear of worse, making the fear itself the sorriest torment of all. . . ." (423). Most directly of all, Cecropia reveals her utter disregard for the conditions by which she induced Basilius to remove his troops when, just before her death, she "confessed with most desperate but not repenting mind the purpose she had to empoison the princesses--and would then have had them murthered," except that her subjects, happily confident of her imminent death, "left obedience to her tyranny," so that none will execute her sinister design (440). Of course, the small probability that Cecropia planned to uphold her pledge not to murder the princesses if the siege were withdrawn was argued by Philanax, against Kalendar’s advice, in advance of Basilius’ decision to do so (416-8); typically, however, the Arcadian prince disregards Philanax’ wise counsel, the soundness of which is confirmed by subsequent events.

The Basilian party’s position relative to that of Cecropia and Amphialus’ forces likewise plummets as a consequence of the prince’s acting in accordance with Kalendar’s advice. Just before Cecropia’s ultimatum impels Basilius to remove his siege of her castle, the standing of the Arcadian ruler’s side had been bolstered notably by the grievous injuries suffered by the opposing party’s two preeminent warriors and leaders, Amphialus and Anaxius. Between the wounding of these key figures and the issuing of Cecropia’s threat, Basilius and Philanax had seized the opportunity to fortify and strengthen their siege (413). With the commander, Amphialus, "drawing near death’s kingdom" (423) and military affairs having been entrusted to the brutishly strong but feebleminded Zoilus and Lycurgus (413), the Basilian forces might have hoped for an advantageous breakthrough in the battles; instead, "rid of the present danger of the siege," Cecropia sees to the "revictualling and furnishing
the city both with men and what else wanted, against any new occasion should urge them. . ." (418).

Of course, Kalendar's advice is not the only or even the primary factor motivating Basilius' decision to withdraw the siege. Just after Kalendar and Philanax present the prince with their opposing recommendations, Gynecia rushes in and, falling at her husband's feet, implores him to raise the siege rather than risk having Cecropia carry out her threats upon the captives' lives. Basilius, labelled by the narrator "otherwise enough tender-minded," readily consents to her adjuration. Sidney makes it clear that Basilius' decision and Gynecia's desire to lift the siege are actuated above all by unprincely, because merely personal, considerations. In the minds of Basilius and Gynecia, the estate of Pyrocles/Zelmane—the unrespondent object of both their passionate longings—figures more prominently than concern for the safety of their own daughters, the heiresses of the Arcadian monarchy. Basilius agrees to the withdrawal, partly because he believes the siege, given Cecropia's ultimatum, "dangerous to his daughters"; yet, he is pronounced by the narrator "indeed, more careful for Zelmane, by whose besieged person the poor old man was straitly besieged. . . ." Upon making the decision, the king departs rapidly, according to the narrator, "to rid him of the famine of his mind . . ." and to receive "counsel how first to deliver Zelmane. . ." (418; emphasis added). Basilius' mind is dominated by thoughts of Pyrocles/Zelmane's physical "person," as it has been since Book 1; consequently, he refuses to prioritize the larger, public concerns of which Philanax attempts to remind him. The Arcadian ruler's Reason is, to employ the common Renaissance metaphor, "captive" to his lower passions, a point emphasized by Sidney's repetition of the word besieged, applied the second time to modify Basilius himself, though he is, of course, not literally imprisoned or surrounded by an army. Especially given the Protestant allegory for which I have been arguing throughout this dissertation and Basilius' obvious subjection to his own sexual desires in
the scene, the phrase "old man" in this context may carry some of its Pauline suggestions of "unregenerate"; at any rate, this choice of terms to describe a king suggests little narratorial respect for the Arcadian monarch, a judgment reinforced by the narrator's subsequent reference to Basilius' intellectual "famine."

In entreaty her husband to withdraw his forces in compliance with Cecropia's blackmail, Gynecia, likewise, is swayed first and foremost not by solicitude for the Arcadian commonweal but by her own passionate desire for Pyrocles/Zelmane, as the narrator's phraseology underscores. Hastening to Basilius' feet with her entreaty, the queen is "amazed for her daughter Pamela--but mad for Zelmane..." (418). Significantly, no concern for the fate of her other daughter, Philoclea, is mentioned: the jealousy that supplants Gynecia's "natural maternal" love for her younger daughter once she realizes that that daughter is alone beloved of Pyrocles/Zelmane is here evident, as it has been on numerous prior occasions. The narrator's comments that the queen is "mad for Zelmane" and that she can appeal to the king only with gestures, not verbally (418), emphasize that she, like her husband, acts irrationally, on the basis of her lust for Pyrocles, rather than rational recognition of her moral and monarchical responsibilities to the larger public good.

Though Basilius, therefore, raises the siege primarily as a result of his wife's and his own private yearnings, the accord between Kalendar's advice and their desires underscores the fact that Kalendar, too, demonstrates an inadequate care for or consideration of the well-being of the greater community, which he is only too ready to sacrifice for the sake of a few individuals. This point is highlighted by the contrast between the juxtaposed speeches of Kalendar and Philanax, with the former appealing to his king as a father only, without reference to the fate of society at large. Philanax, by contrast, counsels Basilius as "a prince--and a father--of people, who ought with the eye of wisdom, the hand of fortitude, and the heart of justice to set down all private conceits in
comparison of what, for the public, is profitable" (418). Sidney emphasizes, however, that Kalendar, like Basilius and Gynecia, errs not only in his lack of concern for the public good, but also, as was discussed earlier, in the belief that the estates of the captives will be improved by withdrawal of the siege, which rests upon the mistaken assumption that Cecropia may be trusted to uphold the terms of the agreement she proffers. A number of previous critics of the New Arcadia have noted Cecropia's generally Satanic nature, and my next chapter argues that Cecropia is associated allegorically with the papacy and with Antichrist. The narrator's remark that, upon deciding to comply with his evil sister-in-law's threat, Basilius dispatches "diverse messengers to traffic with Cecropia" (418) on terms for release of the prisoners therefore likely suggests the sort of Faustian Satanic bargaining that Protestant hard-liners ascribed to reform efforts that they believed underestimated the Church of Rome's Antichristian identity or that allowed too many "remnants" of the popish "church of Antichrist" within their own church. The word traffic was often used "with sinister or evil connotation" in the Renaissance and afterwards, to designate "dealing or bargaining in something which should not be made the subject of trade." Greville uses the term to refer to compromises of religious integrity arising from "worldly" considerations. In A Treatise of Religion, he writes: "...when our spirituall lights, which truth expound / Once to this traffique of mans will descend, / With chaines of truth mankinde no more is bound, / Whereby their harts should up to heaven ascend..." (st. 27; emphasis added). This "traffique of mans will" characterizes practitioners of the "worlds Religion," which is "meere hypocrisie," and in which "Witte ... is preist, who sacrifice doth make / Of all in heaven or earth to" desires "borne of wit and lust..." (st. 24-5). Greville's metaphor of the sacrificing priest and reference to hypocrisy would have caused contemporary Protestants to associate the worldly religion being described, whose idolatry Greville underscores, primarily
with the Roman Church. He later contrasts the world's traffic to that of its Creator: "The world doth build without, our God within; / He traffiques goodnesse, and she traffiques sinne" (st. 98). Again, the "world" in its context here clearly refers to the Church of Rome: the external "building" of sin's trafficker repeats the metaphor of stanza 93, in which "The vanitie of Romes o're-built foundation" is indicted, and Rome is repeatedly associated with "the world" and worldliness in Greville's poetry. In a passage that will figure importantly in my next chapter, Greville reports that Sidney warned "German Princes" encountered during the mission in which he served as an ambassador to Emperor Rudolph II that the Reformed faith was endangered "hourely" by a "fatall conjunction of Rome's undermining superstitions, with the commanding forces of Spain," a threat that would initially proceed not by "open war by Proclamation; but craftily (from the infusion of Rome) to enter first by invisible traffique of souls; filling peoples minds with apparitions of holines, specious Rites, Saints, Miracles, . . . cursings of Heretiques, Thunder-bolts of Excommunication under the authority of their Mother Church" (Life 42-3; emphasis to traffique added).

My next chapter argues that Cecropia's son, Amphialus, is linked allegorically to the merely "half-reformed" Elizabethan national church; this point, too, would tell against Kalendar, who plans in his later counsel to persuade Basilius to marry his daughter to Amphialus (416). Even without an allegorical reading, readers may readily discern that Kalendar's advice runs counter to the designs of Providence. When Basilius later in Book 3 sends Philanax for advice from Apollo's oracle at Delphi, "the spirit that possessed the prophesying woman with a sacred fury attended not his demand, but, as if it would argue him of incredulity, told him not in dark, wonted speeches, but plainly to be understood," before Philanax could even pose the question, that Basilius should be informed that his daughters are "reserved for such as were better beloved of the gods [than are Anaxius and his brothers]" (457).
Even readers not familiar with the tangled series of events through which the marriages of Pamela and Philoclea to Musidorus and Pyrocles in the *Old Arcadia* are revealed to be destined by Providence will have few doubts but that the "beloved of the gods" referred to by Apollo's prophetess are the two princely cousins who are also the princesses' only romantic interests. The marriage between Philoclea and Amphialus that Kalendar intends to counsel clearly resists a plan that is, as Philanax soon learns, "by the celestial providence directed" (458).

Kalendar's advice that Basilius endeavor to remedy the conflict with Cecropia and Amphialus "by practice or other gentle means" rather than by open force and continued military siege (416) may, given the previous parallels between Kalendar and Erasmus for which I have argued, allude to Erasmus' frequent pleas for public accord and compromise in contemporary religious disputes. In 1523, for instance, he urged, "The sum and substance of our religion is peace and concord. . . . we do not know how to yield once a question has been made a subject of contention" (*Christian Humanism* 190). Such positions, along with the just-discussed implicit demonstration that his planned recommendation for Philoclea to marry Amphialus is antithetical to the designs of Providence, may suggest criticism by Luther and some other Protestants that Erasmus was too willing to compromise with the papacy for the sake of maintaining external tranquility and (at least the appearance of) unity.

In the *Bondage of the Will*, Luther, for example, charges that Erasmus has trivialized doctrinal disputes between the two men on essential issues such as free will, making them seem "of much less value than your precious external peace" (Rupp and Watson 127). Luther accuses Erasmus of attempting to use his "magisterial advice" to convince Luther and his followers "that, as a favor to pontiffs and princes or for the sake of peace, we ought if occasion arises, to give way and set aside the most sure Word of God." In advocating this stance, Erasmus, according to Luther, reveals that he rates "outward peace and quietness" more highly
"than faith, conscience, salvation, the glory of Christ and God himself" and has neglected Christ’s exhortation "that we should rather spurn the whole world (Matt. 16:26)!" (128). Though Luther himself acknowledges being "moved by" contemporary "tumults" within Christendom, in which he has played no small role, he is quite willing, "when nothing else can be done, . . . to be battered by temporal tumult, rejoicing in the grace of God, for the sake of the Word of God, which must be asserted with an invincible and incorruptible mind. . . ." (128). Indeed, Luther indicts Erasmus for failing to recognize "that it is the most unvarying fate of the Word of God to have the world in a state of tumult because of it," as evidenced in Christ’s pronouncements, "'I have not come to bring peace, but a sword' (Matt. 10:34), and in Luke: 'I came to cast fire upon the earth' (ch.12:49)" (129).

Consequently, as Kalendar’s advice is shown in the New Arcadia to be at odds with divine oracles, so, Luther charges, Erasmus’ efforts to arrest commotions within Christendom in their times "is nothing else but to wish to suppress and prohibit the Word of God," which "comes, whenever it comes, to change and renew the world." Even "heathen writers," Luther continues, acknowledge "that changes of things cannot take place without commotion and tumult, nor indeed without bloodshed" (129). While Erasmus’ writings frequently bemoan "the loss of peace and concord" within the church, he is, according to Luther "rowing against the stream," since "this tumult has arisen and is directed from above, and it will not cease till it makes all the adversaries of the Word like the mud on the streets" (129-30). In the absence of worldly "tumults," Luther himself would fear "that the Word of God was not in the world"; the evident turbulence of his own times, by contrast, delights him as evidence "that the kingdom of the pope, with all his followers, is going to collapse": it is against the latter group, he asserts, "in particular that the Word of God, now at large in the world, is directed" (129). My next chapter argues that such a collapse constitutes one allegorical signification of Cecropia’s fall to
death just after the dawn scene in Book 3, suggesting that, like Luther, Sidney viewed the triumph of Protestantism as having been divinely ordained. The opposition between the counsel of Kalendar and Apollo’s oracle in the New Arcadia, on the one hand, and (in Luther’s assessment) between Erasmus’ position in debates on church reform and the present tendency of the Word of God in their society, on the other, may have seemed even more strikingly analogous to a humanistically educated writer like Sidney, since authors of Renaissance religious treatises, steeped as many of them were in classical studies, not seldom refer to Scripture metaphorically as God’s divine “oracles” (though, of course the two sources were not considered in any way comparable in reliability).

Kalendar’s prompt assent to Cecropia’s demand that Philoclea marry Amphialus, against the princess’s own evident desires, may pertain to the assumption of Luther and others that Erasmus “always willingly submit [his] personal feelings” to the Church’s “decrees . . . , whether [he] grasp what it prescribes or not” (105). Luther, by contrast, asserts that the Church’s decrees must be judged by the decrees of Scripture, which, in cases of conflict (as, in the allegorical analogue for which I have been arguing, when Cecropia’s exaction clearly conflicts with the injunction of the divine oracle), must be the higher authority. Unlike Erasmus, Scripture does not, Luther continues, require humans (“men”) to display “uncritical submission” to merely human (even if papal) ordinances (108). As Kalendar so speedily advises Basilius to acquiesce to Cecropia’s blackmail primarily because of the dangers her threats pose to the princesses’ lives, so, according to Luther’s imputation, Erasmus, “in case of danger to life, reputation, property, and goodwill,” considers it “permissible” to consent to whatever the established church requires, “to act like the fellow [in Terence’s Eunuchus] who said, ‘Say they yea, yea say I; say they nay, nay say I. . .’” (108).

Also revealing the incongruity between Kalendar’s advice to his prince and biblical precepts are Kalendar’s assumptions about death. He
tells Basilius of his daughters: "...worse by no means, than their deaths, can befall unto you" (416). Scripture, by contrast, views Death's own ultimate demise as having been assured by Christ's triumph on Calvary, so that Paul may jeer at Mortality: "O death, where is thy sting! O grave where is thy victorie!" (1 Cor. 15:55). Within the *New Arcadia*, Philoclea, her sentiment characteristically correspondent to that of the Gospel, voices a nearly identical (and even verbally similar) verdict: "Art thou so terrible, O death?" (430). The militant positions of Sidney, Mornay, and a number of other writers connected with the Leicester circle, discussed in my opening chapter on Protestant Revelation commentaries, suggest as well that, like Luther and unlike Kalendar, they may have been willing to accept warfare (and the resultant bloodshed) as a possible consequence (and even as a sign) of the momentous, transforming power of the Word within Christendom in their era.

My argument on the implications of Sidney's presentation of Kalendar for his appraisal of Erasmus' contribution to contemporary efforts to purify and reform Christian worship and institutions may now be summarized and concluded. Erasmus' singularly influential role in increasing public awareness of clerical greed, ignorance, and corruption is recognized and commended through Kalendar's crucial function in restoring Musidorus to health. Yet, Kalendar's jesting at the zeal of Strephon and Claius' love for Urania, his anti-Providential advice to Basilius in Book 3, and, most of all, the discrepancy between his own conduct and priorities and those of Eusebius, a character of Erasmus' own creation—all of these, I have argued, suggest that Sidney indict the historical Erasmus according to what Bruce Mansfield has succinctly summarized as "...the continuing Protestant Reformed grievance against Erasmus—he saw the right road but was too fearful to follow it" (99).26 Luther, for instance, writes that he, as Erasmus advises in *Freedom of the Will*, aims at nothing "but that the simplicity and purity of Christian doctrine may prevail, while the things that have been invented and introduced alongside of it by men be

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abandoned and disregarded?" Yet, he continues, Erasmus fails to follow his own advice, "but rather the opposite: you write diatribes, you exalt the decrees of the popes, you boast of the authority of men, and you make every attempt to sidetrack us into things irrelevant and foreign to the Holy Scriptures, . . . so that we may corrupt and confound the simplicity and genuineness of Christian godliness with man-made accretions" (Rupp and Watson 152). The complaint summarized by Mansfield and exemplified by Luther's charge might, ironically, be intimated in the New Arcadia by Kalendar's remark in the hunting scene, " . . . oft it falls out that while one thinks too much of his doing, he leaves to do the effect of his thinking" (53).
1. For example, he appears on Bullinger’s list of individuals identified with the “two witnesses” of Rev. 11 (151’). John Foxe cites his scholarship as evidence for the revival of learning and the restoration of Scripture to its rightful, central position in the Church figured by the little book that the angel of Rev. 10 presents to St. John (Firth 103-4).

2. Skretkowicz’s commentary on Musidorus’ response explains that, in Xenophon’s Cyropaedia, “ Cyrus was disgusted by the excessive eating habits of the Medes...” and that a trencher-man is a “cook” (514).


4. See Devereux on political uses of English translations of Erasmus’ works to influence popular opinion on contemporary controversies. See also Craig R. Thompson’s “Erasmus and Tudor England.”

5. See Eire 28-53 on the “clear line” to be “traced between Erasmus and the Reformed tradition” regarding worship. Eire observes that, while “...Erasmus, the sardonic pacifist, could not stomach the ‘virusulence’ of Protestant iconoclasts, he was at heart in agreement with some of their basic assumptions regarding worship”: Erasmus’ “primitivism, biblicism, and, above all, his spiritualism deeply affected a whole generation of younger humanists, many of whom later became ardent enemies of Roman Catholic worship” (28, 52).

6. Qtd. in Uhlig 99. The opinion would be in keeping with a long humanistic tradition, extending from Seneca to John of Salisbury, Erasmus, and Sir Thomas More, that associated such bloodshed, when undertaken solely for pleasure, with cruelty, depravity, and tyranny, as Uhlig’s article demonstrates.

7. I will argue on a later occasion that Pyrocles’ abandonment of the hunt (and his simultaneous departure from Kalendar’s household) signify his exit from the Church of Rome, marking him as an allegorical Protestant.

8. Claus Uhlig summarizes the humanistic criticism of hunters as being godless and its biblical justification (which Luther seems to draw upon in this passage): since Nimrod was "a stout hunter before the Lord" (Genesis 10:9), writers in the tradition of John of Salisbury argued, "...tyranny, initiated by a huntsman to insult the Creator, finds its sole source in one who, amid the slaughter of beasts, wallowing in blood, learned to feel contempt for the Lord" (91). Protestants, of course, frequently charged the papacy with tyranny.

9. He observes that, "in the commending of folly," Erasmus "had another foundation than the superficial part would promise" (Defence 49-50).

10. See the examples in my discussion of Dametas and my note there to Dewey Wallace’s discussion of this point in his article on Gifford.

11. See also King English 280-1, 312-5.
12. See, for example, Allen 173, and Prescott's "Thirsty Deer" 47-52, 61, 68. Thiébaux's reference to the "medieval figure of Christ as the transpierced stag" (46) raises interesting possibilities about the significance of Kalendar's killing of the stag with "a crossbow."

13. Erasmus' Epistle concerning the verye of the Sacrament of Christes body and blood was published in its English translation in 1538. The work has been labelled one of Erasmus' "most orthodox productions," recommending from its opening "the example of Berengarius in submitting to the judgement of the Catholic Church on the question of the Eucharist" (McConica 176).

14. I chose not to use Chaloner's translation throughout because it has been suggested that he toned down Erasmus' criticism of hunting elsewhere in his rendering of Folio "out of regard for the political situation under Edward VI." (Uhlig 94).

15. Elizabeth herself killed "at least half a dozen deer" during her stay at Kenilworth. Sidney is listed as having killed one deer at that time, yet as Duncan-Jones observes, "It was probably politically essential that Leicester's heir made such public displays of his 'manhood.'" One is not, however, "obliged to believe that he enjoyed doing so" (Courtier 94-95).

16. Though Gascoigne was employed by Leicester, he was also, interestingly, a "kinsman" of Sidney's rival, the Earl of Oxford (Duncan-Jones Courtier 48).

17. See also Luther's remarks in Table Talk 78, 136, and 312 and Mansfield 51.

18. Kalendar's pronounced classicism (which is particularly evident during the period in which he helps to rehabilitate Musidorus and, as is discussed below, to reinforce Pyrocles' interest in love and marriage) may, though, also relate to Protestant recognition of another, more indirect, means by which Erasmus' work eventually helped to advance their own "Cause": in the first decades of the sixteenth century "...many were provoked by Erasmus's learned works to study the Greek and Latin tongues; who, having thus opened to them a more pleasant sort of learning than before, began to have in contempt the monks' barbarous and sophistical learning; and especially such as were of liberal nature and good disposition" (Foxe Acts 4:262).

19. See also Mansfield 51.

20. Elsewhere, addressing Erasmus, Luther wrote: "You breathe out on me the vast drunken folly of Epicurus" (qtd. in O'Rourke 68); Erasmus' colloquy "Epicurus" (1535) responds to this charge (O'Rourke 68). See also Table Talk 81, 68, and 50.

21. See, for example, Thompson's "Erasmus and Tudor England," 64-5, 41-2, 44, and 46. Also influential in Tudor England, of course, were Erasmus' Paraphrases of the New Testament (with the interesting exception of Revelation, whose canonicity and authorship by John the Evangelist Erasmus questioned) (Thompson "Erasmus" 50-6; Firth 8).

22. This point is argued at length by Martin Luther Bergbusch 137-40.
23. Ake Bergvall (117-8) discusses Sidney's use in Book 3 of imprisonment as a metaphor for the "inability to break the fetters of cliches that bind" those captive to and deluded by "Petrarchan" stereotypes about romantic love. A. C. Hamilton labels the "besieged castle" the "central metaphor of Book III," pointing to the importance of the traditional imagery of the body as castle (Sidney 160).

24. OED, definition 2d. The earliest example cited in the second edition of the OED is from 1663.

25. See OED no. 4.

26. See Mansfield, 65-114, on the characteristically mixed, positive as well as negative, Protestant evaluations of Erasmus and on trends in Protestant assessments of Erasmus during the course of the sixteenth century.
Chapter 6

Cecropia, Amphialus, and the Church of Antichrist

This chapter begins a discussion, to be continued in my next chapter, of means by which Sidney uses the characters Cecropia and Amphialus in Book 3 to comment upon issues of church reform. Both Cecropia and Amphialus are new to the revised Arcadia, as are nearly all dimensions of the work that make of it an apocalyptic allegory centrally concerned with issues of church history and church reform. Briefly, I argue in this chapter that through Amphialus’ characterization, especially through the techniques by which he attempts, unsuccessfully, to woo Philoclea, Sidney criticizes the Church of England as remaining merely “half-reformed.” Amphialus’ mother, Cecropia, is associated with the papal church by a tale she relates to her son about their family history at the outset of the “captivity episode” in Book 3. Sidney’s descriptions of the methods by which Pamela, Philoclea, and Pyrocles are kidnapped suggest that Cecropia and her agents so easily succeed in abducting the three precisely because they are permitted to remain exposed to too many practices and ceremonies that conservatives may have been willing to accept as “indifferent” but that more radical reformers criticized as remnants of the popish “church of Antichrist” within the Church of England.

Edwin Greenlaw and Martin N. Raitiere have discussed at length parallels between Cecropia and Catherine de Medici and between their sons Amphialus and Francois d’Anjou et d’Alençon. I agree that Sidney establishes such correspondences; I simply wish to suggest that he uses these characters to comment in a more general manner upon contemporary
religious disputes as well. Indeed, it should not be surprising that Sidney might link a single character to both Catherine de Medici (whom he designated “that Jezabel of our age” Works 3: 52.) and the Church of Rome. Sidney, of course, famously opposed the possible marriage of Queen Elizabeth to Alençon. The argument in his tactful yet outspoken letter advising the queen against the marriage is based largely on religious grounds, with Sidney posing early in his epistolary address that Elizabeth’s subjects “are divided into two mighty factions & factions bound upon the never ending knott of religion.” The side constituting her “chefe, if not sole, strenght,” are those to whom her “happy governement hath granted the free exercise of the eternal truth” (i.e. the Protestants). The hearts of these faithful subjects would be “galed, if not alienated” to see her take as a husband Alençon; indeed, “all the truely religious” would “abhorre such a master,” not only because he is “a frenchman & a papist,” brother and son to perpetrators of the Bartholomew Day massacre, but still more specifically because he personally has demonstrated his unfaithfulness by breaking his promise to and betraying the loyalty of the Huguenots, by whom he “had his liberty & principall estate,” when he sacked towns in which the Protestants had been granted refuge (3: 52).1

Despite past observations of the Cecropia-Amphialus and Catherine de Medici-Alencon parallels, and despite the connections between papism and the French mother and son in Sidney’s letter to the queen, however, few Sidney critics have considered the possibility that Sidney through his characterizations of Cecropia and Amphialus comments upon contemporary religious disputes.2 Symbolic links between Cecropia and the Church of Rome are most apparent in a family history she discloses to her son, Amphialus, at the outset of the “captivity episode” in Book 3, just after informing him of the kidnappings and her motives in ordering them. This family history (317-9, p444-6), when compared to polemical Protestant criticisms of the Roman Church by Sidney’s contemporaries, allegorically

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connects Cecropia quite clearly to the establishment, practices, rise, and
decline of that church in England. Cecropia confides that her father, the
king of Argos, had consented to a marriage between herself and Basilius' 
brother because, with Basilius, at nearly sixty years of age, still
"protesting his bachelorly intention," his only brother was considered Arcadia's "undoubted successor." Cecropia and her father had consented to 
the marriage with this unnamed brother only because he possessed "place 
and estimation as heir of Arcadia, . . . for else, you may be sure, the 
king of Argos, nor his daughter, would have suffered their royal blood to 
be stained with the base name of subjection. . . ." Basilius' brother 
evidently rivaled Cecropia in pride, being, according to his widow, 
"indeed a man worthy to reign, thinking nothing enough for himself. . . ." 
Cecropia actually perceives her former husband as having merited 
sovereignty because of his arrogance and rapacity for personal power.

Upon her arrival in Arcadia as "apparent princess," Cecropia 
maintained the "port and pomp" that, according to her, befitted "a king of 
Argos' daughter." She recounts with relish her effects upon the Arcadian 
women: "In my presence, their tongues were turned into ears, and their 
ears were captives unto my tongue. Their eyes admired my majesty; and 
happy was he or she on whom I would suffer the beams thereof to fall." 
Not only did the inhabitants of her adopted country adore Cecropia, but, 
according to her account, the gods themselves required her presence to be 
worshipped properly: "Did I go to church? It seemed the very gods waited 
for me, their devotions not being solemnized till I was ready." The 
"principal persons" of Arcadia who crowd about the gate of her home 
endeavor to purchase her favor, being "glad if their presents had received 
a grateful acceptation." Even decades later, she revels in rehearsing the 
attention she received when walking abroad: "... my walking was the 
delight itself, for to it was the concourse, one thrusting upon another 
who might show himself most diligent and serviceable towards me. . . ."
The king of Argos' role as a figure for the papacy becomes apparent when Cecropia's account of the populace's fascination with her and of her position in the limelight is considered alongside passages such as the similar report of Pornopolis ("whore city," i.e. Rome, or the "whore of Babylon") in John Foxe's Christus Triumphans (an apocalyptic "tragedy" with the last act omitted in the belief that Christ must provide the catastrophe to all action at the Second Coming, as I argue in my second chapter that the New Arcadia may very well be as well). Pornopolis delineates (from the Protestant perspective of Foxe and his audience) the superstitious awe purposely instilled within the laity for high-level clergy of the "Babylonian" Romish church, by that church's "traditions," as well as its reliance upon external displays, such as the vestments, and ritual: "As I was leaving my gates to come to you, it seemed a good idea to take the main street. As soon as I was seen there, people crowded all around me as if I were a god. The forum and all the streets were blocked by the mob. They stood in wonderment." Like Cecropia, Pornopolis glories in her power to command public attention as she promenades through the city streets. Upholders of Foxe's representative of the Babylonian Whore inform the people that she is "...the Ecclesia of almighty God, bride of the lamb, supporter of truth." Upon hearing this claim, evidently without further scrutiny, the people, as Pornopolis recalls with satisfaction, "Then and there... all fell down and adored me exceedingly" (Two Latin 328-9). "Mob" veneration of both Cecropia and Pornopolis is presented as resulting largely from skillful exhibition of exterior spectacle and splendour. The "port and pomp" by means of which Cecropia captures the limelight, both in church and on the streets, recollect Pornopolis' exclamation, upon first returning from her walk: "...how delightful this form and splendor is!" (327), as well as her displacement of the deity as the center of the people's attention, as indicated in her previously quoted remark that the mob "crowded all around me as if I were a god." Like that of Pornopolis, Cecropia's vainglorious boasts of the
wonder she elicits among the people merely by strolling the city streets implicitly criticizes, I believe, what John Bale labeled the "presumption, pride, and ambition" of the Romish clergy as ". . . they sought the highest places in the synagogues, and salutations of reverence in the streets" (Select 355).

Cecropia's boast that the gods' "devotions" are dependent upon her presence and preparedness echoes Protestant charges that the Roman churches' emphasis upon clerical intervention debases the all-sufficient satisfaction wrought by Christ's crucifixion: Bale, for instance, charges that, in requiring its members to "believe under pains of death and damnation" that its masses constitute "satisfactory sacrifices, profiting both the quick and the dead," the Church of Rome makes of Christ "an unsufficient Saviour without their daily doings" (Select 393). Protestant deprecations of the schemes by which the papacy had usurped temporal power are also suggested by Cecropia's deliberate positioning of herself to gain authority in Arcadia through an expedient marriage to its apparent heir. Perhaps also satirized is the Pope's bid to further enlarge his secular perogatives, against those of the Germanic emperors and other political leaders, by proclaiming "Himself as heyre apparent to the Empire of right, / Whereto he hath persuaded kinges, and men of eche degree. . . ." (Kirchmeyer 404). Basilius, the Arcadian king, willingly assented to the arrangement through which Cecropia acquired her prestige and sway in his land, as European monarchs had for centuries by and large willingly submitted themselves to the papacy's subjugation.

Additional details within the allegorical family history in which Cecropia is on one level connected to the papal church in England allude to the crest, then sudden fall and steady decline, of the papacy's power in England. Amphialus was, his mother assures him, born into such "felicity" that "the very earth submitt[ed] itself unto thee to be trodden on, as by his prince. . . ." Yet, her husband, the heir apparent, while their son, Amphialus, was still young, died suddenly, "when he breathed
nothing but power and sovereignty" (318, p. 445). His death marks a sudden plummet in the papacy's prestige and dominion within England, perhaps with Henry VIII's declaration of himself as the Supreme Head of the Church of England. Yet, for as long as the people's "expectation" of Amphialus' "succession did bind dependencies" to herself and her son, Cecropia remained hopeful that her son would know "the sweetness of authority." Her continued hopes may allude to the continuation of primarily conservative positions on religious doctrine and church ritual during most of Henry's reign, even after the Acts of Succession and Royal Supremacy (1534), so that even though the pope's personal authority no longer prevailed, papist assumptions and modes of worship remained prevalent within the Church of England. When, however, Basilius in his old age married Gynecia and the two—in what Cecropia labels "the grief of grieves"—produced immediate heirs to the throne (Pamela and Philoclea), "all hope of" Amphialus' succession was "cut off" and with it his mother's sway over the Arcadian people. As she laments, "...the guess of my mind could prevail more before than, now, many of my earnest requests"; the "multitude of followers" thronging her gate was replaced by "silence"; and Amphialus became "by the fickle multitude, no more than an ordinary person born of the mud of the people, regarded" (318-9, p. 446). Still, though, Cecropia has continued to plot against the Arcadian royal family, for example, through her release of the ravenous bear and lion upon them in Book 1 and the riot instigated by her agent Clinias in Book 2, schemes to which Cecropia admits only during this family history, so that the various characteristics tying her to the papacy are presented to readers within a short interval, reinforcing one another. Cecropia's intrigues against the Arcadian monarch refer in all probability to the widespread belief that the papacy plotted against Protestant sovereigns, such as Queen Elizabeth. Cecropia's remark that, just before her husband's death, his "virtue by my good help within short time brought it, with a plot we laid, as we should not have needed to have waited the tedious work of a natural end of
Basilius" suggests repeated Protestant accusations that the papacy had often resorted to murder as part of its schemes to usurp power from secular political rulers. Protestant charges that the papacy viewed even God as a rival whose rightful preeminence it coveted may be indicated by Cecropia’s attribution of her husband’s death to "the heavens, . . . envying my great felicity" (318). The previously mentioned extravagant pride of Cecropia, her father, and her husband, along with her husband’s unhesitating willingness to poison his brother to advance his own personal power, is in keeping with Protestant characterizations of the pope as "... the king of pride; that he is Lucifer, which preferreth himself before his brethern. . ." (John Jewel, qtd. in Christianson 32).

Cecropia’s name may relate to accusations by Reformers that papal authority and many of the Roman church’s traditions resulted from its own "inventions" rather than Scriptural injunctions. Because Cecrops, the first Athenian king, was said to have sprung from the earth, the city’s residents could “boast that they were autochtonus, that is, were not descended from any invaders of Attica.” As would befit a figure whom I am suggesting Sidney uses as an emblem for the self-sufficient pride that characterizes his villainess, Cecropia, King Cecrops names the city he founds Cecropia, after himself (Morford and Lenardon 376). Like Milton’s Sin and like Spenser’s Error, one of whose many associations is with the Roman Church, as I am arguing is the case with Cecropia as well, the classical King Cecrop’s lower body is shaped like a serpent. As critics have often observed, Sidney, unlike Spenser, does not create within his fiction supernatural monsters with physical characteristics that directly signify allegorical qualities. Yet, Cecrops’ serpentine physical appearance, together with his boasts of autonomy, fits well with the Satanic nature Sidney critics have long recognized in Cecropia.®

An additional explanation for Sidney’s decision to name his villainess, whom I am arguing he links allegorically to the papacy, after the mythical founder of Athens may be a detail common to this king’s story
and to that of the second beast of Rev. 13, which has two horns like a
lamb, but speaks like the dragon—a figure of Antichrist as false prophet
that Protestant commentators associated with the papacy. The earliest
Athenian king was said to have arisen or originated from the earth.
Similarly, St. John beholds the beast in Rev. 13:11 "comming up out of the
earth. . . ." While this phrase would not necessarily have to refer to
the beast's origins in the earth, Protestant commentators in Sidney's time
commonly assume that it does so, linking the detail to the papacy's lowly
and obscure, as opposed to divine, inception. The 1560 Geneva Bible gloss
to the verse typically cautions that, while Christ's kingdom originates in
heaven and draws humans thereto, "... the Popes kingdom is of the earth
& leadeth to perdition, & is begonne, & established by ambition,
covetousnes, beastelines, craft, treason & tyrannie." Gifford interprets
the verse as having been deliberately furnished by the Holy Ghost to
counter the pope's boasts that his power derives from heaven, having been
bestowed by Christ upon Peter and thence, "by succession" upon himself.
Gifford moves beyond his initial generalization that all things springing
from earth are "vile, base, and contemptible" to connect the image of the
beast ascending from the earth to the papacy's origins in misguided human
"inventions" and desires, and ultimately, from Satanic inspiration: "... .
... this beast is bred and springeth from the sensualitie of man, and from
the very divell of hell." Satan's role in hatching the papacy, here
symbolized by the earthly beast, is implied, according to Gifford, by
James 3:15, which joins the "earthly, sensual, and divellish," as
"agreeing in one." (255-6). Bullinger similarly explicates Rev. 13:11 as
proof that "papistrie" derives its authority not from Christ or his
doctrine (from heaven) "but commeth out of the earth: ... to witte, of
evil meanes, ambition, avarice, treason and crueltie" (176°). Fulke, too,
cites the beast's earthly origins as evidence of its allegorical import:
the monster signifies to him "the popishe clergie, whiche indeavour with
all there strength, to maintayne the dignitie of there Pope," for each was
"borne out of the earth, that is, of a moste base and obscure beginning to the setting forthe of the kingdome of Antichrist" (87').

The imagery of the papacy as a monstrous beast arising, Cecrops-like, from the earth and of dubious and Satanic origins appears even in Protestant attacks upon the institution other than commentary upon Rev. 13:11, although the pattern of apocalyptic imagery throughout much of the New Arcadia for which I have been arguing make that context particularly relevant. Thomas Kirchmeyer, in a work translated into English by Barnabe Googe in 1570 as The Popishe Kingdome or Reigne of Antichrist, speculates, for example, that the papacy originated when, "...from the Stygian flouds he raysed himselfe so hye," having been "Created first by Sathan, and the spirites that damned lye, / To be a plague to Christian fayth. . . .." He envisions the beast as a "monstrous shape, that doth from doubtfull parents rise" (17).

The Athenian Cecrops was linked (though in an unpublished work) by a British Protestant contemporary of Sidney, William Harrison, to the False Church and to idolatry, although Harrison discussed the king in his own supposed historical era, especially around 1556 B.C., obviously far prior to the institution of the papacy. Harrison views the political precepts devised by Cecrops for his kingdom as having been inspired by Satan--in contrast to the laws received by Moses directly from God--so that the Gentile political system constitutes, in G. J. R. Parry's summary, "a satanic parody of the True Church and its godly polity." Cecrops instituted idolatry, according to Harrison, to diminish God's glory in one locale "whilest the lord by his servant Moses was as diligent in therection of true religion in the wildernes of Sinai in another." Thus, Cecrops and his kingdom, even during their own historical era, were placed by Harrison, in Parry's summary, "firmly on the wrong side in the struggle of the Two Churches." The fact that Harrison viewed Cecrops as exemplifying "human readiness to decline into idolatry and tyranny" during a period in which Israel was recovering its status as "the pristine godly
commonwealth through one of the series of reformatons which punctuated the history of the True Church" (Parry 213-4) may suggest another reason why Sidney would choose to associate his antagonist with Cecrops. Like the mythical classical king, the papacy, with which Cecropia has been linked by her allegorical family history, is during the Reformation (the period following the death of Cecropia's husband and the birth of Basilius' immediate heirs) an enemy of the True Church during a time in which it is, from a Protestant perspective, once again undergoing a major regeneration and purification by the covenant line.9

The garb of Cecropia's six maids, who, near the opening of Book 3, kidnap the princesses and the disguised Pyrocles and spirit the three away to their mistress's castle, also links the aunt to papism. They are dressed "...all in one livery of scarlet petticoats which were tucked up almost to their knees ...; their legs naked, saving that above the ankles they had little black silk laces upon which did hang a few silver bells--like which they had a little above their elbows upon their bare arms; upon their hair they ware garlands of roses and gilly flowers ...; their breasts liberal to the eye...." (pp. 314-5). The scarlet clothing and exposed breasts of Cecropia's agents readily suggest the Whore of Babylon, "the Antichrist, that is, the Pope with the whole bodie of his filthie creatures ..., whose beautie onely standeth in out warde pompe & impudencie and craft like a strumpet" (Geneva Bible gloss to Rev. 17:4). The Babylonian "Whore" is said in Rev. 17:3-4 not only to be "araied in purple & skarlat" but also to sit upon a scarlet beast, whose color, according to the Geneva gloss, signifies the "crueltie and blood shedding" of "the Papistry."

Protestants frequently mention bells when exemplifying the superstitious practices and "flesly" rituals prevalent within the Roman Church, designed to please human senses, rather than being founded upon Scriptural directives.15 As with the symbolic apparell of Cecropia's maids, the wanton enticements of the "false" Roman church, including
bells, are linked to the Whore of Babylon, by, for example, the Protestant martyr George Marsh, who wrote from prison before his death in 1555 that God had removed him from the modern "glorious Babylon" of the Roman Church in order that he "should not taste too much of her wanton pleasures. . ."

Only when separated from this "Babylonian" church could he attain true "inward rejoicing in the cross of his Son Jesus Christ; the glory of whose church . . . standeth not in the harmonious sound of bells and organs . . . (as the blind papists do judge it), but in continual labours and daily afflictions for his name's sake" (qtd. in Foxe Acts 7: 54).

Once Cecropia's agents arrive at the princesses' cabins, they lure them out with polyphonic music, another prominent mode of worship within the "Church of Antichrist" disapproved by many Protestants. Each of the six women holds "an instrument of music . . ., which, consorting their well-pleasing tunes, did charge each ear with unsensibleness that did not lend itself unto them. The music entering alone into the lodge, the ladies were all desirous to see from whence so pleasant a guest was come. . ." (315, p442). Sidney emphasizes the prominent role of this seductive music in effecting the abduction: Pamela, Philoclea, Pyrocles, and Miso depart with Cecropia's "nymphs, conquering the length of the way with the force of music . . . so well were they pleased with the sweet tunes and pretty conversation of their inviters" (316, p442). Calvin both banned all musical instruments from the worship service and permitted only monody, not polyphony, "in his reformed liturgy so that worshippers could hear and understand the full force of the unimpeded text" (Auski Christian 219). Protestant strictures against ornate polyphonic music formed part of a larger complaint that more attention and time were devoted to music than to preaching of the Word within the pope's church, in which "all is so filled with chanting and piping, that there is no time left for preaching, whereby it commeth to passe, that the people depart out of the church full of Musicke and harmonie; but touching heavenlie doctrine, fasting and hunger starved" (Martyr Common Places 314). Polyphonic vocal music is
similarly a favored courting technique of Cecropia’s son, Amphialus, as is shown later in this chapter, at which time Protestant objections to the style, particularly when the music included words, will be further discussed.

Given persistent sixteenth-century conflicts over the Eucharist, it seems quite significant that, after the Arcadian crew has been led to "a little square place . . . beautified with the pleasantest fruits that sunburned autumn could deliver them," situated "in the midst of the thickest part of the wood," their only activities are to drink wine and to eat of the "swelling grapes," offered by Cecropia’s agents, "which seemed great with child of Bacchus, and of the divers-coloured plums, which gave the eye a pleasant taste before they came to the mouth." As soon as the Arcadians sip from the "cool wine" offered them by Cecropia’s maids, "twenty armed men" rush upon them from the wood and take them captive (316, p443). Previously discussed links between Cecropia and the Roman Church make it seem highly improbable that Sidney would settle upon wine drinking as the act immediately preceding the abduction for no particular reason. Within the Roman Church, moreover, the Mass was preceded by the ringing of a bell, as the Arcadian princesses hear the bells worn by Cecropia’s maids before drinking of their wine. The association of Cecropia’s scarlet-clad maids with the Whore of Babylon suggests that their wine should probably also be linked to the cup of “abominations, and filthines of her fornications” (glossed “false doctrines & blasphemies” by the Geneva editors) carried by the Apocalypse’s spiritual "whore" (Rev. 17:4) and to "the wine of the wrath of her fornication" (Rev. 18:3). The allusions to Bacchus and the decorative, visually appealing fruits may echo charges by earnest Reformers that, even within the Church of England, religious ceremonies were not regarded with sufficient sobriety: John Gough, rector of St. Stephens, castigated in 1566 those who made Christmas "rather a feast of Bachus than a true serving of the memory of Jesus

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Christ," citing in support of his charge "the decking of the churches with holly" (qtd. in Collinson, *Elizabethan* 75).

Cecropia's maids are able to abduct Pyrocles and the princesses with so little difficulty because the negligent prince Basilius has entrusted his daughters to the custodianship of Dametas and Miso, characters presented by Sidney in both versions of the *Arcadia* as unfit guardians, as nearly all critics of the works have recognized. Pamela and Philoclea initially hesitate to accept the invitation of their soon-to-be abductresses to accompany them to a nearby area of the woods to behold some "rural sports," fearing (probably needlessly, given his own increasing moral laxity and lack of caution) the anger of their father. Yet, Miso, fit prey for the sensory tactics upon which Cecropia's agents rely, with her "great desire to lead her old senses abroad to some pleasure, told them plainly, they should nor will nor choose but go thither, and make the honest country-people know that they were not so squeamish as folks thought of them"; the princesses, accordingly, "glad to be warranted by her authority. . ." (315-6, p 442), follow her lead.

This abduction episode shares a number of significant parallels with the May eclogue of Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calendar*, a pastoral allegory with which Sidney was, of course, familiar, writing in the *Defence* that the poem "hath much poetry in his eclogues, indeed worthy the reading, if I be not deceived" (64). I am not suggesting a source argument; however, the correspondences between the scene from the *New Arcadia* and this ecclesiastical eclogue provide additional support for my interpretation of the former. The techniques relied upon by the Foxe in Piers' tale to kidnap the Kidde resemble in several ways those through which Cecropia's maids capture the Arcadians, including the use of alluring bells and of initial ingratiatiation dependent upon disguise and hypocrisy (and in the absence of the victims' parents), rapidly followed by strong-arm captivity in which the abductees are deprived of their capacities to see or to move freely. E.K. explains that in Piers' tale the Kidde represents "the
simple sorte of the faythfull and true Christians"; that "By hys dame," one should understand "Christe, that hath alreadie with carefull watchewords . . . warned his little ones, to beware of such doubling deceit"; and that the Foxe stands for "the false and faithlesse Papistes, to whom is no credit to be given, nor fellowshippe to be used". Piers' Foxe, a "maister of collusion," like Cecropia's maids, arrives disguised, "as a poore pedler," porting upon his back a bundle of "tryfles" including "bells, and babes" (95). E.K.'s gloss to the line explains, "by such trifles are noted, the reliques and ragges of popish superstition, which put no smal religion in Belles: and Babies. s. Idoles, . . . and such lyke trumperies" (104). Fascination with the Foxe's "merchandise" causes the Kidde to admit the disguised Foxe into his home, despite his mother's explicit warnings not to open their door to this crafty and treacherous foe.

The Foxe abducts the gullible youngling immediately upon inspiring him to desire a bell, "which he left behind / In the basket for the Kidde to fynd," after having displayed before him all his other ware. As soon as the Kidde reaches for the bell, the Foxe locks him into his basket and runs "awaye with him in all hast" (97). As has been mentioned, Cecropia's maids also arrive to the Arcadian lodges disguised and wearing bells. In both cases, too, the captors' hypocrisy involves a pretense of harmlessness. Not only does Foxe of The Shepheardes Calendar fake poverty, appearing to the Kidde "Not as a Foxe, for then he had be kend, / But all as a poore pedler. . . ."; he also counterfeits weakness, presenting himself as "starke lame" and hiding his give-away tail (95). Cecropia's maids induce the princesses to venture into the woods with them by arguing "the goodness of their intention and the hurtlessness of their sex. . . ." (315, p442). As the Foxe in the May eclogue departs hastily once he has forcefully restrained the kid within his dark basket, so the "twenty armed men" in the New Arcadia, immediately upon covering their
young victims' heads with hoods and muffling them, whisk them off on horseback to Cecropia's castle (316, p443).

Another correspondence between the May eclogue and the abduction episode in Sidney's book appears in the arguments of Miso and of Piers' debating opponent, Palinode. At the outset of this eclogue, Palinode endeavors to persuade Piers to participate in rural festivities, asking why he and Piers should not join the country folk in their merriment: "Is not thilke the mery moneth of May, / When love lads masken in fresh aray? / How falles it then, we no merrier bene, / Ylike as others, girt in gawdy greene?" His arguments recall Miso's attempt to induce the princesses to attend what the Arcadia's 1590 editors label "the country wenches' sports" by urging them to "make the honest country-people know that they were not so squeamish as folks thought of them" (314-6, p442). The young folks' decking of the May posts and church pillars "With Hawthorne buds, and sweete Eglantine, / And girlonds of roses . . ." (87-8) as part of the May festivities described by Palinade also calls to mind the "garlands of roses and gilly flowers" in the hair of Cecropia's maids (314). The tendency of more zealous Protestants to link many traditional rural customs and rituals to the "superstitions" of papism may not be irrelevant. Certainly, Miso's sanction of the non-parentally supervised "rural sports" (arising from a desire to gratify her "old senses") should not be equated with Sidney's own.

Like Spenser's Foxe, whose methods resemble their own, Cecropia's maids should, therefore, be interpreted as papists. The seemingly innocent allurements through which they capture their victims unawares, ultimately by overpowering coercion, furnish, I believe, a fictional analogue to an admonition issued by Sidney to "German Princes" encountered during his service as Queen Elizabeth's ambassador to Emperor Rudolph II. According to Greville, who accompanied him on this mission, Sidney warned these princes of "the danger which threatened them hourely," as a result of a "fatall conjunction of Rome's undermining superstitions, with
the commanding forces of Spain," a "brotherhood in evill" combining secular and spiritual tyranny (Life 42-3). Sidney predicted that these foes would proceed not through open war by Proclamation; but craftily (from the infusion of Rome) to enter first by invisible traffique of souls; filling peoples minds with apparitions of holines, specious Rites, Saints, Miracles, institutions of new Orders, reformations of old, blessings of Catholiques, cursings of Heretiques, Thunder-bolts of Excommunication under the authority of their Mother Church.

After they had "by these shadows . . . gotten possession of the weak," their guiles would be followed by those of "the Spanish, les spirituall, but more forcible Engines, viz. practice, confederacy, faction, money, treaties, leagues of traffic, alliance by marriages, charge of rebellion, war. . . ." According to Sidney, the Church of Rome first ingratiated itself to the gullible or unsuspecting through seductive and seemingly harmless but deceptively dangerous external displays and rites, then forcefully deprived its vicitims of personal and political, as well as religious, freedom, precisely the methods employed by the abductors in the May eclogue and the New Arcadia. Sidney, of course, believed that this combined Spanish-Roman threat "could now be withstood, or ballanced by no other means, than a general league in Religion," ready to protect both "Religion, and Liberty" (Life 43, 44). Perhaps the success of Cecropia's agents in abducting the Arcadians should be read as a warning of the menace posed to the Protestant "Cause" by the refusal of Queen Elizabeth and other rulers to support it at a level considered satisfactory by devotees such as Sidney, Mornay, and Languet. 19

An allegorical association between Cecropia and the Church of Rome would draw upon the traditional assumption in biblical exegesis that women in Scripture--for example, the Apocalypse's Whore of Babylon and woman clothed with the sun--many times represent churches. Commenting upon the latter, who appears in Rev. 12, Heinrich Bullinger explains:

. . . under the type or figure of a woman, he describeth the Church of God at all tymes. Neither is it a straunge or rare thyng, since at the first begynnynge of things the woman began to represent the type of Christes spouse the Church, as is to
be sene in the .2. of Genes. And so hath the Apostle expounded the type in the .5. chapter to the Ephes. I neede not now to recite, that Esay hath oftener than once resembled Gods Church under the type of a woman. . .23

Of course, such symbolism was transferred from the Bible itself to biblically inspired literature, as the examples of Spenser’s Una and Duessa well attest.

Papist characters created by Protestant writers and authors of Protestant treatises, when claiming to represent the attitudes and opinions of the "Romish sort," frequently repeat the commonplace metaphor of the Roman Church as a "mother" (employed in the report of Greville, cited above, on Sidney’s own supposed comments), a metaphor that, of course, builds upon and presupposes the churches-as-women principle. Greville elsewhere enumerates the "false heads of holie mother see [Rome]." 21 Philips von Marnix’s Beehive of the Romishe Church, the English translation (1579) of which was dedicated to Sidney, employs the metaphor often, in ironically giving voice to papist beliefs concerning and love for "our dearly beloved mother, the holy Church of Rome."22 (147).

Cecropia may be associated allegorically not only with the Church of Rome generally but with a central sacrament within that church: the Mass. Here, her status as the only-mentioned daughter of the King of Argos (whom I argued earlier in this chapter functions as a figure for the papacy) suggests a common metaphor for this rite and/or the doctrine of transubstantiation that it assumes. In the prefatory poem to William Turner’s The Huntyng of the Romyshe Wolfe (1554), the "Romyshe Foxe" (the pope) speaks of "My doughter Masse" (A3). "Mistress Missa" (a personification of the Mass in sixteenth-century Protestant satire) is "the eldest daughter of the pope and Dame Avaritia" or, in the writings of John Bradford, "the daughter of Idolatry (the devil’s daughter) and of the Pope and his ‘shavelings’."23 A stereotypical papist in the Beehive refers to "the dearelie beloved and eldest daughter of our deare mother the holie church of Rome as yet borne, to wit, Transubstantiation" (238). Of course, Cecropia could without contradiction be associated with the Church
of Rome, the Mass, and the Whore of Babylon, as has been argued is the case, for example, with Spenser's Duessa. As D. Douglas Waters observes in the most thorough argument for Duessa's role as a personification of the Mass, "...Protestant polemicists used synecdoches and metonymies such as ... the Mass for the Church and vice versa, and the whore as a symbol of the Church or the Mass or both simultaneously. ..." (105). A symbolic connection between Cecropia and the Mass would provide an additional explanation for the persistence of her hopes for continued power for a brief interval between the sudden death of her husband and Basilius' marriage to Gynecia and the birth of their daughters, since the Mass and the doctrine of transubstantiation were maintained within the Church of England for some time after Henry VIII had rejected the authority of the papacy.

An allegorical association between Cecropia and the Mass would elucidate a number of emphases in her characterization, especially in her relationship to Amphialus after his return to her castle. In a play (albeit a serious one) upon the "Petrarchan" notion of worshipping the beloved, Sidney in Book 3 recurrently employs Amphialus' behavior toward Philoclea to examine and comment upon a religious devotee's attitude and actions toward God. Amphialus' approach to Philoclea as he visits her chamber in Cecropia's castle is, for instance, analogized to a priest's advance to the altar, when he is said to send the princess "daily presents (as it were, oblations to pacify an angry deity)" (334, p462). This analogy between Amphialus' gifts to Philoclea and a worshipper's "oblations" to the "deity" is explicit and indisputable. Sidney could have assumed that the narrator's reference to "daily presents" intended "to pacify an angry deity" would have called to the minds of his contemporaries the Roman Mass, traditionally regarded as a daily sacrifice to placate God's anger. I argue more extensively in the second half of this chapter that through Amphialus' courtship of Philoclea Sidney criticizes forms of worship presented as inappropriate. For now, we may
simply note that the narrator explicitly discommends Amphialus’ offerings, labeling them "so many stories of his disgraces and her perfections, where the richness did entertain the eyes, and the device did teach the eyes the present misery of the presenter himself. . ." (334, p462).

Sidney repeatedly highlights Amphialus’ reliance upon his mother’s intervention to win Philoclea’s favor and upon his high level of expectations for such efforts. Upon the failure of his own unaided attempts to beg or earn Philoclea’s love, the strategy to which he resorts throughout Book 3 is "beseeching [Cecropia] to try what her persuasions could do with" Philoclea (324, 451), "still craving his mother’s help to persuade her" (352, p481), for "his wit could find out no other refuge but the comfort and counsel of his mother, desiring her . . . to use for his sake the most prevailing manners of intercession" (329, p457). Particularly tellingly, after his nearly fatal battle with Musidorus, he "prayed his mother, as she tendered his life, she would procure him grace. . ." (414, p546; emphases added).

That Cecropia’s intervention only impairs Amphialus’ standing in Philoclea’s estimation underscores the Protestant conviction that "... the Mass-hearer’s foolish confidence in meriting grace through hearing the Mass..." was a false and futile hope. Sidney, I believe, suggests that the high expectations ascribed by papists (according to Protestant critics) merely to hearing and attending Mass are illusory by having Cecropia repeatedly falsify reports to her son on the outcome of her efforts to persuade Philoclea to accept him as a husband, painting his prospects as considerably more rosy than they, in fact, are. Cecropia begins extending to Amphialus groundless assurances that he will attain Philoclea’s love even before she has discussed the matter with the princess. After Amphialus informs his mother of his own utter failure toward this end during his initial visit with the captive Philoclea and, consequently, solicits her mediation, Cecropia "bad him quiet himself, for she doubted not to take fit times, but the best way was first to let
[Philoclea’s] passion a little tire itself. . ." (324, p452). As the book progresses, Cecropia, well aware of the absolute sterility of her first endeavors to entice, flatter, and inveigle Philoclea to marry her son (330-4), as well as of her son’s increasing despair, "sought to mitigate his mind with feigned delays of comfort" (364, p493). Later, having been placed by Cecropia, at her son’s request, at a window to witness his defeat of Phalantus in single combat, Philoclea states upon his victory that she deems it rather "hateful" than admirable to have those fighting on her father’s side "destroyed." After responding angrily to the princess "that if her son would follow her counsel, he should take another course with her" (rape), Cecropia nevertheless "framed to him a very thankful message, powdering it with some hope-giving phrases," concealing Philoclea’s unfavorable reaction, which--she knows only too well--would simply exacerbate Amphialus’ "desperate melancholy" (370, p500). Philoclea’s consistent indifference to Amphialus’ conquests in successive rounds of single combat staged to impress her "would have made him renounce all comfort, but that his mother with diversity of devices kept up his heart" (379, p509). When Amphialus finally complains "unto his mother the little success of her large-hoping promises," assuming "a desperate deafness to all delaying hopes," Cecropia is forced to acknowledge "plainly that she could prevail nothing," advising him to take the princess by force (rape) rather than by relying on "prayer" (401, p532). If Cecropia is being associated allegorically with the Mass, the obvious implication would be that those who place their confidence in this rite are similarly deluded.

Other possible connections between Cecropia and the Mass, as well as her essentially and pronouncedly anti-Christian nature, appear during her initial endeavor to prevail upon Philoclea to marry her son. One densely metaphoric segment of this casuistic speech perverts Biblical metaphors for Christ, reapplying them to the destination toward which Cecropia would guide the princess. She asks her niece to suppose "that some heavenly
spirit should appear unto you and bid you follow him through the door that
goest into the garden, assuring you that you should thereby return to your
dear mother, and what other delights soever your mind esteems delights.

Would Philoclea consider refusing to follow this spirit, her wicked
aunt asks, or object "that, if he led you not through the chief gate, you
would not enjoy your over-desired liberty?" Cecropia proceeds without
pause to answer her own query for Philoclea (of course she would follow
the spirit), then explicates her own brief, duplicitous allegory. The
niece should "imagine" that Cecropia herself is "that same good angel,"
which, witnessing and in sorrow for Philoclea's "grief . . . am come to
lead you not only to your desired and imagined happiness, but to a true
and essential happiness; not only to liberty, but to liberty with
commandment." The finale to this speciously seductive line of reasoning
underscores the distorted misapplication of Gospel imagery in Cecropia's
speech: "The way I will show you, which, if it be not the gate builded
hitherto in your private choice, yet shall it be a door to bring you
through a garden of pleasures as sweet as this life can bring forth--nay,
rather, which makes this life to be a life" (331, p459).

The "way" in which Cecropia would conduct Philoclea, toward a
"garden of pleasures" constituting for her the chief and most desirable
fruits of this life, recollects Christ's statement, "...I am the Way,
and the Trueth, & the Life. No man commeth unto the Father, but by me"
(John 14:6). That Cecropia's way will not, like Christ's, lead to "the
Father" is reinforced by another Gospel allusion, to the Parable of the
Good Shepherd (John 10:1-16). Christ there warns, "...He that entreth
not in by the dore into the shepefolde, but climeth up another way, he is
a thefe and a robber." Cecropia would coax Philoclea through a door other
than the "chief gate" she assumes her niece has hitherto preferred.
Christ later in the parable explains, "...I am the dore of the shepe."
The "dear mother" to which Cecropia would have Philoclea return through
the "door" she recommends recalls the link between Cecropia and the Church
of Rome as "mothers" for which I argued earlier, so that her remarks in this context likely suggest that that church endeavors to bring its followers to bliss or salvation through a door and by a way other than Christ. The Mass itself (to which I have suggested Cecropia is being linked) was sometimes presented by sixteenth-century Protestants as the "way" opposed to that of Christ. Whereas "Christ's doctrine is, that he is 'the way,'" wrote John Bradford, the papists' Mass "doctrine maketh the massing-priest the way: a way indeed it is, but to hell and to the devil" (qtd. in Waters 58). The primarily sensual appeal of Cecropia's way would echo Protestant criticism of the "fleshly," externalized worship predominating within the Roman Church. Cecropia's garden of sensual pleasures replaces the central fold, or church, that true believers enter through the door of Christ but into which the thieves and robbers of the Parable of the Good Shepherd attempt to climb through another entrance.

The alternative "gate" and "way" advocated by Cecropia might also allude to Matthew 7:13: "Enter in at the strieke gate: for it is the wide gate and broad waye that leadeth to destruction..." In this verse, too, the dominant issue is the choice of gates and the contrasting "ways" of life that lead to them. The Geneva gloss to the verse, "We must overcome and mortifie our affections, if we wil be the disciples of Christ," again highlights the opposing natures of this path and the one sanctioned by Cecropia. The dense concentration of Biblical imagery (for example, the allusions to the "way," the "gate," and the "door") within this single short speech of Cecropia reinforce the interpretation I have been offering. Any one of these references of itself need not carry this particular thematic significance, but the repetition of several biblical metaphors for Christ in such close proximity to one another increases the probability that together they do, particularly in light of Cecropia's prior association with the False Church and of the precise manner in which her use of the figures parodies their meaning to Christians.
The literal and metaphoric drinks that Cecropia urges upon the princesses, especially Philoclea, likewise connect the aunt to the Roman Church and to the Whore of Babylon, generally, and to the Mass, more particularly. Douglas Waters explains, "'The drinking metaphor is used for partaking of any false doctrine, including that of the Mass,'" arguing that Spenser draws upon both the drinking comparison and the Protestant convention of analogizing sexual and spiritual fornication to allude to the Mass in the scene in which Red Cross fornicates with Duessa at the "'cristall' fountain" in the Fairie Queene. Waters asserts that the fact that only the priest actually partakes of wine in the Roman Mass does "not invalidate this argument, since the cup was often used in Protestant discussions as a synecdoche for the Mass itself--even in cases in which Protestants attacked Roman Communion in 'one kind'" (64-5). The wine of which the princesses, at the prompting of Cecropia's maids, partake immediately prior to their abduction has already been noted. Cecropia later labors to induce Philoclea to imbibe drinks metaphoric of the lust she attempts to arouse in her, so that the niece will be more readily disposed to marry her son. Just before her first attempt to prevail upon Philoclea to accept Amphialus, the narrator informs readers that Cecropia "doubted not at least to make Philoclea receive the poison distilled in sweet liquor, which she with little disguising had drunk up thirstily" (329, p457). Cecropia herself employs and elaborates upon this metaphor later in that same episode, so that any initial doubts as to the symbolic nature of the "poison" drinks of which she would have Philoclea partake are removed. Just after requesting that Philoclea imagine the "heavenly spirit" desiring to lead her into a garden of delights, Cecropia asks her niece what is to her a "rhetorical" question: "Would you not drink the wine you thirst for, without it were in such a glass as you especially fancied?" (331, p459). Guessing that Philoclea has been refusing Amphialus' suit because she has already committed herself, at least in her own thoughts, to another man, Cecropia attempts to convince her niece of
what she herself obviously believes: that the "wine" she thirsts for, personal sexual gratification (clearly the same poisonous liquor that the narrator earlier informed readers that she "with little disguising had drunk up thirstily"), is a more important consideration than the external "glass" containing it, or the particular individual with whom one achieves this satisfaction. The linking of drinking metaphors and sexual imagery or references to lust that Waters finds typical of Protestant treatments of the Mass are here evident in Sidney's presentation of Cecropia, a character whom I have argued he associates with the Roman Church and the Mass. The dense concentration of Biblical imagery (for example, the allusions to the "way," the "gate," and the "door") within the same speech as the reference to the metaphoric, poisonous wine suggests that Cecropia endeavors, though unsuccessfully, to persuade Philoclea to commit the "spiritual fornication" discussed by Waters, here most likely associated as well with "the wine of the wrath of [the Whore of Babylon's] fornication" (Rev. 18:3), glossed by the Geneva editors as the "spiritual whoredome" through which the Whore has "abused & seduced" most of the world. It is essential to bear in mind, however, that Sidney presents Cecropia's essential Antichristianity as manifesting itself within the particular historical developments within Christendom suggested by her family history.

Cecropia's family history and attendant divulgence of her plots against Basilius and his family are labelled in a chapter heading by the editors of the 1590 Arcadia an "auricular confession" (314), and Cecropia seems to be linked to this Roman sacrament as well. "Auricular confession" was viewed by many Protestants as a primary cause of the troubled consciences they attributed to papists. Johannes Oecolampadius castigated the "destruction of minds through the tyranny of confession" (qtd. in Ozment 51). Luther criticized the traditional mode of confession for "leaving the penitent in doubt and anxious about forgiveness" The annual confession of "all mortal sins" required within the Roman Church
led, according to Luther, "only to confusion and despair" (Ozment 50); one would more appropriately, he believed, merely confess before God, "all that I am, whatever I say or do, is mortal and damnable," then "cast [one]self upon the grace of God" (qtd. in Ozment 50-1). Accordingly, Luther made "any penitential examination . . . strictly a voluntary matter between the penitent and the priest" (Ozment 50).

Protestants frequently criticized lascivious confessors for probing and groping within the hidden crevices of the unconscious mind, as well as of one's conscience, and thereby both inciting new longings in young innocents and procuring potentially damaging knowledge with which to abuse penitents. Jacob Strauss, for instance, decried not only the anxiety and preoccupation with one's sins occasioned by the Roman form of confession but also the "new desires and lusts" it provoked. Thousands, he charged, could bear witness

...how often mischievous and perverse monks out of their shameless hearts have so thoroughly and persistently questioned young girls and boys, innocent children, and simple wives about the sins of the flesh in their cursed confessional corners that more harm was there done to Christian chasteness and purity than in any whoreshouse in the world. He is considered a good father confessor who can probe into every secret recess of the heart and instill into the innocent penitent every sin his flesh has not yet experienced. (Qtd. in Ozment 53)

Foxe blames the Roman clergy because they "crept not only into the purses of men, but also into their consciences. They heard their confessions; they knew their secrets. . ." (Acts 4: 252). The Beehive, too, reminds its readers that auricular confession enables the Roman Church to "see and creepe into the verie bottome of the bosomes of young maides, simple and sorrowful wives, and widdowes, and so grope out and understand all their secrets. . ." (Marnix 216').

Repeated references to her prying and spying, especially upon the princess, also seem to connect her with the invasive groping of this Roman sacrament. Approaching Pamela's chamber for her first attempt to induce that sister to marry her son, Cecropia "(according to her own ungracious method of a subtile proceeding) stood listening at the door, because that
out of the circumstance of her present behavior there might arise a fit beginning of her intended discourse" (335, p463). The wicked aunt's intent to divert for her own malign purposes knowledge acquired through eavesdropping and spying upon the princess may suggest Protestant criticism of abuses of information attained in the confessional. According to the Beehive, for example, knowledge obtained by confessors from political leaders, in particular, constitutes a fundamental source of the Roman Church's tyrannical power: auricular confession permits it to "see, perceive, and learn all the secret determinations, counsels, and pretences of all Kings, Princes and Potentates of Christendome: by reason whereof she is come to a peacable possession and enjoying of her authoritie and government over all Countries and Kingdomes. . . " (Marnix 216'). Bale, for similar reasons, calls "confessions in the ear, of all traitory the fountain" (Select 427). Cecropia not only listens at the door but (in an unspecified manner, perhaps through a keyhole or crack or by pushing aside the curtains that cover the "little window" of the chamber from the outside 425) peers into the room, for she watches Pamela first "walk up and down full of deep though patient thoughts," with a "settled" appearance and expression, professing aloud her confidence in and dependence upon God, and then kneeling to offer her famous, audible prayer to the "all-seeing light and eternal life of all things" (335, p463).

Earlier, embarking upon her initial endeavor to persuade the other princess to accept her son, Cecropia walked "softly to Philoclea's chamber." Without announcing her presence, "peeping" around a slightly ajar door, "saw Philoclea sitting low upon a cushion" (329, p457), perhaps as an emblem of her humility, especially given repeated references elsewhere to that virtue in Philoclea and the seat's specified lowness.' Philoclea, as she is thus spied upon unawares, like Pamela in prayer, cannot be contriving an appearance for the purpose of impressing or influencing others. The portrait of Pamela in prayer
underscores her fundamental faith and devotion, while that of her sister highlights her unaffected humility and is dense with the Biblical symbolism that I believe is recurrent in her characterization, as is illustrated below. The fundamental point of these extended protraits emphasizing the unfeigned devotion and religiosity of the imprisoned princesses would be that, precisely as a result of these characteristics, their clear consciences have nothing to hide and thus can withstand Cecropia’s unscrupulous prying.

The biblical imagery prevalent in Philoclea’s characterization, in this portrait and elsewhere, is important to observe in that, rather like Spenser’s Una, she is associated thereby with a cluster of interconnected and complementary concepts such as the New Jerusalem, Scripture, the Primitive (and, more broadly, the True) Church, and faithful Christians in general—all of which, of course, stand opposed to the “false” Church, to which Cecropia is linked. Such symbolic links enhance her suitability for the allegorical role of the analogue to the object of religious devotion, a role that Sidney suggests through Amphialus’ courtship of her. As Cecropia peers in upon Philoclea, the princess’ “tears came dropping down like rain in sunshine, and she not taking heed to wipe the tears, they ran down her cheeks and lips as upon cherries...” (329, p457). The detail in all probability alludes to the assumption that the tears of the suffering faithful are not wiped away during their trials in this world; whereas, in the New Jerusalem, “. . .God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes: & there shall be no more sorrow, neither crying. . .” (Rev. 21:4).

Much of the imagery used with Philoclea is highly distinctive and not conventional to “Petrarchan” praise of of the mistress. The unusual remark that Philoclea’s neglect of her hair and clothing in captivity “could no more unperfect her perfections than a die any way cast could lose his squareness” (329, p457), likely alludes, given the overall pattern of Biblical symbolism and allusions in her characterization,
together with the apocalyptic concerns throughout the New Arcdia argued for by this dissertation, to the shape of the New Jerusalem (as it is represented by St. John in Rev. 21), which is, in Bale's paraphrase, "builded all four square, all four sides thereof being of like length and breadth" (Select 600). Bullinger, Gifford, and Fulke offer similar expositions of the city's square dimensions, with Bullinger commenting that it signifies "the strength and stableness of the blessed in heaven. For the place is no balle, bowle, or globe, rolllyng and easie to turne. Neither neede we doubt of the certeintie therof" (298). Gifford, too, explains, "A round thing may be rolled & mooved out of the place more easily then a square. That which standeth square standeth fast & unmoveable" (Revelation 423). The analogy indicating Philoclea's stability is obviously quite similar to such commentary on the New Jerusalem's squareness and its significance. Sidney's comparison for the force that cannot unsquare this squareness—the repeated casting of a die—suggests, in addition, Philoclea's ultimate triumph over Fortune (traditionally associated with dice), despite the trials and adversity to which she is subjected in Book 3, a triumph probably resulting primarily from the Scriptural foundations indicated by such biblical imagery, Philoclea withstands all of Cecropia's malign attempts to corrupt her, though the "worldly" aunt anticipates, just before the die analogy, "the easy conquest of an unexpert virgin. . ." (329, p457).

As with the square die comparison just discussed, the narrator elsewhere transfers striking imagery from Biblical descriptions of the City of God to Philoclea when accounting for the aunt's powerlessness to corrupt her incorruptible niece. In aiming to flatter and threaten each sister into marrying her son, "in vain was all [Cecropia's] vain oratory employed": vainly with Philoclea, for that princess, "though humbly seated, was so environed with sweet rivers of clear virtue as could neither be battered nor undermined" (419, p550). The metaphoric rivers of virtue surrounding and protecting the humble Philoclea recall Psalm 46:4:

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"Yet there is a River, whose streames shall make glad the Citie of God: even the Sanctuarie of the Tabernacles of the moste High. God is in the middes of it: therefore shall it not be moved: God shall helpe it verie early." The Geneva gloss to the river of this verse highlights its seeming inadequacy as a defence from a worldly perspective: "The river of Shiloah, which passed through Jerusalem: meaning though the defence seme never so smale, yet if God have appointed it, it is sufficient." In the New Arcadia, the narrator’s emphasis upon Philoclea’s humble seating, in both the rivers and the square die comparisons, similarly underscores the contrast between her apparent weakness as an "unexpert virgin" and the continued spiritual strength that enables her to emerge triumphant from all of the trials to which her aunt subjects her.

Philoclea may also be associated with both Scripture and the biblical imagery of spiritual armor through a classical allusion, once again in a passage accounting for her capacity to maintain her moral integrity despite Cecropia’s torments. The princess endures "pitiless dealing with her" by Cecropia and her agents "with silence and patience, like a fair, gorgeous armour hammered upon by an ill-favoured smith" (421; p552). Philoclea’s metaphoric armor is linked to that fashioned by the divine (albeit not particularly handsome) smith Vulcan through a previous simile descriptive of a noisy battle between Amphialus and Musidorus: "The courteous Vulcan, when he wrought at his now more courteous wives request Aeneas an armour, made not his hammer beget a greater sound than the swords of those noble knights did" (406, p537). The epithet courteous, which repeatedly prefaces Amphialus’ name elsewhere but is here transferred to Vulcan, identifies Amphialus as a primary hammerer upon Philoclea’s armor, as is appropriate, since he sanctions her imprisonment within Cecropia’s castle and enlists his mother’s aid to win the princess’s "love," despite her repeatedly and emphatically stated lack of romantic interest in him. The armor forged by Vulcan to safeguard the classical heroes Achilles and Aeneas is presented in Erasmus’ Enchiridion
as a fit analogue for Scripture," the armor appropriate to the Christian
soldier, for whom "that dyvyne armure & (to speke as the poetes do) that
harneyes of Vulcan makynge / which with no wepons can be persed is set onely
out of the armory of holy scripture. . . ." This all-sufficient armor far
surpasses the gold armor relied upon by Achilles and Aeneas, who, because
it was unavailable to them, were "overcome shamefully" by ire and love,
respectively (C2")}. Sidney's description of Philoclea's steadfast
resistence to her aunt's threats and of her protection from batterings by
Antichristian forces like Cecropia and Amphialus by spiritual qualities
analogized to armor forged by Vulcan also bears striking resemblances to
Protestant explanations for the eternal unconquerability of the immutable
True Church. Brightman, for instance, writes that the "excellency" of the
gold of Christ, "tryed in the fire, often approved and thoroughly
refined," is seen "in the primitive Church, yea even at this day in our
neighbour Churches. It feareth no touchstone, it fleeth not away for
feare of any fire, it doth not burst asunder by batterie of any hammer,
but standeth to this day, as it hath stood of old, invincible. . . ." (195).

II

Metaphors and language repeatedly used by more radical Protestants
to criticize the English Church for remaining only half-reformed are
densely clustered within descriptions of Amphialus, the native Arcadian
offspring of the king of Argos' daughter and Basilius' brother. In his
attempts to win the favor of the captive Philoclea, Amphialus enacts many
of the ritualistic modes of worship cited by such critics of the
Elizabethan Settlement as evidence of the remnants of the church of
Antichrist within the national church. Negative images for the English
Church begin to appear in descriptions of Amphialus, however, only when he
returns to his mother, Cecropia's, castle in Book 3, and there enacts
methods of worship that ardent Reformers considered idolatrous
"inventions" of the papacy, imposed upon the Church without Scriptural warrant. The allegorical point would be similar to that of the kidnapping episode: practices and uses such as the vestments, kneeling at Communion, and polyphonic music—with all of which, I argue below, Amphialus is associated after his return to his mother’s home—were not merely harmless adiaphora as conservatives claimed, for these and other seductive contrivances of the Romish Church of Antichrist redirected the naturally idolatrous human mind away from worship of the Creator God toward sensual delight in its own creations, explaining the ease with which Amphialus falls under Cecropia’s pernicious moral influence once the two inhabit the same castle, as well as the ease with which the Arcadians are kidnapped upon their exposure to papist rites.17

Sidney emphasizes that it is the practice of these rites, considered idolatrous by Protestant hard-liners, that ultimately undermines Amphialus’ moral behavior in other spheres by having him reach early adulthood an exemplar of virtue, precisely because he has been raised away from Cecropia, following his father’s sudden death.18 Had Amphialus’ education and nurture during his formative years continued under Cecropia’s direction, there is little probability that he would have remained morally upright so long, for Rome is "a mother which nourisheth up her children to the devill." (Mornay Treatise 45). The indictment of Rome as a mother who leads her children into spiritual captivity is a commonplace, appearing, as well, for example, in Bullinger’s discussion of Rome as the modern Babylon: as "Babylon burthenened Israel with a greevous captivitie: So Rome vexeth the Church wyth more than a long captivitie," being "the mother and nurse, and reviver of all abominations in the Church at the last tyme" (Apocalypse 206). Although Amphialus is obviously not physically imprisoned as are the princesses in Book 3, he, unlike the sisters, is led into spiritual captivity as he places himself increasingly under his mother’s direction and relies more and more upon her advice. Amphialus himself is consequently presented by
the narrator as the true "prisoner" to his passions, while the princesses remain spiritually free. The "trophy upon trophy" that Amphialus wins upon the battlefield in his vain endeavor to earn Philoclea's love "did but build up the monument of his thraldom" (379), so that he remains "himself indeed a prisoner to his prisoner." (324, P451).

Cecropia's malign impact upon her son in Book 3 constitutes an allegorical warning that even those who have once escaped the yoke of Rome may again fall under her sway, especially if they allow themselves to remain exposed to the nonscripturally authorized external ceremonies and displays through which she entraps human minds. As John Epinus had warned in 1549 (in remarks extracted in the *Fortress of our Fathers* [1566]), "The devil could not have found or devised anything more crafty or subtle to destroy the true worshipping of God and to overthrow the true church of Christ, than the changing and bringing in of things called 'indifferent'. . . . For there is such strength in this poison of indifferent things, that it can make . . . some that were honestly and right brought up, to be doubtful and wavering" (Trinterud 100-1). The concurrence of Amphialus' moral degeneration with his reliance upon polyphonic music, vestments, and other popish externalities and of both with his return to Cecropia's castle implies a similar point allegorically.

Amphialus is an adult by the time he returns to Cecropia's castle in Book 3, and Sidney underscores his personal moral responsibility for accepting his mother's counsel and for refusing to free Philoclea (initially abducted without his knowledge). At the opening of Book 3, Amphialus has just "returned from far countries (where he had won immortal fame both of courage and courtesy)"; consequently, he is "utterly ignorant of all his mother's wicked devices--to which he would never have consented." (317, P444). Upon being informed of the kidnappings by his mother, Amphialus is "as much amazed as if he had seen the sun fall to the earth, and therefore" asks Cecropia to "tell him the whole discourse how all these matters had happened." She immediately divulges to him the
family history analyzed above, a narrative she prefaces with the comment, ". . . I will hide nothing from you. . ." (317, P444). Amphialus is thus made fully aware of Cecropia's past plots against the lives of the Arcadian royal family and of her continuing political aspirations for herself and her son, which she believes will be thwarted by the succession of either princess unless the princess is married to Amphialus. He is, therefore, culpable for entrusting the princesses to Cecropia's supervision, calling into question his claim to revere Philoclea. Cecropia herself follows the remark that she will hide nothing from her son with the words, ". . . howsoever I might be ashamed to tell it strangers, who would think it wickedness, yet what is done for your sake, how evil soever to others, to you is virtue" (317). Despite her sophistry, words such as "ashamed," "wickedness," and "evil," especially from Cecropia's mouth, reinforce the lesson that Amphialus should clearly be able to derive from her narrative, even if Cecropia's unrepenting evil had escaped his notice in the past: his mother is not a fit warden for the Arcadian princesses. Amphialus is negligent and blameworthy for allowing his personal passion for Philoclea to blind him to the fact and for proceeding to ask Cecropia to intervene on his behalf with this princess. Amphialaus' personal responsibility for the princesses' mistreatment, despite the long delay in his full recognition of the extent to which they have been tortured by Cecropia and her women, is highlighted from the outset of the captivity episode. Just after Cecropia has informed her son of the kidnappings and presented their family history, she offers to release Philoclea, following Amphialus' claim that he would not want to displease Philoclea in any way: "I will therefore send her away presently, that her contentment may be recovered." Amphialus' reply provides a perfect illustration of his refusal to act firmly in support of the morally pure motives he professes: "No, good mother, . . . since she is here! I would not for my life constrain presence--but rather would I die than consent to absence!" Even Cecropia cannot refrain from
commenting upon her son's self-deception: "Pretty intricate follies!" (320, P447). Yet, Amphialus fails to reflect upon the folly of his rationalizations, willingly reaping the benefits of Cecropia's mideeds and entrusting the woman he "loves" to a mother he knows has attempted to end the lives of her father (and even of Philoclea and Pamela themselves in the bear and lion attack), in the vain hope that he might thereby satisfy his passion for Philoclea.

Amphialus' courting techniques point to customs and observances in the established church in England accepted by conservatives as "indifferent" but denounced by zealous Protestants as menacing remnants of the Church of Antichrist. These more "radical protestants" protested "with monotonous consistency" to the practice of kneeling at communion and, as was discussed briefly above, to "exquisite singing in parts" (Collinson Elizabethan 36). Amphialus kneels to Philoclea during his first visit to her (322, p449) and repeatedly endeavors to gain Philoclea's grace with complicated musical compositions of the polyphonic variety favored by Cecropia's maids. On the night of Anaxius' arrival, Amphialus "caused in boats upon the lake an excellent music to be ordered—which, though Anaxius might conceive was for his honour, yet indeed he was but the brickwall to convey it to the ears of the beloved Philoclea" (392, p522). The language chosen to describe this elaborate multi-part music emphasizes its intricacy and sensuality and its origins in Amphialus' self-pride and his attempts to satisfy his own "passions": "The music was of cornets, whereof one answering the other (with a sweet emulation striving for the glory of music) and striking upon the smooth face of the quiet lake, was then delivered up to the castle-walls, which with a proud reverberation" radiate it forth through the air in such a fashion that "before the harmony came to the ear that it had enriched itself in travel, the nature of those places adding melody to that melodious instrument." Afterwards, "... an excellent consort followed of five viols and as many voices, which all (being but orators of their
master's passions) bestowed this song upon her [Philoclea] that thought upon another matter [Pyrocles]. . ." (392, p523; emphases added). During one visit, Amphialus serenades Philoclea, "presuming to cause his dream to be sung unto her, which he had seen the night before he fell in love with her, making a fine boy he had accord a pretty dolefulness unto it" (346, p475). Amphialus orders for Philoclea "whatsoever could be imagined likely to please her . . . musics at her window, and especially such musics as might with doleful embassage call the mind to think of sorrow, and think of it with sweetness--with ditties so sensibly expressing Amphialus' case that every word seemed to be but a diversifying of the name of Amphialus. . ." (334, p462). Again, the repetition of Amphialus' own name in the ditties shows a focus upon their maker's needs and invention rather than simple praise of the one for whose sake the music is supposedly composed: like the "goodly heape" of Spenser's House of Pride, Amphialus' musics "sp[e]ake the praises of the workmans wit" (Fairie Queene 1.4.5).

The text of the song bounced off the lake and up the castle walls before being diffused forth through the air to Philoclea's ears (performed on the pretext of Anaxius' visit) highlights its maker's overwhelming self-absorption. The characteristic properties of the universe and its composite elements--of time itself--are ascribed to compassion for Amphialus' love-grief:

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The fire, to see my woes, for anger burneth;
The air, in rain, for my affliction weepeth;
The sea, to ebb, for grief his flowing turneth;
The earth, with pity dull, his centre keepeth; . . .
Time runs away for sorrow;
Place standeth still, amazed
To see my night of evils, which hath no morrow.
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First-person pronouns predominate in the verses. The mistress, by whom the music was supposedly inspired, receives far less attention than the composer's own passions. Philoclea is mentioned only to be blamed for not joining the rest of creation in demonstrating her "pity" for her lover,
her chastity being equated with cruelty: "Alas, aloney she no pity taketh / To know my miseries; but chaste and cruel . . ." (392, p523).

Sidney's repeated references to Cecropia and Amphialus' reliance upon lush, sensual music in their endeavors to attract the princesses, as well as his precise specification of the polyphonic style they favor, argue that the details are not merely casual but are thematically significant. While an author's indication of such musical styles need not, of course, necessarily refer to religious controversies, the context created by the history and behavior of Cecropia and her family in Arcadia, related in close juxtaposition to the kidnapping episode, as well as by Cecropia's name and by the scarlet clothing of her maids and so forth, suggest that the details in these cases do allude to contemporary disputes over music in the worship service.

Other analogies between Amphialus' methods of wooing Philoclea and modes of worship within the popish and inadequately reformed Protestant churches, combined with the clear obsession in the texts of Amphialus' music not with the supposed recipient of his devotions (Philoclea) but with his own passions and desires, suggest an allegorical caution similar to Peter Martyr's heeds against church music based upon human invention rather than Scripture: "...if there should be a windowe opened into the inventions of men, it were to be feared, lest ecclesiastical Musicke would at length tune to fables and trifles" (Common Places 314).6 Amphialus' song's repetition of its inventor's name probably underscores that its text originates in human pride rather than being derived from God's Word. Influential Protestants such as Martyr preferred that the words of church music should either be gathered directly from Scripture or "exactlie agree with the word of God." Martyr and others objected as well to elaborate multi-part arrangements that sacrificed clear communication and comprehension of the all-important, preferably divinely inspired, verbal message for the sake of sensory appeal. While simple text-centered music was admissible, Martyr could not allow that "that broken and
quavering Musick be lawfullie reteined, wherewith they which be present, are so hindered, as they cannot understand the words, though they would faine doo it" (Common Places 314).

In distinguishing between the nature and function of music within the True and Antichristian churches, Fulke, too, criticizes papist hymns extolling creatures rather than the Creator. The faithful in Rev. 15:3 are said to sing "the song of Moses" and "the song of the Lambe" ("Great and marvailouse are thy workes, Lord God almightie. . ."). Commenting upon the verse, Fulke praises their "magnificall song" as one bestowed by the Lamb upon his Church, "that is, drawne out of the Doctrine of Christ our savioure, whiche song doeth ascribe all praise, honour, and glorie, to one God almightie." By contrast, and like Amphialus' lyrics in the New Arcadia, most "papisticall or popish hymnes and songes . . . are framed to celebrate the glorie not of God the creatour, but of the creatures," for example, "hayle quene of heaven, hayle, starre of the sea, hayle triumphing crosse, hayle mother Anna, and manie other of the same stuffe," whose "moste horrible blasphemies" lead him to conclude: "The Lambe never taught these songes, but that monstous beast" (with two horns, Rev. 13:11).

Amphialus' self-division and "spiritual vacillation" (one translation of his name is "between two seas") have been commented upon by previous critics (for example, Davis 131-2); indeed, his character is notable for nothing so much as for his constant efforts to straddle two opposed positions simultaneously. This attribute complements and reinforces the use with his character in Book 3 of symbols and metaphors recurrently applied to the established Church of England by sixteenth-century authors censuring that institution for remaining only halff-reformed. Such critics believed that idolatrous practices deriving from the traditions and doctrine of the Romish Church of Antichrist were antithetical to the Scriptural standards upon which a truly Reformed church must be founded: idolatry and rule by the Gospel, they reasoned,
are mutually exclusive alternatives that cannot coexist. Maintaining papist practices within the English church led to a fundamental weakness in its constitution that left it susceptible to future enthrallement to the Church of Antichrist, as, with his return to Cecropia's castle, Amphialus, who constantly attempts to reap the benefits of both options in what are, in fact, mutually exclusive alternative choices, becomes enslaved by the Antichristian ritual upon which he there comes to rely.

This tendency is exemplified by his indecisiveness in selecting an outfit to wear during his first visit with the captive Philoclea: "calling for his richest apparel, nothing seemed sumptuous enough for his mistress's eyes; and that which was costly, he feared were not dainty; and though the invention were delicate, he misdoubted the making." He agonizes as well over "the colour, lest if gay, he might seem to glory in his injury, and her wrong; if mourning, it might strike some evil presage unto her of her fortune" (321, p448). The garment that Amphialus finally selects features "a broad and gorgeous collar, whereof, the pieces interchangeably answering, the one was of diamonds and pearl set with a white enamel so as, by the cunning of the workman, it seemed like shining ice; and the other piece, being of rubies and opals, had a fiery glistening--which he thought pictured the two passions of fear and desire, wherein he was enchained" (321, p448). On the two halves of Amphialus' "gorgeous collar," the mutually opposing forces of fire and ice suggested by their jewels are physically juxtaposed. Of course, when placed next to one another, these two elements soon lose the extreme heat or coldness characteristic of either in isolation and melt into a lukewarm puddle. Similarly, Amphialus' perpetual indecision and attempts to achieve mutually conflicting desires simultaneously underscore the contradiction between the ardor of the "hot" love he professes for Philoclea and his simultaneous refusal (or "coldness") to obey her repeated entreaties for liberty: Amphialus is, to use Sidney's metaphor, "enchained" by his lukewarmness and irresolute vacillation.

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The very next detail provided after the description of his icy-fiery collar is that a wound Amphialus has suffered, being "not yet fully well made him a little halt, but he strave to give the best grace he could unto his halting, and in that sort he went to Philoclea's chamber..." (321, p448; emphases added). The lukewarm, "neither-cold-nor-hot," metaphor and a halting metaphor were applied by zealous Protestants to the insufficiently reformed British Church. It is particularly significant that, as in the description of Amphialus, references to halting and to lukewarmness frequently appear within a single sentence or passage in writings employing the metaphors to indict a church's spiritual condition. For instance, Henry Burton "accused the Laudians of turning England's church into the halfway house of Laodicea, 'halting between two with prevaricating feet, having on the Linsew-Wolsew garment, neither hot, nor cold. . .'" [The Seven Vials, qtd. in Christianson 142). As is shown below, the neither-hot-nor-cold phrasing derives from the rebuke of the church at Laodicea in Rev. 3, and commentators upon Revelation, such as Gifford and Fulke, often use the word halting during their remarks upon the lukewarm Laodiceans."

The halting and "neither-hot-nor-cold" metaphors are both Scriptural; typical uses of each as applied to the established Church of England will be discussed and illustrated before the significance of Amphialus' garments is considered further. The halting imagery derives from the prophet Elijah, who in 1 Kings 18:21 warns the people: "How long halt ye betwene two opinions? If the Lord be God, followe him: but if Baal be he then go after him." The Geneva gloss to the word halt in this verse suggests that it was read as emblematic of inadequate religious commitment: "Be constant in religion, & make it not as a thing indifferent whether ye followe God or Baal, or whether ye serve God wholly or in parte." The Duchess of Suffolk echoed Elijah's admonition to criticize Elizabeth's "backwardness" in allowing the church to remain insufficiently reformed, demanding of the queen's secretary, Sir William
Cecil: "How long halt ye between two opinions?" (qtd. in Collinson Elizabethan 31). Elijah's halting metaphor was likely influential in establishing the image of the "unreformed" English church as a maimed boy. Peter Lake labels the comparison, employed, for example, in a sermon of 1583/4 by Laurence Chaderton, "a stock presbyterian conceit." Lake argues that one reason for the image's popularity was that the precise severity of the injury remained nebulous, adding, "Such ambiguity was central to the moderate position." Cartwright, consequently, could draw upon the image in his antiseparatist writings "to establish the distinction between a mortal injury and a merely severe disablement. According to Cartwright the English church could be likened to a man who had lost a limb; she was seriously injured, even crippled, but her wounds were not fatal" (Moderate Puritans 34; 298). By employing variants of the word halt twice within the portion of the text in which Amphialus displays in rapid succession, as is further illustrated below, several of the practices and modes of worship that caused its critics to consider the Church of England merely half reformed, Sidney reinforces one of the maimed Amphialus' most important symbolic associations--with the inadequately purged British national church, a signification strengthened by his use within the same passage of the simultaneous fire and ice of Amphialus' collar.42

Another analogy drawn upon by "radical puritans" to sustain a position between establishment conservatives and separatists was a comparison of the English Church to Laodicea, the "lukewarm" church addressed by St. John in Rev. 3. The Laodicea label acknowledged the official church's "proper doctrine," but simultaneously objected to its "improper government. While essentially negative," therefore, the comparison to Laodicea could suggest both hope for improvement and "the threat of rejection" (Christianson 10, 48). Before examining instances in which Elizabethans analogized the Church of England to that in Laodicea and explaining the relevance of such analogies to Amphialus' characterization, we should note a documented instance in which Sidney
himself applies the Laodicea label to contemporary religious positions that he considered "lukewarm," or lacking in zeal adequate to or worthy of the "Cause" he championed. Sidney wrote to his mentor Hubert Languet in the spring of 1574: "...again and again I beg you, as I have done in previous letters, to abandon at last that ungrateful soil which you have tilled for so many years while harvesting no fruit, or very little, and to go to those who love you and are not Laodiceans..." (qtd. in Osborn 205-6). As Osborn explains, "Sidney's reference to Laodiceans (Rev. 3:14) would have been understood by Languet as sympathetic to his view that the Lutherans had become smug and lukewarm in their attitude towards the cause of Protestant activism" (205). One of the clearest and most concise explanations as to why the "neither-hot-nor-cold" Laodiceans were viewed as furnishing such an apt analogue in contemporary debates on church reform derives from Thomas Brightman's paraphrase of some of the counsel enjoined upon the congregation in Rev. 3: "Forsake (saith he) thy lukwarmnes: Purge out all thy Romish leven; hang not any longer in the midst betwene the reformed churches and that that is Antichristian..." (199-200). Brightman's paraphrase illuminates Sidney's assignment of the label to the Lutherans in his letter to Languet. It is also highly suggestive of an additional significance of Amphialus' name, which, is often translated "between two seas." As Elijah had urged the exigency and necessity of an absolute choice between God and Baal, so Brightman, who quotes Elijah's halting metaphor during his commentary on Laodicea (169), interprets the warning to Laodicea as admonishing his own contemporaries to take a firm stand in the conflicts between the contemporary manifestations of the Churches of Christ and Antichrist, the Reformed churches and the Church of Rome: one could not, he cautions, merely "hang" or halt noncomittally between two such opposite and antagonistic forces. Those who aimed to do so risked the fate prophesied for the Laodiceans, being spewed out of the mouth of God (Rev. 3:17).
Brightman himself believed that the condition of the Church of England in his time was mirrored in that of Laodicea, so that it was subject to the censures invoked upon that church. Brightman's commentary, the first edition of which was not published until after his death, in 1609, was probably composed a decade or so earlier. Yet, he writes that the conditions within the English church justifying the Laodicea analogy had been lamented back in January of 1550, by "Martin Bucer (of all godly men to bee had in perpetuall remembrance) . . . in a certaine Epistle of his, written from Cambridge to a speciall friend of his. . ." (167). Within his commentary, Brightman applies the generalized warning to be derived from Laodicea's example explicitly to the Church of England: "In our Realme of England . . . such a forme of a Church is established, which is neither cold, nor yet hott, but set in the middest between both, and compounded of both. It is not cold, inasmuch as it doth professe the sound, pure, and sincere doctrine of salvation, by which wee have renounced that Antichrist of Rome, and are risen out of that death as cold as yce wherein wee lay before. But hott it is not, as whose outward regiment is as yet for the greatest part Antichristian & Romish." This "tempering of pure doctrine and the Romish regiment" makes the English church notable for the "lukewarmenes, whereby wee stand just in the middest between cold and hott, betweene the Romish and the Reformed Churches. . ." (168). In his vernacular commentary, obviously intended primarily for English readers, Gifford, too, advises them that the Spirit's admonition to the Laodiceans "be deeply printed and ingraven in your hearts," in the hope that "It may doe us good, for are we not growing lukewarme, even as the Churche to whome this message was sent?" (103). Fulke likewise considers Laodicea a close analogue to the Church of England in his time, alerting readers of his Revelation commentary to the "merveill" through which "...Christ here by the spirite of prophescye, hath expressed the state and condition of our Churches under the figure of the byshop of Laodicea. . . ." The nation's residents ought, therefore,
to fear that the "terrible threateninges" issued to the Laodiceans hold for them as well. Immediately after pointing to the marvelous similarities between the Churches of England and of Laodicea, Pulke observes the parallel significations of Elijah's halting metaphor and the Laodiceans' lukewarmness: "The like metaphor Joshua and Helias used, when they forbade the people to halt on both partes, and commaunded them either to folow God onely, or Baale onely" (24').

Amphialus' fire-and-ice collar and a symbolically similar later profession to his mother that, at each approach to Philoclea, "...I freezed as much in a fearful reverence as I burned in a vehement desire" (401, p532; emphases added), obviously and appropriately echo on one level a commonplace of the Petrachan tradition. However, as I believe is frequently the case in Book 3, Sidney is presenting Amphialus simultaneously as both a lover deluded by "Petrarchan" stereotypes and a worshipper deluded by papist doctrine and ceremonies, both forms of "idolatry." My concern here is with the latter issue, which has received much less attention from Sidney critics. The links between Amphialus and the English church developed through Cecropia's family history; the halting references in close conjunction with the collar description; and allusions to the vestments controversy in the same scene—all strongly suggest that the fire-and-ice and freezing-and-burning passages should be associated not only with Petrarchan convention but also with the division-between-hot-and-cold metaphors so prominent in the Laodicea discussions.

Both Amphialus and the Laodiceans are criticized as well for contradicting their words through their deeds. Like those who halt between God and Baal, and, therefore, are fully committed to neither, the Laodiceans are neither fully "cold" in their religion, since they profess a love of God, nor fully "hot," since they do not act upon such professions. From a human perspective, Laodiceans may "appear good, and their works seem glorious; yet are they before God no sincere christians, but dissembling hypocrites indeed" (Bale Select 293). According to Bale's
paraphrase and commentary, the eventual fate prophesied for the Laodiceans and their likes results largely from their duplicity: "Forsomuch therefore as I find thee between both, and neither of both, half cold half hot, and neither fully cold nor hot, neither faithfully given to God's word, nor all whole without, but a false glozing hypocrite; I will begin to vomit thee... and spew thee out of my mouth..." (Select 294).

Similarly, Philoclea must lament to Amphialus that his fair words are undermined by his failure to act upon them: "...what shall my tongue be able to do, which is informed by the ears one way and by the eyes another? You call for pity--and use cruelty; you say you love me--and yet do the effects of enmity; you affirm your death is in my hands--but you have brought me to so near a degree to death as, when you will, you may lay death upon me, so that while you say I am mistress of your life, I am not mistress of mine own; you entitle yourself my slave--but I am sure I am yours" (322, p449). In his first words to Philoclea after she has been forcibly kidnapped and restrained in his family's castle, Amphialus urges the princess "to take what was done in good part, and to assure herself there was nothing but honour meant unto her person." Again, though, Philoclea immediately underscores the discrepancy between such claims and his countenance of her enforced imprisonment, giving "him to understand that considering his doings she thought his speech as full of incongruity as her answer would be void of purpose..." (322, p449).

A central and related defect of both Amphialus in Book 3 and the Laodiceans is disobedience. I have argued briefly above that, rather like Spenser's Una, Philoclea, at certain points in the revised Arcadia, is associated allegorically with a various but complementary cluster of Protestant exemplars, including the Primitive Church, the New Jerusalem, and Scripture. I also show, however, that, even if one does not accept my interpretations of the symbolism establishing these associations, Sidney does explicitly analogize Amphialus' courtship of Philoclea to religious worship, so that, indisputably and at a minimum, she does function at
certain points in Book 3 as an analogue to the object of religious devotion. Consequently, Amphialus' blatant and recurrent disobedience of the "commandments" he begs Philoclea to issue him is highly suggestive of the disobedience to Scriptural imperatives for which the Laodiceans are rebuked. Amphialus continuously refuses to "hear," or at least to act upon, the imprisoned Philoclea's repeated requests for "liberty." And Amphialus' weak excuses on such occasions employ language evocative of such religious parallels: "...I find myself most willing to obey you; neither, truly, do mine ears receive the least word you speak with any less reverence than as absolute and unresistable commandments. ..."

Yet, as I am about to show the Revelation commentators held was the case with the Laodiceans, Amphialus at once contradicts his stated willingness to comply with the requests of the one he claims to revere, shifting the blame to a force separate from his own will or desire: "... but alas! that tyrant, love, which now possesseth the hold of all my life and reason, will no way suffer it. It is love! It is love, not I, which disobey you. What then shall I say, but that I who am ready to lie under your feet; to venture, nay, to lose my life at your least commandment, I am not the stay of your freedom, but love--love, which ties you in your own knots" (323, p450-1; emphases added). He even proceeds to blame not just love but Philoclea herself: "It is yourself that imprison yourself! It is your beauty which makes these castle walls embrace you! It is your own eyes which reflect upon themselves this injury!" After this blameshifting, Amphialus, through a false dichotomy, removes his own obedience to Philoclea's stated desires or commands as a potential solution to her unhappiness with imprisonment: "Then is there no other remedy but that you some way vouchsafe to satisfy this love's vehemency, which, since it grew in yourself, without question you shall find it--far more than I--tractable" (323, p451). Once again, Amphialus shifts all responsibility away from himself, this time onto his prisoner. Later, when Musidorus, disguised as the Forsaken Knight, accuses him of "most
rebellious injury to" the princesses, Amphialus responds, "... I confess
the same too--but it proceeds from their own beauty to enforce love to
offer this force" (405, p536). Here, too, Amphialus transfers
accountability and guilt away from himself onto young women deprived of
their liberty to act freely within his castle.

Similarly, the division between heat and cold for which the
Laodiceans are reprehended by the "Amen, the faithful and true witnes, the
beginning of the creatures of God" (Rev. 3:14) is presented by
commentators as largely a failure of obedience. A primary lesson of the
address to Laodicea is, in Fulke’s opinion, that "The worde by which all
things are made, to which all the creatures are bound to yeald the full
and perfect obedience," will not countenance "by any meanes" that they
"geve part to the worlde, and parte to themselves of that obeysaunce which
is due unto him." God’s creatures may not, as Amphialus repeatedly
endeavors to do, "make any excuse," through which they "maye be with
drawne by any meanes from his obedience. For he doth renounce the
obedience of Christ, that doth not wholly submit him selfe unto him, which
doeth never alowe any halting obedience" (24'). Gifford, too, in his
commentary upon the Laodiceans and contemporary manifestations of their
type ("haulters that are without zeale"), chastizes those who divert their
zeal away from active obedience to the Gospel toward subtle justifications
of behaviors they personally prefer or find more convenient: "The
newters, the lukewarme gospellers, which are neither cold nor hot, are
earnest and zealous, but not for the gospell: but in defence of their
owne wayes" (103). Like Amphialus, the Laodiceans endeavor to excuse away
disobedience. Bullinger analogizes the Laodiceans’ attempts "to match the
world and the Church together, and to joyne together Christ & Mammon," to
the "many lyke" in his own day, "to whom this is common and ever in their
mouth: I have learned both to be a Gospeller, and also to be a soldiour,
to drinke, to play the whore monger, and to lyve at pleasure. You shall
find lyke Churches, servyng both Christ and Mammon, or marchaundise,
Bacchus, Venus and the God of battle" (57'). Such applications of the Laodiceans' example to common contemporary errors suggest, particularly given the Laodicea allusions in Amphialus' characterization for which I have been arguing, the gravity of Amphialus' fault in excusing his disobedience to Philoclea's "commandments" by shifting the blame to "Love" or beauty and in imagining that he can, without contradiction, simultaneously show himself Philoclea's true lover ("servant" as he claims 320, p447) and devote his energy and attention primarily and increasingly exclusively to "Venus and the God of battle" (in Bullinger's terms), as he, in fact, attempts to do in Book 3, causing him to ignore Philoclea's pleas for liberty. The marked disparity between the fervor of the love Amphialus professes for Philoclea and his expectant reliance upon courtship modes that I argue in this chapter carry strong suggestions of papist ritual and ceremony, on the one hand, and his condoning of her imprisonment, on the other, again mirrors the Laodiceans' (as they are portrayed by the commentaries examined for this study) enthusiastic devotion to Christian ceremony, even as they fail to act according to Christian morality in their daily behavior. The Laodicean "In outward things . . . sheweth hym selfe to be a Christian, by resortyng to holy assemblies, and receivyng the Sacramentes: but inwardly he is so besieged of the world, that he lyveth a worldly lyfe, rather than a Christian lyfe." God does not, Bullinger cautions, permit "Such a mixture," which is discernable in his own time among the "many" who "make an hoge potche of papistrie and the Gospell" (58'), an error exemplified through Amphialus' divided allegiances in Book 3.

Emphases upon the divisiveness, moral oscillation, and refusal of firm commitment characterizing both Amphialus and the Laodiceans lead to strong rhetorical similarities in their portrayals by Sidney and Revelation commentators respectively, as will have been evident from many of the passages on each quoted above. Often, perhaps in conscious or unconscious imitation of the rebuke of the Laodiceans as "nether colde nor
hote. . ." (Rev. 3:16), commentators and Sidney describe the Laodiceans and Amphialus as "neither x nor y," or with other such pairings of opposites suggesting division. Amphialus, for instance, is "...neither able to grant nor deny..." Philoclea's first request for liberty (323). Elsewhere, the New Arcadia's narrator asserts that in his "fatal love to Philoclea" Amphialus "governed himself" toward her "as one that could neither conquer nor yield, being of the one side a slave, and of the other a jailer" (401, p532). Similarly, Bale amplifies upon the Spirit's censure of the contradiction between the Laodiceans' words and acts with a series of antithetical pairs: "I see thou art neither cold nor hot... Thou art neither constant in the faith, nor yet all without faith. Outwardly thou art hot, but within thou art cold as ice... I would thou were either cold or hot, either a Christian or none at all, either a perfect lover of the verity, or else a full hater of it; and not a dissembling hypocrite as thou art..." (Bale Select 293).

As Amphialus was raised away from Cecropia, whom I have argued Sidney associates with the Church of Rome (with its Antichristian doctrine), yet professes love for Philoclea and the desire to obey her "commandments," so, according to Gifford, the Laodiceans "had been taught in the true doctrine, they had received the same and did profess it, they caried themselves in some civill course of life, but they wanted the heate of love, and of zeale..." (102). Zeal, indeed, is the prescribed remedy for lukewarmness such as that exemplified by the Laodiceans, for the Spirit admonishes that congregation, "As manie as I love, I rebuke and chasten: be zealous therefore and amende" (Rev. 3:19). Both the Geneva editors and Gifford stress that want of religious zeal is not a minor failing but a grave one. The Geneva gloss to verse 3:19 declares, "Nothing more displeaseth God then indifferencie, & coldenes in religion, & therefore he wil spewe suche out as are not zealous and fervent." Gifford views the rebuke of the Laodiceans as having been furnished expressly ". . . least this Church or any other might thinke it but a
small matter, to bee neither cold nor hot: the Lord doth declare and lay open, how loathsome a thing it is unto him..." (102).

The biblical passages upon which these metaphors criticizing the English church for the "dregs of papistry" remaining within it are based argue that betweenness, or the attempt to maintain a neutral or conciliatory position, is not a valid option in religious affairs. Christ and Antichrist, like the God of Israel and Baal, are dualistic, antagonistic powers: God is a jealous lover, intolerant of "fornication" with his opponents and demanding of a firm and total commitment from his followers. One cannot halt between God and Baal or select a lukewarm position midway between hot zeal and cold worldliness, but not fully either. Yet, as Amphialus' name, translated as "between two seas," suggests and as his repeated endeavors to derive the benefits of both options in choices that in fact exclude one another will have shown, such "betweenness" is the central note of Amphialus' characterization in Book 3.

A 1566 dialogue (reprinted in 1581) by Anthony Gilby clarifies for modern readers just how lethal a flaw, from the perspective of ardent Reformers, was "betweenness" such as that exemplified by Amphialus in Book 3. Gilby's dialogue repeatedly invokes additional biblical proof texts through which those who censured the Church of England as only semireformed authorized their criticisms. The dialogue frequently applies the halting and neither-cold-nor-hot labels to conformists willing to uphold or condone the "maintenaunce of popishe Traditions in our English Church." Miles Monopodios, a zealous soldier of God who obviously advances within the dialogue the nonconformist, hard-line stance favored by Gilby, supports his position with multiple Old Testament precedents in addition to Elijah's halting speech, for example: "...we ought not to bear with, nor to suffer any token of Antichrist, any more than Moses, Joshua, or Josiah did of the olde Idolaters, because there may be no concorde, no agreement, no communion, no partaking betwixt Christe and
Christians, Miles reminds, have been furnished with abundant written cautions "to beware how we do mixe & matehe together, thinges that have no concorde, as true and false religion, which can have no more unitie than light and darknesse. . . ." claims substantiated by the New Testament, as well as the Old, for example, by St. Paul's rebuke of the Corinthians: "Be not unequallie yoked with infidels. For what fellowship hath light with darkenesse? or Righteousnesse with unrighteousnes? What concord hath Christ with Belial?" The logical behavioral consequence of the previous string of "rhetorical" questions, from 2 Cor. 6, according to the command (also quoted by Miles) that follows them in that passage, is "Wherefore come out from among them and separate your selves, sayeth the Lorde. . . ." (F5'). This injunction, which suggests the need for total, perhaps even physical, separation of the faithful from the followers of Belial and the forces of darkness, is quite close in spirit and even wording to another text called upon by this ardent warrior of God to bolster the Scriptural authorization he claims for his noncompromising stance on church reform, Rev. 18:5 (paraphrased by him): "Come out from that Romish Babilon. . . ." (D1'). I argue in Chapter 3 that this verse, which frequently appears on the title pages of treatises on church reform by authors such as Mornay, was a primary implicit "lesson" of the Asia Minor narratives: that by the time that Pyrocles and Musidorus depart from Asia Minor, the tyranny and other forms of corruption dominant within that region indicate allegorically the need for a total separation from the Romish Church of Antichrist, the interpretation of the command to "Come out of Babylon" favored by Protestant commentators like Gifford and Fulke, among numerous others.

In one of his recurrent warnings to "haltinge Neutralles," who, despite numerous Scriptural admonitions such as those cited above, "fondly patche Christe his Religion, with the Popes. . . ." and "imagine that they walke without halting, that use yet many popish Ceremonies" (F6', G1'),
Miles cautions: "...beware that it be not your own weaknesse, which wold fayne please both God and the worlde, and therefore swim betwixt two waters" (Fl'; emphasis added). Miles' analogy for the conduct of those who halt between God and worldliness is a virtual translation of Amphialus' name. The "weaknesse" he rebukes is the very betweenness dominating Amphialus' portrayal in Book 3. Miles contemporizes the generalized error analogized to swimming between two waters with an elaborated admonition: "Beware therefore, that it be not of your ownweakenesse, that have yet learned rightly to hate those vayne traditions and superstitious shewes of the popish priestshoode, but are content to be in such slavery your selves." (Fl'). My current chapter argues that this weakness--the continued reliance upon "idolatrous" doctrine and ceremonies of the Church of Antichrist among those professing to love the True Church or Reformed religion--leads to Amphialus' spiritual enslavement and moral downfall in Book 3. The implicit remedy is to turn away from popish inventions and traditions to the Word that Christ's disciples profess to love and were held bound to obey, a solution presented by Miles in the passage censuring those who "swim betwixt two waters" as a natural consequence of true zeal (the quality by means of which the Laodiceans are urged to correct their "lukewarmness"): "...where zeale and care of religion is without halting, al things are easily reformed after the word of God." (Fl').

Amphialus' symbolically significant name, his halting, his lukewarmness, his attempts to please both Cecropia and Philoclea, his active disobedience of the "commandments" he entreats from Philoclea, together with the direct analogies established by Sidney between Amphialus' courting of Philoclea and religious worship and Amphialus' allegorical enactment of popish modes of worship in his wooing of Philoclea--all of these suggest that, on one level, Sidney exemplifies through Amphialus' conduct in Book 3 a "between" or compromising position on church reform that permits the dregs and remnants of the Church of Antichrist to remain within a nominally Reformed church. His ultimate breakdown in Book 3,
culminating in his attempted suicide, consequently demonstrates allegorically the clear futility and vanity of efforts to yoke together or maintain a middle ground between the powers of Christ and Antichrist, a conclusion seen by zealous Reformers like Gilby to ensue necessarily from the biblical "prooftexts" they repeatedly summoned.

Greville relates that Sidney "many times hath told" him that the "active people" of the United Provinces, "(which held themselves constantly to their Religion, and Freedome) would at length grow from an adjective, to a substantive, and prosperous subsistence. Whereas we on the other side, dividing our selves, and waving in both, should first become jealous, then strange to our friends, and in the end (by reconciliation with our common enemie) moderate that zeale, wherein excesse only is the meane. . . ." (Life 143; emphases added). Greville's report suggests that Sidney considered England weakened and at fault for qualities that I have argued characterize Amphialus in Book 3--inadequate zeal, self-division, and "waving." Amphialus' name may also refer to his wavering, or indecisiveness in Book 3, since the sea's wavering was often viewed as emblematic of instability, as in James 1:6 and in Bale's commentary on the sea of Rev. 20, which, he writes, "...signifieth people unstedfast, vain, and fickle. Where as the peace of Christ is surely grounded, no more is there any troubled conscience; no more is there any diffidence, wan hope, or despair" (Select 582).12

Sidney's use of both the Laodicea and halting imagery with Amphialus allows us to posit with a fair degree of precision his approximate positions on church reform at the time of the New Arcadia's composition, according to terminology such as Paul Christianson's in Reformers and Babylon. Separatists, as the term implies, "forged a full condemnation of the Established Church. Puritans," on the other hand, according to Christianson's definition of the group, "drew back from such a drastic step. Most radical puritans came to characterize it as Laodicea. . . ." (48). Such a stance, the desire to reform from within the established
church and to expunge the remnants of the popish Church of Antichrist remaining within it, but not to separate from it, would be similar to those of Gifford and probably of Greville. Gifford's antiseparatist position is elaborated at length in his Declaration That Our Brownists Be Donatists (1590). While Gifford concurred with the Brownists that, within the Church of England, there remained great "imperfections, corruptions and faults, in our Worship, Ministrie and Church governement," he denied their claim that these defects were "such heinous enormities as destroy the verie life, and being of a true Church, and make an utter diverse from Christ" ("To the Reader" *3"). Dewey Wallace asserts that Gifford and others working to reform the Church of England from within "strenuously opposed Separatism" not primarily owing to timidity "but because it endangered precisely what they sought most to achieve--the conversion and the nurture of the many in the parish church--whereas the Separatist program seemed more doctrinaire and legalistic and interested only in the spiritual growth of a miniscule inner circle," hence the cruciality of the "educational task of Puritanism. . ." (49). I argued in Chapter 4 that, through the contrast he develops between Strephon and Claius as allegorical representatives of zealous, educated clergymen and Dametas as the pattern of a nonlearned, nonreformed cleric Sidney advocates the need for educated ministers, capable of and devoted to instructing their flocks. The very importance he attaches to this educational mission of the church and to the responsibilities of monarchs such as Basilius suggests, I believe, his support for a strong, national church, supported and defended by a leader obedient to the dictates of the Word.

To Greville, too, a unified, national church sustained by a responsible sovereign and an educated ministry was a consideration of the first order. He praises the "Ancient Church" for its "powerfull Councels, that made Error mute" Contemporary monarchs should, he urges, follow this pattern to preserve unity within their own realms:

So were it to be wish'd, each Kingdom would
Within her proper Soveraignity,
Seditions, Schismes, and strange Opinions mould
By Synods, to a settled unity;
Such, as though Error privately did harme,
Yet publick Schismes might not so freely swarme.

Greville's other remarks in this context suggest that he viewed not only the Primitive Church but also Scripture as standards according to which each national church should be ordered, for those institutions or "... Orders prosper best, / Which from the word, in seeming, varie least" (A Treatie of Humane Learning 84-7). Elsewhere, in the portions of his A Treatise on Monarchy treating "Of Church," Greville likewise asserts that "thrones," or monarchs, ought to "work that formal unity, / Which brooks no new, or irreligious sects, / To nurse up faction or impiety." a program requiring that they "raise the painful, learned, and devout / To plant obeying conscience throwout" (st. 222), in other words that they build or maintain an educated, preaching ministry capable of reforming and regenerating consciences throughout the nation.

The description of Amphialus' outfit also readily suggests one of the most prominent issues cited by critics of the established church as evidence of the dregs of popery remaining within it: the vestments. An apocalyptic mindset often intensified such objections to the traditional vestments, for zealous reformist warriors like Gilby's Miles Monopodius loathed the thought of battling the Romish Antichrist while "wearing Antichristes liveryes. ..." (B8'). Being "fully persuaded by the worde of God, that the Pope is the very Antichrist, the sonne of perdition: against whom, with hart and hand I doe thinke my selfe moste bounde to fight," Miles testifies, "my harte ariseth in my body, when I see" clergy from the supposedly reformed British church "cloathed like his Chaplaines, that burned the blessed Bible, and our faythfull fathers, and deare Brethren in our eyes" (C4'-C5'). As Miles' passionate testimony reveals, recent memories (kept fresh by widely read historical works such as Foxe's Acts & Monuments) of the persecution of Protestants under Queen Mary heightened the emotional repulsion of many Reformers at being required to wear the "uniform" or "livery" of the wrong team, the False
Church, in the apocalyptic struggle between the two churches. The vestments are also cited by Miles as one means through which popish "ceremonies of Antichrist" lead to bondage and oppose Christian liberty (conditions with which I have argued that Sidney associates Amphialus and Philoclea, respectively): "Poperie is bondage and slaverie. And the binding of the Ministerie, and the sacramentes, to such prescript apparel, was parte of the thinges, whereby menne were chayned in poperie: therefore are they agaynst Christian libertie" (K7').

Amphialus "at length" chooses "a garment more rich than glaring, the ground being black velvet, richly embrodered, with great pearl and precious stones. . . . About his neck he ware a broad and gorgeous collar," richly ornamented with diamonds, pearls, rubies, and opals (321, p448). Many traditional vestments featured distinctive, often ornate, collars,54 and Sidney evidently associated collars with the priesthood. During his stint as ambassador to Emperor Rudolph II for Queen Elizabeth, Sidney privately entertained Philip Camerius of Nuremberg (who preserved a written account55 of these "very memorabe discourses") with an entertaining narrative refuting the claim that "the reason why our kingdome of England hath no wolves, proceedeth of some naturall and knowne propertie" as "a meere tale." Duncan-Jones has labeled Sidney's "dinner-table topic . . . perfect: uncontroversial, mildly patriotic, easy to follow and entertaining" (Courtier 122-3). However, I do not believe that Sidney intentionally squandered such a long-anticipated opportunity to galvanize support for the Protestant "Cause" he championed before an influential and well-connected audience. (Camerius was a Protestant scholar and councillor to the Landgrave of Hesse, with whom Sidney conferred about the prospects of forming a Protestant League [Duncan-Jones Courtier 122].) Rather, Sidney's dinner tale draws upon well-established Protestant literary conventions from satiric "hunting" dialogues like William Turner's The Huntynge of the Romyshe Wolfe and The Hunting & Fyndynge out of the Romishe Fox.56 The subject of Sidney's narrative
approximates the issue for debate established at the outset of The Huntynge of the Romysh Wolffe: whether wolves still remain in England (A6'). The wolves of this and similar Protestant dialogues are papists, particularly clergy obedient to the papacy. Sidney asserts that not a property of nature but "the wisdome of our kings hath effected" the fact "that England hath been cleane rid of [wolves] a long time since, and is so still at this day. . ."; moreover, it remains "well knowne, that this ravenous and cruell beast was in times past as common in England, as in Germanie and other neighbour countries, and did much harme to sheepe. . . ." Sidney is, I believe, referring here to the expulsion of clergy obedient to the papacy with Henry VIII's declaration of the British monarch as "Supreme Head on Earth" of the English church. He would be drawing upon a definition of wolves such as the one just cited and the common biblical symbolism (also employed in the hunting dialogues) of sheep as "flocks" or congregations of Christians. Compare, for example, the fear voiced by the hunter in Turner's Wolfe (composed during Mary's reign) that if the wolves are not once more removed from England as he recommends, "...Christes little poore flocke, muste nedes be torne and rent in peces, as it hathe ben continually these many hundreth yeares saving only in the raigne of Kynge Edward the sixte, when as all the Wolves which are now commed abrode, were faine to hyde them in their dennes" (F3'). The hunter considers the protection of the sheep from ravenous wolves to be dependent upon the monarch's policies, as I argue is the case with Sidney. While Turner's hunter views the more thoroughly Protestant Edward VI as even more effective toward this end than his father, the actions of King Henry VIII are also acknowledged to have had a protective effect on sheep, as is apparent, for example in the full title to Turner's earlier (1543) dialogue, The Hunting & fyndynge out of the Romishe fox whiche more then seven yeares hath bene hyd among the bishhoppes of Englonge after that the Kynge's Hyghnes had commanded hym to be dryven out of hys realme. (While wolves once again constituted a threat at the time of the later, Marian
dialogue, the earlier dialogue is more concerned with covert papists, or foxes.)

Despite the previously cited claim in his narrative "that England hath been cleane rid of" wolves, Sidney nevertheless cites as another proof that no natural property ensures that England is wolf-free the fact that "in divers places of the country there are of them to bee seene in parks of great lords, who send for them out of Ireland and other places, to make a shew of them as of some rare beast: but it is forbidden upon grievous penalties to let them escape out of their enclosure." The "grievous penalties" here referred to would once again be the royally established laws forbidding openly papist clergy from practicing in England, while the continued maintainance of wolves by "great lords" would be recusant priests who serve as domestic chaplains for the gentry, celebrating Mass in the seclusion of private homes despite such laws. The importation of wolves from Ireland and elsewhere would refer to the influx of papists to serve as recusant priests to the gentry from other lands. According to Sidney, the most troublesome attribute of the Irish was their "ignorant obstinancy in papistry" (Miscellaneous 11), so that he might consider them likely to support and shelter papist priests, and the hunter in Turner's Wolfe refers to God's punishment of the English for their sins "by brynging in of other wolves, that are made in other landes alredye..." (A8'). Of course, Jesuits and seminary priests, trained in foreign locales like Douai, Rheims, and Rome entered England covertly, constituting, in the opinion of zealous Protestants like Sidney, a present threat to the "Cause." (It should be recalled that Sidney, as a Member of Parliament, served on a committee that recommended "savage measures against Jesuits and seminary priests."  

A final detail supporting my Protestant interpretation of Sidney's wolf narrative returns us, finally, to the subject of Amphialus' collar. Sidney states,

Now albeit that England is had in estimation for her dogs, which are strong and of a noble kind, and being armed with
their collars according to their custome, are not afraid of a
whole herd of wolves, but doe bravely set upon them, and if
they kill them not, yet doe they give them the chase:
Notwithstanding, for all that ever could be done, this
trecherous beast hath sometimes done much hurt to flockes of
sheepe.

As part of my argument in Chapter 4 that Dametas functions as a
representative of the unlearned, unreformed clergy in England, I discussed
and cited numerous examples of Protestant criticisms of such clerics as
"dumb dogs," a label (deriving from Isaiah 56) that they applied to
ministers unwilling to or incapable of "barking," or preaching, forcefully
enough to protect their sheep or congregations from attacks by papist
wolves and foxes.

The hunting dialogues, likewise, warn that God "sendeth no dum
dogges, & unlearned asses" to preside "over his flock, that can not
preache and teache the word of lyfe wherby his flock shoulde be fed and
saved from the wolves" (Turner Wolfe B7r). Yet, the dog (or hound)
metaphor in Turner’s dialogues is not necessarily negative, applying more
generally to those assigned or assuming responsibility for protecting the
flocks comprising the Church of England from their predators. Turner’s
Fox, however, specifically cautions readers that these dogs do not always
act as they ought in safeguarding sheep from the menace of popish foxes
and wolves. Since papist sympathizers within the established church are
"of the same kynde & linage" as the predatory foxes and wolves, they
merely bark at them "for a face but they bite not." The dialogue
acknowledges that some dogs fulfill their duty of preserving sheep from
their enemies, yet, precisely as a result of such behavior, these
responsible hounds are in danger of themselves becoming the prey of
covertly papist dogs, who "will never rest til they se" their "harte
blode" (3-4).

As was noted in my discussion in Chapter 4, Sidney himself, in
Defence of the Earl of Leicester, applies the dog comparison in its
positive sense to guardians of the True Church and the wolf label to its
enemies. The "wolfish malice" of the author of the anonymous Leicester’s
Commonwealth, whom "any man . . . with half an eye may easily see . . . is of the other party" (i.e. a papist) proves, Sidney claims, the wisdom of "the old tale" that "testifieth, that the wolves that mean to destroy the flock hate most the truest and valiantest dogs" (Miscellaneous 130). Sidney's praise of his uncle as a stalwart watchdog assumes Leicester's contemporary reputation (whether deserved or not) as "the best friend that the radical possessed" and "their chiefest and in manner their only patron" (Collinson Elizabethan 92).

Especially since comments on collars (or on dogs for that matter) do not typically appear in contemporary accounts of the elimination of wolves from England, Sidney's specification that England's noble dogs are "armed with their collars" may strengthen and reinforce the dogs-as-clerics metaphor, alluding to the distinctive collars that constitute a prominent feature of many traditional vestments. Sidney, therefore, seems to associate collars with the priesthood in both his supper narrative and his description of Amphialus' garments, to which subject we now return.

The overall weightiness of Amphialus' jewelled garment, with its "broad and gorgeous collar" are such that Philoclea first becomes aware of his presence in her chamber not because she sees him or apprehends approaching footsteps or opening doors but because she hears him "as he happed to stir his upper garment" (322, p449). The ponderous and sumptuous vestments attacked by fervent Reformers would, indeed, be audibly discernible. Kirchmeyer, satirizing a stereotypical bishop "gorgeously" arrayed in "fourteene sundrie garments . . . ./ Without the which he cannot doe, his sacrifice at all," specifically stresses the heftiness of the vestments: ". . . Approaching to the Altar hie, with countnaunce ferce and grim:/ Whome scarce his weightie clothes permits, to drawe his breath at all,/ Or for to passe with any pace, or any moving small" (107, 111).

An analogy between Amphialus' approach to Philoclea and a bishop's advance to the altar may not be as improbable as it first appears, for
Amphialus is said to send Philoclea "daily presents (as it were, oblations to pacify an angry deity). . ." (334, p462). As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, the analogy here between Amphialus' gifts to Philoclea and a worshipper's "oblations" to the "deity" is explicit and indisputable, strengthening my arguments throughout this chapter that, through Amphialus' courtship of Philoclea, Sidney criticizes forms of worship presented as inappropriate. As was also mentioned earlier, the narrator's reference to "daily presents" intended "to pacify an angry deity" would have called to the minds of Sidney's contemporaries the Roman Mass, traditionally regarded as a daily sacrifice to placate God's anger. 

Amphialus repeatedly endeavors to gain Philoclea's favor with creations of his own invention and artifice, a point strongly emphasized, as was discussed earlier, in narratorial descriptions of both the lyrics and instrumentation of the music he composes or has performed for her. The devices on his armor and garments are likewise designed to demonstrate the strength of his own imagination. Amphialus presents to the princess gifts "wherein, if the workmanship of the form had striven with the sumptuousness of the matter, as much as did the invention, in the application, contend to have the chief excellency . . . --awfully serviceable. . . ." Yet, Amphialus' offerings are explicitly disapproved by the narrator, who labels them "so many stories of his disgraces and her perfections, where the richness did entertain the eyes, and the device did teach the eyes the present misery of the presenter himself. . . ." (334, p462). Because Amphialus attempts to win Philoclea's love through gifts and other offerings designed according to his own fanciful notions of what will please her--rather than by obeying her express, forcefully reiterated, pleas for liberty--his presents seem to her merely "so many tedious clogs of a thrall'd obligation" (335, p463). The allegorical analogy is, I believe, to the reliance within papal (and other inadequately Reformed) churches upon spurious human inventions and "traditions," rather than upon obedience to God's commandments in His
Word, effectively turning humans away from the liberty of the Gospel back toward the bondage of the Law, leaving them in willful "thralldom," like Amphialus (379, p509). Ardent Reformers repeatedly criticized corruption of the pure doctrine of the Gospel with human "inventions," a word often used to describe Amphialus' efforts to win Philoclea's love, as in the passage just quoted. Robert Hawkins, for instance, under interrogation in 1567 for meeting outside the Established Church, complained to its officials that they "brought the gospel and sacraments into bondage to the ceremonies of antichrist, and . . . defend idolatry and papistry. There is no ordinance of Christ, but you have mingled your own inventions withal" (qtd. in Christianson 49). The "right life of a Christian consisteth," by contrast, according to John Gough, in "leaving off our own dreams and inventions, and in following the sacred and holy Scriptures, setting the same always before our eyes as the only lodestar to follow, and touchstone to try all our doctrine by" (Trinterud 38).61

Amphialus is, furthermore, (like his mother) associated still more specifically than has been suggested thus far with a central papist sacrament that did not remain within the Elizabethan Church: the Mass. This argument initially seems to conflict with my earlier claim that, within the New Arcadia's religio-political allegory, Amphialus' strongest connection is with the established Church of England, which is criticized through him as inadequately reformed. A number of explanations, all of which I consider pertinent, however, account for this seeming contradiction. Whereas in Books 1 and 2 Sidney comments upon issues of church reform primarily through a highly politicized allegorical history of the church, obviously based upon already completed past events and the patterns they reveal, Book 3 (after Cecropia's brief family history near its opening) is more "prophetic" in the ordinary sense of that term, that is to say, predictive of future outcomes or consequences for the Church of England and its members if various possible courses or degrees of reform are instituted or adhered to. Characters who have, in the first two
books, been associated with different potentialities of the English church are, in Book 3, subjected to the pressure of affliction. How each fares under duress indicates the strengths and/or weaknesses of the level or mode of reform with which the character has been linked. Many characters who initially appear quite strong and attractive are shown to be inadequate to severe trials and adversities, which, it should be recalled, were considered by Protestants of the time a primary characteristic of the Endtimes, in which they believed themselves to be living.

Amphialus' association with the English Church is made evident near the outset of Book 3 through Cecropia's family history. Fairly early in that book, too, the Laodicea and halting imagery, which had been used to criticize the English church, appear in his characterization. The English church's designation as Laodicea results in the first place from the "dregs of popery" remaining within it, and, precisely because Amphialus' faith is lukewarm and superficial, as this imagery indicates, he speedily resumes his popish, Antichristian assumptions and behaviors upon his return to Cecropia's castle. Lacking a firm commitment to or understanding of the underlying principles of the Reformed faith, Amphialus, when he is again subjected to his "mother's" sway, doesn't hold up to testing but easily slides back into papist modes of worship. Allusions to the Mass within Amphialus' characterization might be pointed toward criticizing as inadequately reformed the Church of England's communion service or its doctrine concerning the nature of Christ's presence in the Eucharist. In the 1570's and 1580's, some Puritans, reworking symbolism of the Roman Mass as a whore common within the prior Mistress-Missa tradition, "went on to use the whore as a symbol of some form of the Established communion service" (Waters 7-8). In any event, the main point to the perhaps deliberate ambiguity created by associating Amphialus with both the supposedly Reformed English church and papism would be to illustrate the power of idolatrous, "popish" rites (whether practiced within the Church of Rome itself or polluting the service of a
nominally Protestant church) to contribute to the decline of the Church of England and, consequently, to imply the need to purge that institution of the remnants of the Church of Antichrist yet within it.

Soon after his return to Cecropia's castle, Amphialus is linked allegorically to the Mass through an extended simile. During his initial visit with the imprisoned Philoclea, Amphialus, just before denying her tearful request for "liberty," is compared to

...the poor woman, who loving a tame doe she had above all earthly things, having long played withal and made it feed at her hand and lap, is constrained at length by famine (all her flock being spent, and she fallen into extreme poverty) to kill the deer to sustain her life: many a pitiful look doth she cast upon it, and many a time doth she draw back her hand before she can give the stroke--for even so, Amphialus by a hunger-starved affection was compelled to offer this injury. . . .

I argued in my last chapter that Kalendar's slaying and consumption of a deer probably refers to Erasmus' continued endorsement of the Roman Church's teachings on the Mass. Sidney would, I indicated, be drawing upon the traditional use of the deer as a symbol for Christ, the notion of the "corporal eating" of Christ's body and blood assumed by the doctrine of transubstantiation presupposed in the Mass, and the Protestant charge that in this papist ritual Christ is crucified anew, implying that his original sacrifice on the cross is inadequate without continued priestly intervention. The latter two beliefs, while commonplaces of Protestant polemic, will here be exemplified from a letter (reprinted in Foxe's Acts & Monuments) by Sidney's aunt, the Protestant martyr and nine-day queen, Lady Jane Grey. Chastizing a chaplain "fallen from the truth of God's most Holy Word" for once again placing his hopes in the idolatrous Mass, she implores,

Wilt thou refuse the true God, and worship the invention of man, the golden calf, the whore of Babylon, the Romish religion, the abominable idol, the most wicked mass? Wilt thou torment again, rend and tear the most precious body of our Saviour Christ, with thy bodily and fleshly teeth? . . . . Christ offered himself up once for all, and wilt thou offer him up again daily at thy pleasure?"44

While Lady Jane herself does not explicitly employ the deer-slaying
imagery, my interpretation of the simile as referring to the Mass, even without the longstanding use of the deer as a symbol for Christ, is not far removed from Thomas Becon's typically Protestant accusation in The Displaying of the Popish Mass that, whereas "All bloody sacrifices for sin" were to have ceased "in the new testament," the papists (whom he addresses) perpetuate such sacrifices, "as the heathenish and Jewish priests did. They killed and sacrificed brute beasts upon their altars; and you take upon you to sacrifice the Son of God, and to make him meat, when it pleaseth you" (Prayers 258-9). His reference to making "meat" of Christ would underscore the corporal eating supposed by the Mass, the significance I have attributed to the fact that both Kalendar and the woman in the deer simile used with Amphialus consume the deer they have slain.

Sidney's specification that the deer in this simile is a tame one, raised by its slayer herself, likely echoes Protestant satire of mass priests, who first claim to create Christ of the mass wafer, then proceed to consume him. Becon, for instance, ridicules the priests of this rite as fathers who devour the children they themselves have created: "...as the most part of you papists teach, of the little thin cake ye make the very same body of Christ that was born of Mary... O wonderful creators and makers! O marvellous fathers, which beget a child older than the father! And, after ye have made him, ye tear him on pieces, ye eat him... O cruel and unmerciful fathers, so to handle your poor young old child!" (Becon Prayers 261). Such attacks are reiterated, with the papists' Host derided as "your Christ's body, which ye yourselves made, and have now destroyed again" (Becon Prayers 278). Because deer are, of course, not naturally tame, the animal in Sidney's simile is, as it has come to exist, to an unusual degree a product of the woman's own creation, making her destruction and ingestion of it seem particularly unkind. The woman's claim to have loved the pet deer she consumes "above all earthly things" would, of course, be the attitude professed by papists about
Christ, and, ironically, would suggest the contrast between the affection that the paternal Mass priests of Protestant satire should feel toward the Host-child of their own creation and their sacrifice and consumption of the same.

The indication that, before killing the deer the woman had "long played withal" and the emphasis on her loathenss and reluctance to deal the death blow--"many a pitiful look doth she cast upon it, and many a time doth she draw back her hand before she can give the stroke"--would intimate grimly satiric Protestant caricatures of Mass priests playing with the Host, of their exaggerated gestures during the ceremony, and of the sorrowful looks they throw upon the "bread god" that they are so visually, indeed histrionically, hesitant to "sacrifice." A stereotypical Mass priest in the Beehive of the Romishe Church (again, a work dedicated to Sidney), after lifting the wafer into the air, "beginneth then to looke so pitifully, like a calfe laide on the butchers stall, and then he beginneth to lament the wafer . . . pitifullie," to weep, "and then at the last, when he hath tossed it too and fro, long inough, away it goeth . . . into his throate, and so swalloweth it downe without chewing. . . ." (Marnix 212'-213'). The repeated sorrowful withdrawing of her hands by the woman in Sidney's simile before she can kill her pet may suggest the theatrical gestures of the Mass priests of Protestant satire: ". . .sometime hee foldeth his hands together, like sorrowfull Marie Magdalene, and sometime hee stretches them out on everie side. . . .," then back in, and so forth (Marnix 212'). In Becon's A Comparison Between the Lord's Supper and the Pope's Mass, the mass priest at the altar performs . . .like another Roscius, with his foolish, player-like, and mad gestures, the poor wretch writheth himself on every side, now bowing his knees, now standing right up, now crossing himself, as though he were afraid of spirits, now stooping down, now prostrating himself, now knocking on his breast, now censing, now kissing the altar, the book, and paten, now stretching out his arms, now folding his hands together, now making characters, signs, tokens, and crosses, now lifting up the bread and chalice. . . . (Becon Prayers 362). Mass priests cross themselves as part of the service, Becon charges, "that
ye may be more able to bring to pass your butchery that is now at hand" (Prayers 278). The woman's playing with the deer she will ultimately consume suggests Protestant mockery of the Mass priests' "dancing of your little great god about the chalice," which (according to an editorial note in the Parker Society edition) refers to crosses "made with the host about and within the chalice" (Becon Prayers 277). Such ritual is derided with taunts such as Becon's, "Your child must needs be dandled and played withal a little while. . ." (Prayers 277).

The deer-slaying analogy appears in the episode just before which Amphialus agonizes over appropriate garments for the visit, "calling for his richest apparel," yet fearing "nothing seemed sumptuous enough" (321, p448), details that I have interpreted as referring to the vestments controversy. Sumptuous apparel would be appropriate to my reading of the deer simile, for ardent Protestants mocked the "gay, gaudy, gallant, gorgeous game-player's garments" donned for the Mass by its priests, who are charged by Becon, for example, with a scrupulosity concerning the vestments and an erroneous conviction as to their efficacy reminiscent of Amphialus' attitudes toward his clothing: "...you have such spiced and nice conscience in the use of them, that, if ye lack but the lessest of these fool's baubles, ye dare not presume to say mass for a thousand pound. The laudable order of our mother holy church is broken. Ye cannot consecrate aright" (Prayers 260). The mass vestments are, according to Becon, "diversly daubed" with various devices: "Some have angels, some the blasphemous image of the Trinity, some flowers, some peacocks, some owls, some cats, some dogs, some hares, some one thing, some another, and some nothing at all but a cross upon the back to fray away spirits" (Prayers 259). Such fashions in vestments design may be suggested by the ornate patterning upon Amphialus' garment, upon which the pearls and "precious stones" embroidered into its "black velvet" fabric are "set so, among certain tuffs of cypress, that the cypress was like black clouds through which the stars might yield a dark lustre" (321, p448).
Amphialus is possessed throughout Book 3 (which is to say, during his occupancy of Cecropia’s castle) of a tormented conscience, a malady that becomes increasingly prominent and burdensome as the book progresses. Protestant critics view despair as a natural consequence of participating and placing one’s hopes in the Mass. The latter portion of the deer simile, for example, emphasizes Amphialus’ despair upon refusing his would-be mistress’ entreaty for liberty, grief analogous to that of the woman at having to slay her pet (an act that I have just argued refers to the Mass): "...yet the same affection made him with a tormenting grief think unkindness in himself that he could find in his heart any way to restrain her freedom" (323, p450). In response to this initial visit with her captor-cousin, Philoclea "fell to so extreme a quaking, and her lively whiteness did degenerate to so dead a paleness," that Amphialus feared some dangerous trance," whereupon he takes her hand and, finding it "wrapped up in coldness," departs from her chamber, having had "the cold ashes of care cast upon the coals of desire" (323-4, p451). Typically, he receives no consolation or assurance from Philoclea after the visits and performances so carefully staged to impress her. His repeated inability to please and impress Philoclea with his fancy clothes, daily presents, and cleverly devised emblems, poems, and music rather naturally aggravates Amphialus’ depression. His great expectations are soon transformed, on each occasion, to woeful and increasingly debilitating dejection. Upon a return from the battlefield, Amphialus orders a long poem narrating a dream "he had seen the night before he fell in love with her" (346, p475) sung to Philoclea; yet, unawed and unswayed, she merely "receiv[es] him after her wonted sorrowful (but otherwise unmoved) manner," causing him to "think his good success was but a pleasant monument of a doleful burial, joy itself seeming bitter unto him since it agreed not to her taste..." (352, p480-1).

Such descriptions would correspond to the conviction, widespread among sixteenth-century Protestants, "that the felicity of the Mass-hearer
turns to doubt and despair," that "falling into despair was" a typical, and indeed the logical, response to attending Mass (Waters 68, 97). John Hooper, for example, affirmed that hearing the Mass created "an inward and secret desperation of a troubled conscience" (qtd. in Waters 97). Becon clearly explains the Protestant rationale for such charges: "...the popish mass, which hath utterly degenerated and ... estranged itself from the Lord's supper, is none other thing than a dumb fable or play, full of trifling ... gestures. As touching Christ and his death, the hearers hear nothing at all, that by this means they might lift up and confirm their faith toward God." Because the Mass priest merely mumbles in a foreign tongue, Becon continues, "as idle gazers and vain lookers-on, the miserable and hungry people at the last goeth most miserably away from that massing monster without doctrine, without exhortation, without all consolation and comfort...." Consequentially, "...the consciences of the weak, being stricken, shaken, weakened, broken, and almost cast down with the weight and greatness, with the multitude and variety of sins, do fall ... into the pernicious pit of damnable desperation" (Prayers 378).

An afflicted conscience is also more generally attributed by numerous Protestants, including Sidney himself, to papists as a lot, providing yet another indication of Amphialus' subjugation in Book 3 by popish assumptions and practices. In his letter aimed to dissuade Queen Elizabeth from marrying Alencon, Sidney describes the "Papistes" as "men whose spirites are full of angushe," claiming that they are "all greved at the burdenous weight of their consciences" (Works 3. 53). Fulke affirms that one finds "no tast of heavenly and spirituall sweetenes in poperie, but a mere butcherie of conscience, and all thinges most bitter (54'). Tyndale, in an explanation reprinted by Foxe, links the papist's dejection to an erroneous belief that he sins in failing to follow the papacy's multitudinous, nonbiblical prescriptions, for example, "if he eat flesh on the apostles' even, or say not matins and prime in the morning, or else leave undone any of the popes's precepts"; of "this foolish conscience
men's traditions be pernicious and noisome, snares of souls, hurting the faith and liberty of the gospel" (Acts 5: 588). Luther connects the disturbed consciences of papists with a process of contrition that focuses upon "examining, remembering, and detesting our sins," reviewing our past acts "in the bitterness" of our souls, without due regard to charity and faith. Anyone teaching repentance without "a greater regard to the promised mercy of God and faith in the same, than to this afflicting and vexing of the mind," Luther labels "pestilent, a devil to men's souls, and tormentor of consciences" (Foxe Acts 5: 686).

Amphialus' despair, his characteristically "unquiet heart" (407, p538), is not merely occasional but pervasive in Book 3, though it intensifies throughout the book, leading him to spend progressively longer stretches of time in bed, disabled by melancholy. His grief, of course, reaches a crescendo when, finally informed of the tortures his mother has inflicted upon the princesses, he, "Full . . . of the horriblest despair which a most guilty conscience could breed," attempts suicide (440-2, p572). Before reaching this stage, he makes himself abject by often mentally reviewing his past misfortunes and errors, in a process reminiscent of that criticized by Luther in the passage quoted above. Emotionally paralyzed and in bed after slaying in single combat Argalus and Parthenia (both partners of the New Arcadia's one seemingly ideal marriage, with the wife having been disguised as a man), Amphialus' "melancholy, only rich in unfortunate remembrances, brought before him all the mishaps with which his life had wrestled. . . ." Looking within and dwelling upon his past faults and woes, he finds only misery, and no hopes of assurance (as Protestants claimed was the case with papists): ". . .to his heart already overcome by sorrowfulness, even trifling misfortunes came to fill up the roll of a grieved memory, labouring only his wits to pierce farther and farther into his own wretchedness." Such cataloguing of his own faults and his life's woes debilitates Amphialus so that "all that night, in despite of darkness he held his eyes open"; when the
morning light would enter his chamber, "with curtains barred he himself from the enjoying of it, neither willing to feel the comfort of the day nor the ease of the night. . .." (400, p531). His active exclusion of the solace of light may suggest his refusal of proffered grace, echoing charges such as that of Luther, quoted above, that the system of contrition devised under and endorsed by the papacy paid too little attention to God's "promised mercy." When Cecropia approaches her son's bedside, he, in a process probably deliberately suggestive of the "auricular confession" required by the Roman Church, "did with a broken, piecemeal speech, . . . remember the mishaps of his youth; the evils he had been cause of; his rebelling with shame . . . ; the deaths of Philoxenus and Parthenia--wherein he found himself hated of the ever-ruling powers; but especially, and so especially, as the rest seemed nothing when he came to that, his fatal love to Philoclea. . .." (400-1, p531-2). Amphialus' summary disclosure of the past calamities and errors of his life leads him to conclude that he lacks divine favor, an effect opposite to the "assurance" aimed for by Protestants. Amphialus' mental torment, heightened by prolonged scrutiny of the griefs he has suffered and occasioned, is again underscored when, after "cunning surgeons" restore him to life following his battle nearly to the death with Musidorus, "sorrow and shame, like two corrupted servants," present themselves, "persuading nothing but the giving over of [his life] to destruction." The two arrange "before his eyes his present case, painting every piece of it in most ugly colours," revealing "his love wrapped in despair, his fame blotted by overthrow" (413, p545). Once again, he proceeds, with accompanying "gestures of vexation," to chide orally his own misdeeds, which he agonizes over but, significantly, does nothing to redress: "Recreant Amphialus! . . . How darest thou entitle thyself the lover of Philoclea, that hast neither showed thyself a faithful coward nor a valiant rebel, but both rebellious and cowardly, which no law can quite nor grace have pity of?" His statement that "grace" cannot pity his
misbehavior is in keeping with his earlier conclusion that he is "hated of the ever-ruling powers," again underscoring his lack of assurance. In the same speech, but now addressing the absent Philoclea, Amphailus laments, "I would . . . I had died before thy eyes had seen my weakness, and then perchance with some sigh thou wouldest have confessed thou hadst lost a worthy servant. . ." (414, p545). His hesitency to acknowledge his own "weakness" and preference for demonstrating his own worth would, particularly in light of the previously discussed analogies between Philoclea and the object of worship in religious observances in Amphialus' visits with her, probably reflect another source of the distressed consciences of papists: their reliance upon their own merit--accrued through acts such as Mass attendance, pilgrimages, fasting, and so forth. All such attempts to "earn" one's own salvation, rather than meekly relying upon faith in Christ's promises, inevitably produce despair, according to Protestant critics.

Philoclea's report that Amphialus and her "guardians" within his and Cecropia's castle, who endeavor to win the princess for him, "leave no money unoffered that may buy mine honour" (437, p570) may also echo Protestant criticism of acts accounted "good works" within the Church of Rome that, in fact, required nothing more than financial outlays. The German Reformer Lazarus Spengler, for example, in The Main Doctrines by Which Christendom Has Until Now Been Deceived (1522), cites as one of the chief doctrines by which the papacy and its church had deluded Christendom the belief that one could earn salvation through such supposed good works as purchasing indulgences, building churches, endowing masses or cloisters, or "making great offerings" (Ozment 77). Spengler asks rhetorically, "Is not the entire Roman church so shot through with money traps that one can find no escape?" This felt need of Christians within the Church of Rome "to free themselves by money" is linked by Spengler to the fearful consciences of papists (qtd. in Ozment 78).
1. Cecropia's general resemblances to Catherine de Medici were commented upon at least as early as the mid 1800's, by William Stignant III. Greenlaw, in "Sidney's Arcadia," writes, "Cecropia, dark, sinister, with something of the serpent about her, whose coup is in a sense the climax which arouses Basileus to a sense of his peril, is the Queen Mother of France. Her plot is to force a marriage with her son, just as Catherine sought to entrap Elizabeth into a marriage with Alençon. Her subtlety, her atheism, her worldliness, the suggestion of almost demonic personality, her plot to control the realm of Basileus by means of this marriage, are parallels too close to escape notice" (57-8). Raitiere expands upon Greenlaw's observation as to "the resemblance of the mother-and-son teams Cecropia-Amphialus and Catherine de'Medici-Anjou." William Dinsmore Briggs has compared Cecropia's plotting against Basilius to that of Mary Queen of Scotland against Elizabeth, adding that "the parallel, if Sidney intended it, is only remote" (139).

Other critics, in addition to Greenlaw, have commented upon Cecropia's demonic nature. Lindheim, for example, calls her the New Arcadia's "chief sinner in a hierarchy of vice" (152). Danby labels Cecropia "the queen-villain of the Arcadia, something like Lady Macbeth. ambitious, envious, passionately material, and her son's evil genius" (61). Jeny, discussing Cecropia's "Satanic" disposition, writes that she "is not only the enemy of the good characters, but also their tempter, and the nature of her temptation is not sexual, but intellectual; she tries to awaken pride, the original sin" (163).

Tillyard, who observes that Cecropia "is un-Aristotelian in her complete badness," recognizes that Sidney's creation of Cecropia and Amphialus during his revision of the Arcadia "serves to alter the whole balance and tone of the novel. . . . In Old Arcadia, no major character was a villain; by adding the villainous Cecropia to the major characters Sidney almost added a new dimension to his novel." The evil aunt's physical and psycholgical torture of her captive nieces, along with acts such as her attempt "to argue Pamela out of her religion," Tillyard argues, introduce in the revised Arcadia "a new and different type of seriousness," making it "a different kind of novel, one dealing principally with the ultimate problems of man's destiny and in its scope competent to be an epic" (306, 298).

2. Near the letter's conclusion, Sidney summarizes his advice with the recommendation: "if you make that religion upon which you stand to carrye the onely strenght & have abroade those who still mainteine the same cause, your Majesty is sure enough from your mightiest enemies" (3: 60). Sidney's personal fervor for the "Cause" and the level of the threat he believed the French marriage would pose to its success are evident when, early in the letter, he asserts that the "most important matter" constituting his subject imports not only the queen's continued "safety" but also, "as I know the joyes of my life" (3: 51).

3. See the commentary on this passage in Miscellaneous Prose 182.

4. Blair Worden, whose excellent study of the Old Arcadia I encountered only after this chapter was first submitted, argues that Cecropia is associated with another woman feared by British Protestants of the era: "scheming, unscrupulous, diabolical, determined to topple the legitimate ruler from the throne, [Cecropia] conforms to the forward Protestant image of Mary Stuart" (173).

6. Interestingly, Sidney also warns Queen Elizabeth that, since Alençon "cannot be content to be second person in France & heir apparent," it is unlikely that he would be "contented in the limited of" any conditions she might impose upon him as part of a marriage agreement or to be "second person" in her kingdom (Works 3: 54).

7. I argue in Chapter 4 that Pamela and Philoclea are associated, at certain points in Sidney's narrative, with the Law and Gospel of Christian Scripture, respectively, parallels that would suggest a possible allusion through their birth to the availability of vernacular translations of the Bible and/or to the reassertion of a central position for Scripture within the Church of England.

8. Jeny, who links Cecropia to the Edenic "serpent who tempts the virtuous human beings to the sin of pride," remarks that the aunt's "name calls in mind Cecrops, the man-snake of the classical mythology; she reminds the reader of Spenser's Error, a monster who is half woman and half snake" (164). Sidney's contemporaries attributed serpentine qualities to Catherine de Medici, one of the historical figures with whom Cecropia has been linked, as well. Exemplifying his assertion that "Since Bartholomew, Englishmen had looked upon Catherine de Medici as a monster," Greenlaw notes that one English correspondent entitled her "Mad. de la Serpente" and that Sir Francis Knollys wrote in a 1580 letter to Leicester that the prospective French marriage for Queen Elizabeth had been "plotted out by the serpentine subtlety of the Queen mother's head" (56).

9. Christopher Martin's suggestion that Cecropia's name refers primarily to the fact that Cecrops was "credited in legend as the founder of the institution of matrimony" seems to me quite unlikely. Martin observes that, because Cecropia endeavors to "reestablish Amphialus' claims to the throne" by marrying him off to one of Basilius' daughters, "she stands forth in a grotesque way as one of the romance's principal advocates of marriage" (386-7). Yet, Cecropia as willingly counsels her son to rape as to marriage. William Blake Tyrrel, a source cited by Martin, observes that Cecrops' identification as the founder of marriage is a post-classical tradition for which no evidence is available prior to the first century B.C., in the writings of the Roman scholar, Varro; Tyrrel concedes, however, the unlikelihood "that Varro" merely invented this role for Cecrops (28-9).

10. For example, in "A view of Antichrist, his laws and ceremonies, in our English Church unreformed," an anonymous and undated tract clustered with documents from the early 1570's in the Puritan collection A Parte of a Register, bells are said to have been introduced into the Christian church by Pope Sabinian in 603 because they were "falslie" believed to "stirre men to devotion," to "keepe the mindes and bodies of the faythefull from all daungers," to "put to flight the hoastes of our enimies, and dispatch all the subtillities of their evill willers," to "cause the boysterous windes, hayle, and all sharpe stormes, and terrible tempestes to cease," to "drive away all evill spirites," and so forth (65).


12. By "the eve of the Reformation, elaborately polyphonic song had become the preserve of the clergy and choir who sang in procession behind the rood screen in a language incomprehensible to the laity," a trend that Robert Crowley attempted to counter by basing the musical settings in his Psalter upon simple harmonies. His Psalter, consequently, "functions as a musical analogue to Edwardian iconoclasm" (King, English 222-3. See...
also Knappen 431-4, who points out that such objections were not generally applied to music performed outside the worship service (433), and Haugaard, who observes that Queen Elizabeth's "injunction on music plainly called for the continuation of choirs of men and boys with their plainsong and polyphonic music" (168). For some examples of contemporary objections to polyphonic music, see Seconde Parte 1:259; 1:199; Bale Select 536. Wyclif and the Lollards had also objected to polyphonic church music (Kendall 28).

13. A bell traditionally signaled "that there is a popish mass ready at hand. . . ." (Becon Prayers 256).

14. Dire consequences of participating in the Mass such as those suggested by the enforced captivity of Sidney's narrative are predicted by contemporary gospelers. The Marian martyr, John Careless, advises a "godly faithful Sister": "...fly from [the "idolatrous mass"] both in body and soul, as you would fly from the very devil himself. Drink not of the whore of Babylon's cup by any means; for it will infect the body and poison the soul." (Foxe 8: 192).

15. I argue in Chapter 4 that Dametas is allegorically connected to undereducated and under-reformed rural clerics within the Church of England.

16. Shorter Poems 102-3. All quotations of The Shepheardes Calendar are from the Yale edition.

17. Norbrook (64) compares Palinode's arguments to those through which "the devil's advocate," a character named Custom, aims to deceive Veritie in a contemporary dialogue by Thomas Lovel. See also Norbrook's discussion of Robert Crowley's opposition to many traditional rural rites and festivals (p. 51). John Jewel declared that the Roman Mass "turned the remembrance of the death of Christ into a May-game" (qtd. in Waters 82).

18. Sidney's assigned role was "to condole the death of Maximilian, and congratulate the succession of Rodolph to the Empire" on Elizabeth's behalf (Greville Life 41). See Duncan-Jones Courtier 120-30 on Sidney's role as an ambassador to Emperor Rudolph II.

19. Sidney's correspondence with Languet amply reveals their frustration with what they viewed as the queen's inadequate funding of the "Cause." For example, in a letter written from court in March of 1578, Sidney complained of Elizabeth's "tardiness in executing her designs, against Leicester, Walsingham, and others, who had persuaded her to a more active course; which I much regret." adding, "My friend Du Plessis will, I believe, shortly quit us without being able to obtain what would have been most advantageous to a Christian government. For my part, unless God powerfully counteract it, I seem to myself to see our cause withering away, and am now meditating with myself some Indian project" (Correspondence 163).

20. Apocaplyse 159'. See also Olsen 115 on John Foxe's discussion in Eicasm of the True and False Churches as both women and mothers.


22. See Van Dorsten Poets 33. 58 on Marnix and the English Beehive.
23. King English 289, paraphrasing the genealogy traced in A Briefe Recantacion of Mavstres Missa (which King believes was authored by John Mardeley); Waters 15. See also King English 265-8 on the Mistress Missa topos.

24. Protestant propagandists sometimes characterized the Mass itself as a "Mother," presumably when they wished to underscore its status not as a child of the papacy or the mother Roman Church but as "the mother of all mischief" (A new dialogue called the endightment agavnste mother Messe [1548], qtd. in Brigden London 436). Another polemicist has Mistress Missa bemoan her fallen estate in a passage that recalls Cecropia's pride, former glory and preeminence, and plots for the Arcadian throne: "I was as proud as Lucifer that fell / Which did presume to the almighty throne / . . . . So on earth compared to me was none / I thought myself with God to be all one. . . ." (qtd. in Brigden 437).

25. The Protestant Thomas Becon, for instance, cites Thomas Aquinas' "second cause" justifying the Mass: "...as the body of the Lord was once offered on the cross for original sin, so likewise it should be offered continually for our daily sins upon the altar, and that the church should have in this behalf a gift to pacify God. . . ." (Prayers 377). Cf. Fairie Queen 5.11.19.

26. Waters 68, 55. All of the drastic tactics through which Cecropia endeavors to frighten and force the princesses to accept Amphialus merely leave her "still farther off" from her purpose, "for where at first she might perchance have persuaded them to have visited her son and have given him some comfort," especially since they know he is mortally wounded, her methods so repel them that they inform the aunt "that they would never otherwise speak to him than as to the enemy of most unjust cruelty towards them, that any time or place could ever make them know" (423).

27. Foxe calls Pope Innocent III "the great great grandsire or that foul monster transubstantiation and auricular confession," explaining that both doctrines were ordained by the Council of Lateran (1215) during Innocent's papacy (Acts 2: 575, 419). "Auricular confession" is also included in Foxe's list of the "new devices" that in the Church of Rome had replaced the "true foundation" of the "old ancient church of Christ": "free justification by faith in Christ" (Acts 4: 251-2). In A Letter to an Honorable Lady, Greville criticizes the reliance of "our Ancestors" upon "...Confessors, shrifts, and such like superstitious rytes, as discharging our selves, did vainly charge others with our desires" (Prose 117). Cf. the discussion of the abuses of "ere confessyon" in Bale's King Johan (77) and Greville Life 22. Protestants were not alone in criticizing "the abuses of the confessional," which "were among the earliest and most prominent complaints of humanists" within the Church of Rome as well, with Erasmus, for example, being "strongly on record against them" (Ozment 28). See Ozment 49-54 and Pelikan 4: 29-31, 179-80.

Since that chapter was composed, I have encountered the discussion of John Michael Archer, which argues: "Without being precisely an allegorical figure like Spenser's Duessa or Lucifera, Cecropia gives form to fears about England's invasion by Jesuits and secular priests, which increased during the years in which Sidney composed his revision." Archer notes Cecropia's "inquisitorial prying" and her "deft control of spectacular effects and the fear they induce" (60-1).


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29. See Chapter 4 for additional instances of Christian and Biblical allusions and symbolism in Philoclea’s characterization. Also relevant here is my discussion in Chapter 2 of the "hand of faith" imagery and other aspects of the scene in which Philoclea appears to Pyrocles at dawn, to his mind as if resurrected from the dead.

30. Cf. Isaiah 25:8 and Rev. 7:17. This apocalyptic dimension of tear imagery in Book 3 is discussed at greater length in Chapter 4 in connection with Urania’s placing her hand over Claius’ tearful eyes (4). The comparison of Philoclea’s lips to cherries repeats an analogy from Strephon and Claius’ description of Urania (4, p62), another woman associated with the wiping of tears and other Biblical imagery, from Revelation and the Song of Solomon.

31. The detail is not without allegorical import to Bale: "...equal it was every way, towards all quarters of the world... Which signifieth not only the perpetual stability or sureness of the true Christian faith, the Lord evermore preserving it, but also that the faithful believers of one quarter of the world are so highly accepted unto him, as of another" (Select 601).

32. Pulke believes that the New Jerusalem’s "foure square and cubycall" configuration ensures that it "is most fyrme and stable," adding that it is of the same form that "some of the olde philosophers did thinke the earth to be, for the unmmoveablenes of the same" (142').

33. Lawry has labeled the "sweet rivers" of virtue guarding Philoclea "Davidian" (277).

34. His labors at the forge often left Vulcan/Hephaestus coated with soot and sweat. His lameness is also treated uncompassionately in classical accounts as detracting from his physical appearance. Some myths indicate the laughter of other Olympian gods at the "lame god’s" hobbling about, in his role as their cupbearer.

35. Skretkowicz observes the connection between these two references to hammering upon armor (xxxvii-xxxviii). Skretkowicz also argues, correctly, I believe, "As the anti-hero, Amphialus is relentlessly pilloried by being the only character to bear the formulaic epithet of classical heroes... Amphialus by design has the attribute he most lacks attached to his name, courteous. Sidney uses 'the courteous Amphialus,' an ironic imitation of Virgil's incantatory pious Aeneas, to establish a cynical brotherhood between him and 'The courteous Vulcan, when he wrought... Aeneas an armour'" (xxxvi). Lawry remarks upon Philoclea's "new-heroic armor" (277).

36. I am not concerned to make a source argument, although, given Sidney’s voracious reading, the keen Protestant interest in Erasmus and his writings discussed in my last chapter, and the status of the Enchiridion, in particular, as among the most widely read books of the sixteenth century, it would not be surprising if Sidney did encounter the analogy between Scripture and Vulcan’s armor (which I, personally, have not encountered elsewhere) in that book.

37. The lurking dangers ascribed by more radical Protestants to so-called adiaphora like the vestments is evident, for example, in Mathias Flacius Illyricus' argument that "Ceremonies are the chief sinews or strength of popedom" (1550). In countering the traditionalists claim that coat styles and colors aren’t important, Illiricus (as quoted in Fortress of our Fathers) employs abduction imagery in a manner analogous to that
underlying the Arcadian kidnapping episode, warning, "...if they can get them once in these coats they will afterward deliver them to the Romans that they may buffet them, as the old Romans did handle Christ when they buffeted him, having the white coat upon him which they put on against his will. ..." (Trinterud 103).

38. See my next chapter.

39. Its critics objected that the kneeling "posture was a worshipping one and thus one that suggested an idolatrous attitude toward the elements, that is, belief in the doctrine of transubstantiation." While "even the most conservative Protestants desired a further reformation" than that put forward by the committee convened in 1559 to revise the Edwardian Prayer Book, which recommended that the kneeling posture be permitted as "a thing indifferent," kneeling when receiving the sacrament was required under the final Act of Uniformity upheld by Queen Elizabeth (Knappen 96, 170).

40. John Augustine (19-21) discusses Martyr's positions on music in the worship service. Patrick Collinson has asserted, "...if we were to identify one author and one book which represented the centre of theological gravity of the Elizabethan Church it would not be Calvin's Institutes but the Common Places of Peter Martyr, described by his translator, Anthony Marten, as 'a verie Apostle'" ("International Calvinism" 214).

41. See, for example, Brightman 169; Gifford 103; and Fulke 23, 24. Gifford invokes the metaphors together elsewhere in his commentary as well, for example: "...in these dayes, ...many such lukwarme gospellers, haulting professors, and newters. ..." (104).

42. In discussing Amphialus' wound, Rees observes the use by Petrarch and perhaps Shakespeare of "A limp as a moral emblen. ..." (143); such a signification would be complementary to the one I have proposed, although I do find the particular word halt highly significant as well.

43. Brightman believed that each of the churches of the seven cities in Asia Minor addressed in Rev. 2-3 stood as "the type of one of the various churches which existed in the ages after Christ. By matching up descriptions of these types with their anti-types or 'Counterpaynes,' men could discover which historical church had achieved the greatest purity in doctrine, worship, and government and model their own churches accordingly" (Gilsdorf 26).

44. See Bauckham 139 and Firth 164. All of Brightman's commentaries (upon Revelation, Daniel, and the Song of Solomon) were "published posthumously abroad since his critical attitude to the Church of England made him unpopular with the authorities in his native land" (Toon 27).

45. England was also warned to repent of "the lukewarmness of Laodicea" by Alexander Leighton in his Speculum bellisaeri: or the looking-glass of the holy war (1628) (Christianson 118). See also Bernard McGinn on the use of Laodicea the lukewarm as a label for the "established episcopal" English church by groups dissatisfied with the Elizabethan settlement ("Revelation" 535). Patrick Forbes, in An exquisite commentarie upon Revelation of St. John (London, 1613), saw Laodicea as representing "lukewarmness throughout the entire reformed community" (Firth 176).

46. The New Arcadia's harsh critique of "Petrarchan" assumptions about romantic love is a primary focus of Bergvall's study.
47. Bullinger (who considers the lukewarm label as applied to the Laodiceans "an Allegorie taken of mens meate, or of cold, hote, or warme water") explains that the "cold" man "openly followeth the world, and," accordingly, "beyng wrapped in heathenish errours and sinnes of this world professeth not the true Religion". The "hot" individual, by contrast, his "hart beyng inflamed with the holy ghost, contemneth the world, loveth the true religion excedingly, and lyveth an holy lyfe." Like much other commentary on this congregation, Bullinger's remarks on the lukewarm Laodiceans, who occupy a position between these two absolutes, suggest the signification of Amphialus' name: "He is warme or betwene both, whiche hath neither forsaken the world, nor his owne errours and sinnes, nor hath fully received Christ, . . . but serveth partly the world, and partly Christ" (58'; emphasis added).

48. See, for example, 322, 330, and 334. Sidney himself wrote of the "liberty" of those who had freed themselves from the papacy's tyranny. In a letter attempting to persuade the Landgrave of Hesse of the need for a Protestant League, Sidney asserted, ". . . the Bishop of Rome . . . seeks with all his might to destroy those who have cast off the yoke he had laid upon the necks of our forefathers, and . . . now maintain themselves in such liberty as enables them rightly and devoutly to worship God and to work out their own salvation" (qtd. in Osborn 477). Queen Elizabeth herself was accused of disobedience to God's commandments for allowing her nation's church to remain merely half-reformed. In his "Booke to the queene," William Fuller daringly censured the queen: "For Y[our] M[ajesty] hath so insufficientlie heard, believed, and taken to hart what God hath commaundted you, and so weakelie and coldlie obeyed and followed the same, and so little trusted to God and to his maintenance and defence, and so greatlie to mans wisdome, power, and policie, and to amitie and peace with Antichristicin neighbours, and so much favoured, furthered, and advaunced Antichristians and Neuters at home as well as Christians, that but halflie by Y[our] M[ajesty] hath God bene honoured, his Church reformed and established, his people taught and comforted, his enemies rejected and subdued. . . " (Peel 2:52. Part of this passage appears in Collinson Elizabethan (29), as the heading for his second chapter, whose relevance to my discussion is evident from its title: "But Halfly Reformed.") Other contemporaries complained of Elizabeth's divided loyalties on issues of church reform. John Knox, for example, pronounced the queen "neather gude Protestant, nor yit resolute Papist" (qtd. in Primus 75). Sir Walter Raleigh criticizes Elizabeth's "halftness" in her political and military commitments: "...if the late queen would have believed her men of war, as she did her scribes, we had in her time beaten that great empire [Spain] in pieces, and made their kings kings of figs and oranges, as in old times. But her majesty did all by halves, and by petty invasions taught the Spaniard how to defend himself. . ." (8: 246).

49. Halting, disobedience, and reliance upon human "inventions" are also linked by Antony Gily in a letter to Thomas Cartwright on the "dreggs of popishe Ceremonies" in the English church: "This haltinge in Religion for policye dryveth awaye the true feare of God forthe of mens harte." (Peel 1: 140).

50. As was mentioned in Chapter 3, both the given name and the name she assumes as a disguised page, Daiphantus ("fire-brand" or "torch"), of Selmane ("zeal" or "passion" [translations from Roberts 75]), of course, the name Pyrocles himself assumes in his Amazon disguise, suggest the zeal that the memory of the self-sacrificing love of this allegorical representative of the "two witnesses" of Rev. 11 ultimately helps to inspire in Pyrocles. I have also suggested in previous chapters that the New Arcadia's action suggests praise for Strephon and Claius' zealous
devotion to Urania but criticizes Kalendar's inadequate zeal.

51. The two appear together, for example, on B5' and D3'.

52. I show later in this chapter that, significantly, Amphialus is afflicted throughout Book 3 with a highly troubled conscience.

53. See pt. 1 of Trinterud, "The Original Anti-vestment Party," 17-127; Primus; and the index to Collinson's Elizabethan. Knappen reminds modern readers that Protestant objections to the traditional vestments entailed "more than a mere quibble about a piece of cloth. It involved the speeding up of the reformation process, a sharper break with the Roman churches, and an outward recognition of the priesthood of all believers" (84).

54. The often elaborately decorated upper border of the amice worn during the Roman Mass by clergy from the late medieval period onward "surrounded the neck like a collar. . . ." (Norris 86). See, for example, figures 112-5, 106, and 68 in Norris. The collar seems to have functioned as an emblem or synecdoche for the priesthood in works such as Herbert's "The Collar." Yet, according to Knappen, within the Roman church in the sixteenth century, "No rigid rules had as yet been laid down for . . . clerical costumes, and in practice there was much variation" (83).


56. See King Spenser's 37 on these Protestant dialogues.

57. The Hunter of Turner's Wolfe, speaking of conditions in Marian England, supplies the following definition: "...I say that the bishop of Rome called the Pope, and all the bishops of England, and all the priestes that are ordened of the Pope, or any other bishop to saye messe, and to serve in ceremonies only, which God never ordered, and not to preache Goddes worde alone, and to minister only his sacramentes, and all they that be ordered to preache goddes worde, and do not preache, or if they do preache ether preche onely mannes ordinances, or els if they preache Goddes worde, leven it with doctrines whiche are the commandements of men, are the right wolves, that Christe and the Apostle Paul prophecied of" (B5'").

58. See Haigh "The Church of England" 200-3 on the recusant priests.

59. Duncan-Jones Courtier 270; Malcolm Wallace 262.

60. Whether or not Sidney's dining companions understood the political implications of his tale is an altogether different issue. They may not have been as familiar with the conventions of the hunting dialogues as he seems to assume. Camerarius reports that Sidney's discourse "was verie pleasing to the companie that sate at table with him, and no man would make any question thereof, especially when we saw it approved by Hubert Langue, a man of most exquisit judgment, and exceeding well travelled in the knowledge of things, and in the affairs of the world" (Osborn 466).

61. "...Royal Injunctions of Edward VI forbid images 'devysad by mennes phantasies' because they deny the centrality of the scriptures in religious life. . . ." (King Spenser's 78)

62. A number of critics, most notably, perhaps, Davis Map 73-7, Danby 63-6, and Lawry 247 ff. have commented on the centrality of the themes of growth and testing under affliction in Book 3.
Lady Jane was declared Queen of England upon the death of Edward VI, who named her as his successor on his deathbed, probably through the intervention of Sidney’s grandfather, the Duke of Northumberland, then England’s de facto ruler, who arranged a strategic marriage between her and his son, Guilford. Both Northumberland and Lady Jane were subsequently executed under Queen Mary. On Lady Jane and the Sidney family, see Hannay Phoenix 6-7, 24-5 and Duncan-Jones Courtier 5-6. See also Carole Levin’s “Lady Jane Grey: Protestant Queen and Martyr” on Lady Jane’s “rigid and uncompromising Protestantism” (92).

64. Acts & Monuments in Church Historians v. 6 pt. 2, 419. Duncan-Jones suggests links between Sidney’s presentation of Pamela in the captivity episode and Foxe’s account of Lady Jane Gray’s strength in suffering (6, 20, 265). Foxe’s account would have been deepened and highlighted by Sidney’s parents’ personal accounts of his aunt (Sir Philip 6). Hannay writes of Acts & Monuments, “Every literate Protestant household owned a copy, including Leicester’s at Wanstead. The Sidney accounts list the purchase of ‘two books of Martirs’ in 1573, probably two volumes of Foxe. . .” (25)

65. Cf. John Foxe, “What Democritus or Calphurnius could abstains from laughter, beholding only the fashion of their masse, from the beginning to the latter end, wyth suche turning, returning, halfe turning and hole turning, such kissinge, blessing, crowching, becking, crossing, knocking, ducking, washring, rinsing, lyfting, touching, fingring, whispering, stoping, dipping, bowinge, licking, wiping, slepeing, shifting with a hundred thinges mo” (qtd. in Davies 73-4).

66. Given that Philoclea is implicitly compared to a deer through the simile just discussed and that deer symbolism is used with her elsewhere (105, p168; 144, p238; 232, p329), her extreme whiteness here may suggest the use of the white deer, in particular, as a symbol for Christ in some traditions (Allen Image 173).

67. Cecropia’s associations with “auricular confession” and Protestant criticisms of the requirement were discussed in more detail above.

Chapter 7

Temples Defaced and Altars in the Dust: Edwardian and Elizabethan Church Reform in Sidney’s “Now Was Our Heav’nly Vault Deprived of the Light”

My last chapter demonstrated that the sudden death of Amphialus’ father prior to the son’s being sent away from Cecropia to be raised by the goodly Timotheus represents an abrupt, precipitous decline in papal authority in England, probably with Henry VIII’s declaration of himself as Supreme Head of the Church of England. The current chapter reinforces and expands upon the claim that aspects of Amphialus’ fictional history parallel and comment upon England’s history, arguing that a fleeting period of happiness during Amphialus’ youth is associated with a golden era for Protestantism in England under Edward VI. This chapter then demonstrates that Sidney’s poem “Now was our heav’nly vault deprived of the light,” in which one of the references to this brief period of contentment occurs, speaks in other ways, as well, to religious controversies prominent in Edwardian and Elizabethan England. Finally, I discuss how my reading of the poem adds to and modifies our understanding of its autobiographical dimension, particularly how it comments on Sidney’s relationship with Queen Elizabeth.

One consequence of his father’s sudden death is that Amphialus is raised away from Cecropia, with the good Lord Timotheus. This turn of events is, in Queen Helen’s accurate summary, “a happy resolution for Amphialus, whose excellent nature was by this means trained on with as good education as any prince’s son in the world could have (which otherwise, it is thought, his mother, far unworthy of such a son, would not have given him)...” (61, p123). This happy interval in Amphialus’
otherwise desperately unhappy life corresponds, most probably, to Edwardian England. Among Elizabethan and seventeenth-century Protestants looking back upon the Edwardian era, "What endured was a nostalgic vision of a legendary period of freedom and truth, which, had it not been cut short, might have fulfilled millenarian dreams of a perfect Protestant kingdom" (King English 443). Sidney creates a fictional analogue to this golden Edwardian era by associating Amphialus' youth with another idealized period in the (actually legendary) past, the time when England was Samothea.

As described by some early sixteenth-century historians, the reign of Samothes, a legendary founder of the nation, exemplified many of the same characteristics for which fervent Protestants praised the reign of Edward VI. Both Edward and Samothes were, for instance, portrayed by their champions as godly rulers prompted by their religious zeal to instigate public educational campaigns to enhance the knowledge of God's law among their British subjects. At the outset of a dream vision reassigned to him in the New Arcadia, Amphialus, the poem's narrator, finds himself amidst a realm whose inhabitants are devoted to virtue and learning: ". . .Methought--nay, sure I was--I was in fairest wood/ Of Samothea land, a land which whilom stood/ An honour to the world (while honour was their end,/ And while their line of years they did in virtue spend) . . ." (347, p476).

John Bale promulgated in England a rewriting of the nation's origins in which Samothes, the son of Japhet, who was the son of Noah, displaced Brutus as founder. William Harrison, citing Bale as his source, writes that 100 years after the flood Noah "devided the earth among his three sons," with his third son, Japhet, receiving as his portion "all Europe, with all the Iles thereto belonging," including Britain (1). Japhet, in turn, divided Europe among his sons, with Samothes becoming "founder of the kingdom of Celtica," which then encompassed "(. . .as Bale witnesseth) a greate parte of Europe, but specially" the countries later known as
"Gallia & Brittannia" (1). According to Bale's "antiquarian fantasy," the Bible, consequently, supplanted the Aeneid as the foremost "source-book" for the nation's ancestry (Kendrick 69, 72).

A "sense of spiritual genealogical connection with the True Church" similar to Bale's was revealed by Sidney's Harrison, as he linked "the British with the covenant line . . . , rather than with classical Troy via Brut. . . ." while upholding the Samothean version of Britain's settlement (Parry 73). The Samothean myth appealed to the longing, common among Reformers throughout Europe, to regain the purity of the Apostolic Church by founding their churches upon the Word, displacing the corrupt doctrines and practices (merely human "inventions") that had supplanted God's commands in the papal "Church of Antichrist." Bale's claim that the truth about his nation's origins is to be sought in Scripture (rather than in medieval Brut legends, by and large the contrivances of human fancy) would suggest by analogy the superiority of this desired procedure for reform.

The Samothean myth would also appeal to the Protestant emphasis upon the education of the laity, primarily as a means of bringing all members of the commonwealth into direct contact with the saving power of the Word. Samothes is said to have surpassed all others of his time "in lerning and knowledge: and . . . to have imparted the same among his people." As a result of this king's devotion to public education, there arose among his people a "sect of Philosophers" who "were passing skilful both in the law of god & man: and for that cause exceedingly given to religion, especially the inhabitants of this yle of Britain. . . ." (Holinshed 2). Like the Edward VI of Protestant legend, Samothes nurtured knowledge of and devotion to God's law throughout Britain.

King Edward's signal role in advancing both the preaching to and the reading by the laity of Scripture in the vernacular was highlighted by Protestant panegyrist Stephen Bateman:

The bookes of God he made be read, I meane Christes Testament, . . . which Antichrist the Pope had hid long time and rent: And made them playne in mother tongue, translated for to be, And made the people serve the Lorde, in truth and veritie. (I4')
"Antichrist the Pope" preferred (according to fervent Protestants) to maintain ignorance among the laity, as Cecropia would have raised her son without the excellent education imparted to him when the two are separated. King Edward, by contrast, was devoted to sowing God’s Word among his subjects, prompting Bateman and other fervent Protestants to laud him as a "young Josias" who "...found God’s booke in broken walles, and made it preachte to bee, / The same is he which read himselfe, Gods booke with loftie sound, / And sent the preachers through his land, it plainely to expound" (I3'). Edward VI’s "legendary reputation for flawless piety and uncompromising zeal" (King Tudor 93)—evident in Bateman’s acclaim of the king’s care not only to disseminate God’s law among his subjects but also to study and obey the same himself—would match Samothes’ supposed religious fervor. Sidney (apparently alone among Elizabethan writers) exploits the fairly obvious analogues supplied by the Samothea legend to the Protestant goals of public education and rule by Scripture, goals that those who celebrated the Edwardian era as a golden age believed had achieved a nearly unprecedented level in England during the young king’s reign.

Edward was also glorified by Protestant enthusiasts as a second Josiah for demonstrating in his government precisely the desire for Scriptural underpinnings that had heightened the appeal of the Samothea myth. The young king, according to his eulogizers, achieved for England a massive advance toward purging the national church of the nonbiblical, Antichristian corruptions that had come to defile it under the papacy. Bateman extols Edward’s zeal on behalf of the church, along with the wise and righteous advisors whose counsel the young king approved, by means of which

All false Idolatrie, was quite out of his Region rent,  
The hill Alters and groves in woods, and Priestes of Baall ech one,  
Were some broke downe, & they cast out, from presence of his throne.  
The lyving God Jehovah, he did worship and obaye,  
All superstition that stooide up, he scone covayde awaye.  
The booke of Deutromony pure, he openly did reede:

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And so commaund as his lande, in truth for to proceede. 
In fine as earst his genitor, king Henry had begoon, 
By him the Romishe rable was quite ransackt and undoon. . . . 
The Pope he cleerely banished, and named as supreme head, 
He utterly defied the Masse, and all his Bulles of lead. 
He brake downe all Balles Images, and Pilgrimages vaine. 
All . . . rites, of Rome he did dismayne. . . . (I4')

Of course, idealization of Edward in this particular fashion during Queen Elizabeth's reign might well have implications for contemporary policy that would appeal to Sidney. As a would-be counselor desirous of persuading the queen toward more whole-hearted support for the Protestant "Cause," especially for a political and military alliance capable of prevailing against Spain and the papacy, Sidney would have adequate motive for wanting to advance the monarchical ideal implicit in celebrations of Edward for his labors on behalf of the Reformed church. "By counsayle of" carefully selected political advisors and church leaders, Bateman underscores, King Edward "erected right, / . . . in Antichristes dispight. 
/ New lawes and institution, within his realme and lande, / And purged the Englishe Church therwith, of Popery out of hande . . . ." (I4'; emphasis added). Along with Mornay, Greville, Walsingham and other "radical Protestants" eager to found state policy upon religion, Sidney would surely have rejoiced if lauds of Edward's skill and reminders of its continuing rewards ("He rulde his lande seven yeres . . . ., in such advised wise, / As fame therefore doth sounde his prayse, even to the starrie skies. . . ." Bateman I4'') had prompted Queen Elizabeth to pursue similarly activistic, aggressively Protestant tactics in affairs both at home and abroad. The queen herself, however, would likely have remained unconvincd, recognizing that "Reminders of the iconoclastic achievements of her brother's short reign carried inevitable implications for her own chapel furnishings" and her own policies: praise of Edward as Josiah "became an all too familiar invocation to implement a kind of reform for which she lacked enthusiasm" (Aston 207).

At the time of his visionary journey to Samochea, Sidney's narrator is not yet "wretched" but "in simple course and unentangled mind," and,
therefore, "of fleshly bondage free. . ." (347, p 476). Amphialus arrives in his thoughts to Samothea just after he himself has achieved a mental condition appropriate to residents of the devout land: ". . .having placed my thoughts, my thoughts thus placed me. . ." (347, p476), he reflects, suggesting that the moral states of the individual and of the nation are interconnected. References to Samothea in this poem, consequently, serve not merely to display knowledge of antique curiosities or passive longing for a never-to-be-regained golden age, but to suggest that a similar ideal could be attained in contemporary Britain, if the virtues and values nurtured by King Samothes were reinstilled. The prestige and national character of Samothea subsequently declined: the Samotheans remained "an honour to the world" only "while honour was their end. . . ." Analogies between England under Samothes and under Edward VI would, therefore, intimate a decline in contemporary (i.e. Elizabethan) times from a golden era for church reform under England's "young Josiah."

In describing the state of mind permitting the narrator's arrival to Samothea, Sidney seems to glance at obsessions among his contemporaries that, by displacing the devotion to God's law fostered by Samothes (and by the Edward VI of Protestant legend), contribute to Samothea/England's degredation:

Far from my thoughts was aught, whereto their minds aspire
Who under courtly pomps do hatch a base desire;
Free all my powers were from those captivating snares
Which heav'nly purest gifts defile, in muddy cares. . . .

Sidney elsewhere mocks courtly affectation, and Languet complains to Sidney that the "habits" of the Elizabethan court, observed during his visit with him in England, seemed "somewhat less manly than I could have wished," adding, "most of your noblemen appeared to me to seek for a reputation more by a kind of affected courtesy than by those virtues which are wholesome to the state, and which are most becoming to generous spirits and to men of high birth. I was sorry, therefore, . . . to see
you wasting the flower of your life on such things. . ." (Correspondence 185).

That Sidney shared Languet’s sense of disappointment over squandered time and opportunities and that he considered support for the Protestant "Cause" to have declined under Elizabeth is confirmed in his letters. In a 1580 letter, Sidney congratulates his friend Edward Denny for desiring to continue his studies even when "the unnoble constitution of our time doth keep us from fit employments" (Sidney 287). In a 1578 letter, responding to charges by Languet of laziness, Sidney labels his forced inactivity "my wretched idleness," proceeding to query, ". . . why should our thoughts be aroused to various kinds of knowledge, unless we have some opportunity of exercising them so that some public benefit may result? But in an age of decay this is too much to be hoped for" (Sidney 282; emphasis added). Sidney’s belief that Queen Elizabeth’s inadequate support and leadership seriously threatened the Protestant "Cause" is apparent in a 1578 letter to Languet. Sidney writes that he "much regret[s]" the queen’s "tardiness in executing her designs, against Leicester, Walsingham, and others, who had persuaded her to a more active course. . . ." Ensuing remarks make it evident that Sidney’s own hopes for the furtherance of the "Cause" rested increasingly not with his queen but with the heavenly king: "For my part, unless God powerfully counteract it, I seem to myself to see our cause withering away. . . ." (Correspondence 163).

Sidney’s impatience with idleness and "courtly pomps" and his desire that England pursue "a more active course" in defending the Protestant "Cause" suggest an additional appeal to him of the Samothea legend, as narrated by Holinsheld. The golden era of the British past depicted by this myth is said to have ended decisively several generations after Samothes’ death, when Albion the Giant, a son of Neptune, conquered the isle. By that time, the Samotheans, "loathing the straite ordinances of their auncient kings, and betaking themselves to pleasure and idlenesse,"
had degenerated to such an extent that they were "in short tyme, and with small labour broughte under the subjection of the Giaunt Albion. . . ." Holinshed repeatedly underscores this explanation for the Samotheans' decline. The giant rapidly subdues Samothea, which thence becomes Albion, precisely because the island's inhabitants "had given over the practice of all warlyke and other paynfull exercises, and through use of effeminate pleasures whereunto they hadde given themselves over, they were become nowe unapt to withstande the force of their enimies. . .." (Holinshed 4-5). The island's conquest by Albion is not presented as a positive change. The direct, paternal genealogical connection of the nation's rulers to Noah is lost at this time, so that, simultaneously with the island's change of name, the "inhabitaunts chaunged from the line of Japhet unto the accursed race of Cham" (Holinshed 5).

The analogy between events at the time when Samothea was overpowered by the giant, Albion, and contemporary European events may have seemed even closer to militant Protestants like Sidney, who often compared the pope, the enemy they sought to subdue, to another giant, Goliath. Greville refers to the pope as "the Great Goliath" (Life 165). Bateman, too, draws upon the comparison, casting Edward VI as the David who struck down the pope: the young Edward VI "tooke the slyng of truth in hande, and stone of zeale that flent, / And gave the Pope Goliah sure, a wounde and deadly dent. . .." (Bateman I4'). If Sidney considered and wished to draw upon such analogies, the implications might be as follows: the Samotheans, abandoning moral and military discipline in favor of courtly pleasures, were conquered by the giant Albion and ceased to be an honor to the world once they ceased to respect and adhere to the laws of God and man on behalf of which the original King Samothes had labored so vigorously. So, too, reform of the Church of England had flourished under the godly Edward VI's leadership; however, a much degenerated contemporary England must relinquish frivolous courtly pastimes and commit itself to active support of the international Protestant "Cause" or risk being
subjugated once more by the papacy (and its ally Spain). \textsuperscript{1}

Other aspects of the Mira dream vision evoke, as well, events and issues central to religious controversies prominent during the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth. For example, Diana and Venus complain,

\begin{quote}
\textit{. . .Our names are quite forgot; our temples are defaced;}
\textit{Our off' rings spoiled; our priests from priesthood} are
\textit{displaced.}

\textit{Is this the fruit of strife, those thousand churches high,}
\textit{Those thousand altars fair, now in the dust to lie?}
\end{quote}

(349, p478; emphasis added)

The Roman goddesses' laments over the defacing of their temples and the decimation of their offerings readily suggest the defacing of "idolatrous" images in sixteenth-century churches by zealous Reformers, as well as the vast decline in monetary offerings to the "old" (Roman) church in the same era. The destruction of myriad altars from the goddesses' high churches suggest efforts by iconoclastic Reformers to replace the altars at which priests celebrated the Mass--set apart from the laity and frequently without congregational participation--with simple tables at which lay church members could observe communion together with no-longer-remote clergy. \textsuperscript{12} Edward VI's reforms in this respect were applauded by Elizabethan Protestants like Bateman: "He threw the Alters downe with force, which made us like the Jewes, / And set up Tables by and by, as Christ himselfe did use" (I4'). John Foxe writes that, like his Old Testament counterpart, England's "evangelical Josias," King Edward, "plucked down the hill altars, cut down the groves, and destroyed all monuments of idolatry in the temple. . . ." \textsuperscript{11} Diana and Venus, however, associated as they are with the "old," attenuated religion, of course, view the similar alterations in their worship as negative, rather than positive. \textsuperscript{12}

The analogical relationship between the "fallen" ancient Roman goddesses in the Mira poem and the papal church in the post-Reformation era is strengthened by a metaphor describing the abrupt appearance of Venus and Diana's chariot. The narrator, having been carried in his vision to Samothea, composes his mind
Reformers such as Sidney’s close friend, Philippe du Plessis-Mornay, sometimes compared the precipitous collapse in power of the "False" Roman church coinciding with the Protestant Reformation to the crashing to destruction of a tall building. Underlying the metaphor is the notion of this church as a "house" constructed upon a false foundation. Mornay explains, "... the Church is compared ... unto a house, which with age decayeth, and falleth to ruine. ..." (Treatise 51). The fundamental structural unsoundness determining the collapse of the Roman Church’s "universal" power derived, according to Protestants like Mornay, from "the very foundation of the Popish doctrine," the belief that the pope is the head of the church, for "...it followeth that the Pope hath layde another foundation in the Church then Christ ...: and by consequent that hee is none of those, which hath builded upon the foundation of Christ ... , but the Antichrist himselfe, which hath settled him selfe in the place of the chiefe cornerstone. ..." (Treatise 176-7). The dissolution of the "house" of the Western Church was hastened, Mornay asserts, with its increasing domination by the papacy, especially during the era of the school “masters,” when

...Antichrist who was foretolde unto us, entred into this ruinous house, whiles the most part was a sleepe in this dead sleepe of antiquitie, in steade of that was sayde unto them, Watche andpray and that the subtillest lent him their hande till he had turned all topsi turvie, and yet men woulde not knowe him. (Treatise 52)

The popularity of the image of the Roman Church as a falling building was likely reinforced by the tendency of Protestants to apply the prophecy of the fall of Babylon in Rev. 18:2 to the papal "Church of Antichrist," which they viewed as a type of "the vast incomplete tower-city" annihilated in Genesis. Many Protestant artists associated Babylon with the Tower of Babel, and both with the Church of Rome, viewing the latter
as notorious for the idolatry and pride highlighted in Old Testament accounts of the former two. Thus, their paintings commonly portrayed a "collapsing mass of masonry" with explicit visual links to both stories from Genesis, as well as to the Roman Church.\footnote{44}

It might seem odd that this analogy for the "fall" of the papal church's power appears only after the narrator's visionary journey to Samothea, which I have linked to the Edwardian era, rather than during segments of Sidney's narrative associated with the Henrician period. However, despite the plunge in the pope's political authority in England during Henry VIII's reign, many ardent Reformers believed that reformation of the nation's church under that king was incomplete, because he allowed too many "Romish" practices and doctrines to remain within it. Protestant artists, therefore, sometimes portrayed Edward VI, rather than his father, "toppling" the pope,\footnote{15} and John Foxe deemed: ". . .that which the father, either could not, or durst not bring to perfection, that the son most worthily did accomplish . . . ." declaring Edward VI "Such an organ, given of God to the church of England, . . . as England had never better" (Acts and Monuments 5: 697,699). In a previously quoted passage, Bateman, while acknowledging that Henry VIII began the process of reforming his nation's church, writes that it was Edward VI who "cleerely banished" the pope, "brake downe all Balles Images," and so forth. Moreover, the goddesses within the Mira poem bemoan their already fallen estates, and the poem depicts its narrator's personal recognition of the lack of factual basis for the exalted reputations of the Roman goddesses. Enlightenment of particular individuals might well lag somewhat behind the political events that initially set in motion the split between the Churches of England and Rome, so that the narrator might quite appropriately grasp only in Samothea, as a fictional counterpart to Edwardian England, the full absurdity of the awe previously accorded to the "old-order" goddesses and, by analogy, to the "old faith," its priestly hierarchy, and its "idolatrous" rites.
Sidney's educated contemporaries would have recognized sooner than does his poem's narrator that the plummet in the ranks of the Roman goddesses' worshippers is warranted. Even before the goddesses themselves are depicted, the description of their chariot hints that its occupants' thoughts are not bent primarily upon high spiritual matters. The sparrows and, to a lesser extent, the doves guiding their chariot are traditional emblems of lust. The goddesses' chariot, too, issues from the moon, a conventional symbol of instability and of the frivolous and transitory. Also indicative of the unstayed thoughts and disorderly passions of Diana and Venus is the vehicle's "storm-like course" (348, p477).

It may be objected that I have been judging classical, "pagan" goddesses by Christian standards; however, Sidney has introduced a biblical framework within this poem through his reference to Samothea, supposedly settled by and named for a grandson of Noah. Reinforcing the Judeo-Christian perspective within the poem is the narrator's comment that the impetuous arrival of the goddesses' chariot from the sundered moon so astonishes him that he believes "the deathful doom / Of heav'n, of earth, of hell, of time and place was come" (348, p477). Moreover, classical settings and forms were frequently employed in paintings, woodcuts, and other visual artwork by Protestants as "an oblique way of addressing Roman idolatry, both past and present," with the pagan idols of antiquity" being "equated with the idolized images of" the Church of Rome (Aston 93, 49). Venus and Diana were, furthermore, sometimes specifically cited by Reformers as counterparts to the saints venerated by modern papists. The 1563 Homily "against peril of idolatry," for example, queried, "What be such saints, to whom, contrary to the use of the primitive church, temples and churches be builded, and altars erected, but Dii Patroni of the Gentiles' idolaters? Such as were in the Capital, Jupiter; in Paphus temple, Venus; in Ephesus temple, Diana; and such like..." (qtd. in Aston 95). Educated, activist Protestants of Sidney's ilk may, therefore, have been familiar with this convention of analogizing "papist idolatry"
to that of classical Rome.

After Diana and Venus exit their chariot, it rapidly becomes obvious to both readers and the narrator that earnest devotion to the goddesses would be misdirected and even ridiculous. Before the women's identities are revealed, their clothing and personal appearances signal the incongruity between their values and those of Christianity. While of course the "discovered . . . breast" and "tucked" garments of Sidney's Diana are conventional to the goddess, they also recall to readers of the New Arcadia the very similar description of the apparell of Cecropia's maids earlier within the same book:19 "...six maids, all in one livery of scarlet petticoats which were tucked up almost to their knees . . .; their legs naked . . .; their breasts, liberal to the eye. . ." (314-5). This passage is one among many revealing the maids' role as allegorical papists, calling to mind, within the context established by the kidnapping scene,20 the harlotry and scarlet apparell of the Whore of Babylon (Rev. 17). The latter figure was, of course, identified by sixteenth-century Protestants with the Church of Rome.

Venus is said, too, to have a "wanton woman's face," by "art . . . / As stuff meant for the sale set out to glaring show," while the "curled knots" of her hair shine "by the help of painter's cunning" (348, p477). A "seminal commonplace of the Renaissance imagination"--that "the naked strength of truth" (with the emphasis quite often being upon religious truth) is resplendent without adornment, whereas falsehood or "error needs cosmetic, decorative coverings" (Auski Plain Style 246) --again suggests the equivocal nature of this goddess's divinity. More generally, the revealing clothing and heavy cosmetics of Diana and Venus militate against the Pauline admonition that women be "adorned 'in modest apparel, with shamefacedness and sobriety' (1 Timothy ii.9)" and the Apostle's condemnation of "'outward adorning' of any kind" in favor of "'the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit' (1 Peter iii.3-4)" (Auski "Simplicity" 360). Metaphors relating to lush clothing and cosmetic
"paint" were drawn upon by Protestants denouncing the "whorish" Roman church for relying too heavily upon outward display. Mornay, for example, chides those who, not content with the "natural colour, though it be white," of the True, though "poore and ragged Church," fancy instead "a Church proud and glorious, in her vestments of scarlet, painted with colours more glittering, though borrowed. . . ." These lovers of the Roman Church and its pomp, with their superficial, nonbiblical standards, have, according to Mornay, "embraced that Babylonian Whore, beautified with false and counterfeit colours" (Mysterie A3').

Diana and Venus only lose status in the narrator's eyes as the poem progresses. On their first appearance, the narrator, unaware of their identities, refers to the goddesses simply as "two ladies," adding, "... (ladies sure / They seemed to me) ... ." His parenthetical qualification questions their standing not merely as goddesses but even as "ladies." Having had a good look at the pair after they alight from the chariot arriving to him so precipitously and portentously from the heavens, the narrator registers a profound, if ironic, sense of disappointment: "When I such guests did see come out of such a house, / The mountains, great with child, I thought brought forth a mouse" (348, p477).

The narrator's disenchantment is compounded when the women's identities are finally revealed. Upon hearing them name one another, he reflects, again with mixed disillusionment and irony, "Those names abashed me much, when those great names I hard, / Although their fame, meseemed, from truth had greatly jarred!" (349, p477). The reverence previously accorded these famous--and until recently widely worshipped--goddesses has, the narrator only now perceives, been woefully misdirected. Use of the Roman, rather than the Greek (Diana and Venus, instead of Artemis and Aphrodite), names for these goddesses depicted as so unworthy of serious worship reinforces the analogical relationship between the Roman mythological deities in the Mira poem and the Roman, papal church in the
sixteenth century, with the implication being that the declining allegiances to both "old" faiths are justified.

Only after references to Samothea and to the falling tower have signalled allegorically that the narrative pertains to the post-Reformation era, after the ascent of Edward VI, does the narrator become fully illuminated as to the vast gulf between the hitherto glorious reputations of goddesses associated with the "old" religion of Roman Catholicism and "truth." This timing might well recognize the tireless industry early Reformers directed toward exposing to a largely uninformed populous scandals and abuses propagated by the papacy and priesthood. Amphialus' gradual recognition of the goddesses' true natures mirrors the reactions of papists-turned-Protestants to reformist sermons, books, and pamphlets awakening them to the extent to which representatives of the Church of Rome had beguiled them. The narrator's later rationale for accepting the task of judging between the goddesses, "...For near acquaintance doth diminish reverent fear..." (351, p480), seems justifiable, for the "reverent fear" previously induced by the goddesses (and by implication, the hierarchy of the Roman Church) was, quite apparently, unmerited.

The shortcomings of Venus and Diana become evident not merely through descriptions of their own appearances but also through radical contrasts between themselves and Mira, the "virgin pure" (348, p477) who waits upon them. Sidney here draws once again upon the ancient assumption in biblical exegesis that women in Scripture often represent churches. An opposite to Venus and Diana on nearly every score, Mira, as a sort of corrective ideal, helps to intensify the narrator's conviction as to the unworthiness of the classical goddesses. In terms of the historical allegory, the point may well be that exposure to the new ideal provided by Reformed churches (themselves supposedly modeled upon the Primitive, Apostolic Church) and to the standards of the Word preached within them helps the narrator rapidly to comprehend the papal church's inadequacy.

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Glowing descriptions of Mira, though brief, make immediately apparent the chasm separating her character, as witnessed both by her external appearance and her behavior, from those of Sidney’s classical goddesses. In stark opposition to Venus’ intricate hairstyle and elaborate cosmetic “paint,” Mira’s clothing, though attractive, is unostentatious: “. . .And so she was attired as one that did not prize / Too much her peerless parts, nor yet could them despise” (349, p478). Mira’s physical appearance, particularly as contrasted with that of Venus, is notable for its simplicity, a frequent ideal among Reformers, who (to varying degrees) viewed simplification of external ritual, of ministerial rhetoric and attire, and so forth, as emblematic of a lack of preoccupation with superfluous external trappings and, thus, of true inward spirituality. The narrator immediately concludes that Mira surpasses “All things that erst” he had seen by as far as “orient pearls exceed / That which their mother hight, or else their silly seed. . .” (349, p478). The pearl comparison not only suggests the naturalness of Mira’s beauty, which contrasts intensely with Venus’ artificial, luxurious embellishment, but also may evoke biblical echoes such as Christ’s words in Mathew 7:6, “Give ye not that which is holie, to dogges, nether cast ye your pearles before swine . . .” and Mathew 13:45-6, “Againe the kingdome of heaven is like to a marchant man, that seketh good perles. Who having founde a perle of great price, went and solde all that he had, and boght it,” as well as Rev. 21:21, “And the twelve gates were twelve pearles, and everie gate is of one pearle. . . .”

Mira is also distinguished from Venus and Diana by the emphasis upon harmony in passages describing her. Descriptions of Mira’s movement suggest order and concord: “. . .called, she came apace--a pace wherein did move / The band of beauties all, the little world of love” (349). Even the encomiums upon Mira’s complexion contribute to an impression of accord (and perhaps of divine blessing as well): “. . .Indeed a perfect hue; indeed, a sweet concent / Of all those graces’ gifts the heav’ns have
ever lent. . ." (349, p478). By contrast, not only does Venus and Diana's chariot follow a disorderly "stormlike course," but their initial arrival is immediately preceded by a dissonant crash (the "hugest noise" compared to that of a falling tower). Moreover, relationships between the two goddesses have long been typified by constant wrangling, as Diana freely acknowledges to Venus: "I know full well you know what discord long hath reigned / Betwixt us two; how much that discord foul hath stained / Both our estates, while each the other did deprave . . ." (349, p478). Indeed, this continuous variance has not only contributed to the abandonment of their worship but also prompted their present visit to Earth. Diana has requested her "sister" goddess's presence, first upon the moon and now upon Earth, to propose the following resolution to their ongoing conflicts and, thus, to the current distressing disrespect for them among mortals:

.. let us wiser be; and what foul discord brake,
So much more strong again let fastest concord make. . . .
Let us a perfect peace between us two resolve,
Which, lest the ruinous want of government dissolve,
Let one the princess be, to her the other yield.
For vain equality is but contention's field. . . .
(350, p479)

In a recognized reworking of the Judgment of Paris theme popular among contemporary poets, Sidney has the goddesses select "a youth . . . as yet of spotless truth" (his poem's narrator) to award one of them an amber crown symbolizing the "precedence" its recipient will subsequently enjoy (350, p479).

This plan for peace is, however, clearly vain, for the personal pride fueling the "striving passion" at the source of previous conflicts between them remains unchanged. Venus gladly accepts Diana's proposal because vanity leads her to presume that the crown will be bestowed upon her, ".. .As though she were the same as when by Paris' doom / She had chief goddesses in beauty overcome. .. " (350, p479). Even as they assure the narrator that they will accept his decision, the goddesses' thirst for primacy remains apparent: they strive to outpace one another in speech, eager to win their judge's favor and, thus, the competition and rights to
reign with unimpeded power: "...both together spake, each loath to be behind. ..." (351, p479).

Sidney’s association of Venus and Diana with discord and with craving for supremacy and of Mira with harmonious unity would be in keeping with Protestant characterizations of the papal and of the Reformed and Primitive Churches, respectively. Protestant polemicists charged that the vast wealth and power at the disposal of the papacy led to vicious power struggles among ambitious prelates and their factions, all striving to procure an office that could be occupied by only a single individual at a given time. 24

The unity and concord suggested by descriptions of Mira recall, by contrast, Spenser’s Una (Lat. together), representative on one level of Truth, single and eternal, and of the one True religion and one True Church enduring throughout time. 25 Still more fundamentally, the descriptions suggest biblical exhortations to peace and concord among Christians, for example, St. Paul’s counsel to the Philippians: "...be like minded, having the same love, being of one accorde, and of one judgement. That nothing be done through contention or vaine glorie, but that in mekenes of minde everie man esteme other better then him self" (2:2-3). Venus and Diana’s vanity and contention have been illustrated. Additional, though related, antitheses between Mira and the classical goddesses, apart from the discord/harmony opposition, are pointed to by verses following those just quoted from Phillipians: "Let the same minde be in you that was even in Christ Jesus, Who being in the forme of God, ... take on him the forme of a servant. ... He humbled him self, and became obedient unto the death, even the death of the crosse" (2:5-8). The classical goddesses scorn the role of servant into which now disrespectful mortals have cast them: "Are we their servants grown? No doubt, a noble stay: / Celestial pow’rs, to worms; Jove’s children serve to clay! / But such they say we be. ..." (350, p478). Christ, the Son of God, willingly became a servant to humanity, but Sidney’s children of Jove 423
desire nothing of the role. Mira, by contrast, exemplifies the humility advocated by St. Paul and, as the goddesses' "waiting nymph," is literally a servant. She does not resist the part, but "bending humbled eyes" awaits her "mistress' will," which, when imparted, is readily observed: "...called, she came apace..." (349, p478). Diana's injunction that Mira remain silent is a "well performed behest" (349, p478).

Once cognizant of the classical goddesses' egregious history of misrule and of the lamentable gap between their reputations for beauty and their actual appearances, and having witnessed Mira's immediately obvious superiority on every score, Sidney's narrator hesitates not a moment before pronouncing the waiting nymph unquestionably and alone worthy of the crown:

`How ill both you can rule, well hath your discord taught; Ne yet, for aught I see, your beauties merit aught. To yonder nymph, therefore,' to Mira I did point, 'The crown above you both for ever I appoint.' (351, p480)

The narrator's immediate recognition of Mira's pre-eminence and his consequent awarding of the crown to her once again suggest allegorically the capacity of a lay Christian (probably in Britain, for reasons discussed below, in addition to the Samothea reference) to discern the shortcomings of the "old faith" (papism, associated in the poem with the classical goddesses), after early Reformers had uncloaked and disseminated through their writings and sermons the history of corruption and misdeeds within the Church of Rome (after the reference to the falling tower) and after he has been exposed to the alternative ideal of the True Church (Mira, representative of both the Primitive Church and of Protestant churches reformed in its image on the basis of scriptural standards, which were accorded a renewed precedence at this time).

In one of the most extensive critical treatments of this Mira poem, that of Dennis Moore, Mira is held to represent not the True Church, but Queen Elizabeth, the Church of England's Supreme Governor. Moore notes the queen's "long poetic career of winning the Judgment of Paris" in reworkings of the episode by contemporary writers (90, 109-10). Moore
argues, too, that the narrator is shown to be erroneous and guilty of hubris for agreeing to judge the contest between the goddesses' and that the poem is designed to acknowledge that Sidney himself was similarly at fault for presumptuously advising Queen Elizabeth against marriage to the Duke of Alençon, in the famous letter that incurred her wrath. Moore discovers within "the symbolic underpinnings of Philisides' vision ... the elements into which Sidney has translated his angering of England's goddess," the queen. Sidney, Moore contends, while not acknowledging that his advice was wrong (Mira clearly deserves to win), is admitting that he was wrong to advance his own opinions concerning such high matters in the first place (117-9).

While I do not agree with Moore's identification of Mira with Queen Elizabeth, I do agree with him that Sidney treats through the dream poem issues relating to the queen's political policy and that she is represented within the poem. Moore argues, for example, as I have above, "The suggestion that Samothea's honor is past may reflect Sidney's disappointment at Elizabeth's refusal to commit England to the cause of continental Protestantism" (98). This interpretation here is, however, inconsistent with Moore's other comments on the significance of the Samothea reference. He asserts that Sidney's descriptions of his narrator's "strained thoughts" during his "inquiries into the nature of things" just after he has discovered himself amidst the woods of Samothea—descriptions that Moore suggests resemble Harrison's remarks upon the philosophical and scientific endeavors of the ancient Samotheans—are intended to exemplify human pride directed toward "useless speculative knowledge" (99-100), illustrating once again the narrator's hubris. Yet, if Samothea is presented as having outshined contemporary England in honor, it would seem inconsistent that it would simultaneously be intended to exemplify proud human obsessions with "useless speculative knowledge." Moore bolsters his case for identifying Mira with Queen Elizabeth through a sort of process of elimination, asserting that the queen surely cannot,
as William Ringler suggested, be associated with Diana, for such would be too "gross an insult," given the goddess's frumpiness and her failure to win the contest (90). Moore assumes, however, that the poem was composed for the monarch's perusal, whereas Sidney critics generally accept that manuscripts of the Arcadia circulated during their author's lifetime only among a narrowly restricted circle of relatives and acquaintances.

Much more persuasive to me is Duncan-Jones' case that in this poem "... Sidney bluntly declared his preference for Mira/Mary" (Duncan-Jones believes Mira is "most plausibly identified with Sidney's sister Mary") over Queen Elizabeth (Courtier 144, 146). Duncan-Jones compellingly argues, "... Elizabeth, who was often celebrated as an embodiment of both Diana and Venus" and was "notorious for her lavish use of cosmetics and hair dye, and her fondness for exposing more, not less, of her body as years went by, seems clearly alluded to in Sidney's unsparing description" of the goddesses (Courtier 147). Elsewhere within the revised Arcadia, Pyrocles, summarizing the rumored excellencies of Queen Helen of Corinth, whose conspicuous associations with Queen Elizabeth have been recognized since the seventeenth century, if not earlier, links her to the same two goddesses: "...it seemed ... that herself was a Diana appareled in the garments of Venus." Yet, the verb seemed reminds readers that appearances may deceive, and the possibility of a gap between reputation and reality is only augmented when, in the next sentence, Pyrocles acknowledges that his remarks on Helen are based on that "which fame only delivered unto me, for yet I have never seen her..." (254; emphasis added).

Moore's strongest argument for identifying Mira as Queen Elizabeth derives not from any evidence internal to the poem itself but from a prose passage that followed it in the Fourth Eclogues of the Old Arcadia, in which Philisides, the poem's narrator in that work, complains, 

...having spent some part of my youth in following of her, sometimes with some measure of favour, sometimes with unkind
interpretations of my most kind thoughts, in the end having attempted all means to establish my blissful estate, and having been not only refused all comfort but new quarrels picked against me, I did resolve by perpetual absence to choke mine own ill fortunes. (296)

Moore observes of the above statement: "Philisides' explanation of his self-imposed exile in Arcadia corresponds exactly to the probable reasons for Sidney's own retirement to Wilton (and Arcadia)—if Mira figures Elizabeth" (120). Certainly, correspondences between the situations of Philisides and Sidney are beyond dispute. The autobiographical dimension of Sidney's portrayal of Philisides has long been recognized. Ringler, who labels Philisides "Sidney's fictionalized self-portrait," observes, "The personal references are unmistakable and did not escape his contemporaries," noting further, "The author's personal appearance in the narrative under an assumed name was a well-established tradition of the pastoral. Virgil appears as Tityrus in his Eclogues, Sannazaro as Sincero in his Arcadia. . ." (Poems 418). Moreover, autobiographical correspondences are especially pronounced in the prose passages adjoining the Mira dream vision. Duncan-Jones has labeled the passage immediately preceding this poem in the Old Arcadia, in which Philisides relates his past history, "...the nearest Sidney ever came to autobiography" (Sidney 353).

Yet, several factors must be considered before one concludes that correspondences between Sidney and Philisides necessitate an identification of Mira as Queen Elizabeth. First, absolutely nothing within the poem itself (as opposed to the prose statements that encompass it within the Old Arcadia) suggests either an identification of Mira as the queen or any hint of unkindness or conflict in Mira's behavior toward the narrator. Mira figures in a number of Sidney's early poems, some, but not all, of which were eventually integrated within the Old Arcadia's eclogues (Ringler Poems xlii). The situational context within the Fourth Eclogues, rather than any reconception of Mira's role within the dream vision itself, may have swayed Philisides' remarks concerning Mira in the
adjacent prose passages, as Sidney worked to incorporate a poem probably composed earlier within a new fictional milieu. Ringler has underscored as among the most conspicuous characteristics of Sidney's eclogues "their carefully integrated structure," commenting, "Each of the four groups develops a situation and explores a theme. . ." (Poems xxxviii). Within the Fourth Eclogues, the native Arcadian shepherds grieve the supposed death of Basilius, Arcadia's ruler. Once "...the general complaints of all men called in like question their particular griefs" (285), Strephon and Klawus lament the absence of Urania, the woman they both love. Two of their complaints appear just before the Mira dream vision, and Philisides' recital of this poem is specifically triggered by Strephon and Klawus' "earnest entreaty" that Philisides' "impart some part of the sorrow his countenance so well witnessed unto them" (290). Prose passages adjoined to the poem within this new context serve not only to develop Philisides' characterization but also to reinforce the reigning atmosphere within Arcadia at a specific moment in time, both the general woe arising from Basilius' "death" and, of more immediate interest to my argument, Strephon and Klawus' despairing discontent over their absent mistress, Urania, as expressed in the sorrowful laments preceding the dream vision. Both purposes are underscored when the narrator comments, in the sentence immediate following the appeal by Strephon and Klawus quoted above, that Philisides, "... (who by no entreaty of the duke [Basilis] would be brought unto it) in this doleful time was content thus to manifest himself . . ." (290; emphases added). Desire to express kinship of spirit with Strephon and Klawus' complaints over their mistress, therefore, likely influences Philisides' remarks, following his recital of the dream vision, on his own mistress' unkindness. Similarities in the two situations are reinforced through additional parallels as well, for example the fact that, "Like Urania, Mira has two lovers, an older and a younger [Coredens and Philisides]" (Duncan-Jones Sidney 353).
Yet, the transformation in Urania’s portrayal from the Old Arcadia eclogues to the opening of the revised Arcadia provides ample precedent for Sidney’s willingness to alter characterization (as with that of Mira) in the interest of evolving literary purposes, as well as of his remarkable talent, evident throughout the revised Arcadia, for reworking previous writing for use in entirely new contexts. The Urania of the Old Arcadia, who, despite Strephon and Klaius’ steadfast devotion, “never yield[ed] better than hate for their love” (285), is a far cry from the notably compassionate and kind mistress of the New Arcadia’s opening, who, for example, “laid her hand over [Klaius’] eyes when she saw the tears springing in them, as if she would conceal them from other, and yet herself feel some of [his] sorrow” (4). One must bear in mind as well that descriptions of both Urania and Mira are frequently intended to reveal more about their male admirers and the attitudes of these men toward romantic love than about the women’s own characters. For all of the above reasons, therefore, complaints by Philisides in the Old Arcadia about Mira’s unkindness need not invalidate my argument that, in the poem both as it was originally conceived and in its context within Book 3 of the revised Arcadia, Mira functions as an allegorical representative of the True Church.

Moreover, even the Old Arcadia eclogues include an “escape clause” that would permit Mira to be associated both with the True Church, within the dream vision itself, and with a none-too-lovingly-portrayed Queen Elizabeth, within Philisides’ ensuing complaints. Just after he delivers the poem detailing how “In such, or suchlike, sort in a dream” he attained “sight of her in whose respect all things afterwards seemed but blind darkness unto” him, Philisides, in the prose passage following the poem, continues, “For so it fell out that her I saw, I say that sweet and incomparable Mira (so like her which in that rather vision than dream of mine I had seen), that I began to persuade myself in my nativity I was allotted unto her; to her, I say, whom even Coredens made the upshot of
all his despairing desires, and so, alas, from all other exercises of my mind bent myself only to the pursuit of her favour" (296; emphasis added). The parenthetical qualifying clause employing the word like allows for the possibility that the Mira glimpsed within the dream vision and the woman whose favor he later sought (whose "unkind interpretations" of his behavior correspond so well, as Moore has argued, to Sidney's complaints about Queen Elizabeth's attitudes and actions toward himself) are not necessarily identical, despite Philisides' (perhaps naive) initial impression. (One recalls the similar hints of a gap between appearance and reality attached to descriptions of Elizabeth's fictional counterpart, Queen Helen.) Philisides' early obsessive devotion to the woman he considers "so like" the Mira of his dream may glance at the euphoria of British Protestants upon Elizabeth's accession to the throne, ensuring a return of the nation to their faith. His subsequent discontent with this woman would reflect the later disappointment of more radical Protestants when the queen refused to reform the nation's Church as thoroughly as they desired. Philisides' testimony that once he had attained his vision of Mira, "all things afterwards seemed but blind darkness unto" him would, if Mira is interpreted as the True Church, accord well with Malcolm Wallace's estimation, "From the time of his return to England in 1577 Sidney's one absorbing interest during the remainder of his life was in the cause of continental Protestantism, with which he believed the welfare of England to be bound up" (Life 183).

My argument that the Mira of the dream vision (with whom no hint of dissatisfaction is indicated) is linked to the True Church, whereas the woman Philisides assumes is Mira in his waking life, with whom he later becomes disillusioned, represents Queen Elizabeth, would add another level to the autobiographical dimension of Philisides' characterization, perhaps humorously suggesting that it is Sidney's fervor for a fully reformed church (Philisides' devotion to the Mira of the dream vision) that gets him into trouble with his queen, who is much less zealous than himself for
thoroughgoing church reform or active military and political support of
the Protestant "Cause." Sidney's (Philisides') choice to place his
loyalty to the True Church (Mira) before his loyalty to Queen Elizabeth
(Diana and Venus) earned Sidney the queen's disfavor, when it led him
daringly to advise her against marriage to the "papist" Alençon.
Similarly, Philisides is punished within the dream vision not by Mira but
by Venus and Diana, who, after he awards the crown to Mira, curse the
"Ungodly rebel" then depart in hasty anger ("away to heav'n they fled ..
. ".)! Their "cursed curse" is intended to inflict upon Philisides a
simultaneously burning, chaste, and despairing passion for Mira (351)."

My earlier interpretation of the Samothea allusion within the dream
vision likewise strengthens autobiographical correspondences between
Sidney himself and the poem's narrator, for Sidney would have had quite
personal motives for idealizing Edward VI's reign, in addition to the more
generalized penchant of British Protestants for extolling the king as a
young Josiah who labored mightily on behalf of God's Law. The fortunes of
both Sidney's father's and mother's families peaked during the Edwardian
era." Henry VIII had entrusted care of the young Prince Edward "almost
exclusively to" Sir William Sidney, the poet's grandfather, and his wife,
Lady Anne, Edward's governess. Sir William later served as Tutor,
Chamberlain, and Steward of King Edward's household. At the age of 10,
Sir Henry Sidney, Philip's father, was appointed henchman to the two-year-
old Prince Edward, whose bedfellow he had often been. As "one of the
principal gentlemen of Edward's privy chamber" and a favorite of the king,
"honours and rewards came thick and fast" upon Sir Henry during Edward's
reign. Henry was appointed the king's Chief Cup-bearer and Chief
Cypherer, and the Chief Steward of assorted royal parks, manors, and
mansions." Sir Henry later wrote poignantly of how "not only to [his]
still felt grief, but also to the universall woe of England," the young
king had died in his arms ("Sir Henry Sidney's Memoir" 193). Also
cresting during King Edward's reign were the power and wealth of the

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family of Sidney's mother, Mary, the eldest daughter of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, *de facto* ruler of England during the latter part of Edward's reign. The decline of the Dudley's following the young king's death was, of course, dramatic, in the aftermath of Northumberland's plots "to gain control of the throne and secure a Protestant succession" (Duncan-Jones *Courtier* 5) by having his daughter-in-law (and Philip's aunt), Lady Jane Grey, declared queen: Northumberland himself was beheaded; his wife was expelled from their home and her property confiscated; and their four surviving sons were imprisoned in the Tower for over a year and condemned of high treason, though they were eventually released.

While Sir Henry did hold office under Queen Mary, he spent a large portion of the fortune he had accrued in King Edward's service endeavoring to assuage the disasters that had befallen his wife's family. He sacrificed much of his personal fortune, not to mention his own health, during his service as Lord Deputy of Ireland under Queen Elizabeth, who provided him with very inadequate financial support for the position and showed herself inappreciative of his tireless service in that capacity. Contemporaries testified that Sir Henry was "much dissatisfied with the way the Queen has treated him. . ." (Wallace 78). Early in Elizabeth's reign Philip's mother, Lady Mary, was a chief lady-in-waiting at court, and there was, of course, talk of marriage between the queen and her brother, Robert Dudley. Yet, while tending upon Queen Elizabeth when she was stricken with smallpox, Mary herself contracted the disease. The episode left Mary permanently scarred, and she and her husband maintained separate households thereafter, further straining the family's finances.

My argument concerning the treatments of Edwardian and Elizabethan England in the *Mira* dream vision and in passages adjacent to it in the *Old Arcadia*, therefore, fits both with Sidney's actual biographical experiences (and, thus, with Philisides' "biography") and with the fictional history of Amphialus. In revising the *Arcadia*, Sidney, I
believe, recognized that reassigning the Mira dream vision to Amphialus would reinforce the allegorical family history of this new character, the death of whose father while he is a small child signals England's initial break with the papacy under Henry VIII. Amphialus subsequently enjoys a brief golden era of happiness and tranquility corresponding to the reign of Edward VI, only to encounter difficulties with Queen Elizabeth (Diana and Venus) for speaking out upon his conviction that the church under her governance is not fulfilling the expectations for full reform engendered under the leadership of her brother, England's "young Josiah."
1. Cf. Bullinger, summarized in Margaret Aston, 144. In II Kings 23:2, Josiah is said to have read "all the wordes of the boke of the covenant" into the ears of "all the people bothe small & great."  

2. Duncan-Jones, in "Sidney in Samothea" (174), first demonstrated to modern readers that Sidney had not simply invented Samothea. She labels Samothea "a very apposite image of the Tudor England in which Sidney/Philisides received his education into 'what in truth and not in opinion is to be embraced, and what to be eschewed'" (176). Holinshed was probably Sidney's "chief source," although Sidney may also have known Bale's version or those of others (176). The Samothea myth was invented by the Dominican Annius of Viterbo, writing late in the fifteenth century. Annius had attributed the myth to the ancient Chaldean priest and historian Berosus (176). John Stow in 1580 declared the work attributed to Berosus by Annius "falsely forged" (177), and "...by the year in which the Old Arcadia was finished Annius's fable had been so firmly exploded that even poets felt reluctant to make use of it" (177). Yet, I believe that Sidney found the analogical model offered by the Samothea myth too attractive to prevent him from drawing upon its fictional potential, much as he might draw upon a Greek or Roman myth. See also Godshalk "Correspondence" and Kendrick British Antiquity (69-76), who traces the rise and fall of the myth.

3. On Protestant representations of Edward VI as Josiah, see Aston, 25-36. See also King English Reformation 161-206 and Iconography 90-101 on Protestant iconography of Edward VI, including the Josiah imagery. Aston (39, 42) and King discuss the pertinent biblical background on Josiah as well.

4. Borrowing from Conyers Read the label "radical Protestant" to characterize "the faction headed by Leicester and Walsingham," Ronald Rebholz asserts in his biography of Greville: "The hallmark of the radical Protestants was... their insistence that religion should determine national policy. Greville embraced this view, without qualification, as 'the wisest and best way'" (20, 27).

As Catherine Davies has observed, Protestant ideologists advanced godly Old Testament kings like Josiah as paradigmatic rulers to underscore their conviction that "a truly Christian prince could provide conditions in which the church could become synonymous with the nation." Edwardian Protestants so fervently embraced comparisons of their king to Josiah largely to reinforce this paradigm, since "...Josiah had presided over the providential rediscovery of the law by the priests and its reinstatement as the governing principle according to which Judah was ruled" (88). The Vindiciae contra tyrannos (1579), usually ascribed to Languet and/or Mornay, employs the example of King Josiah in its opening section to illustrate the stipulations in the covenant between God and the Jewish people that "The king himself, and all the people should be careful to honour and serve God according to His will revealed in His word. ..." (71-2). Contemporary Christian rulers, too, according to the Vindiciae, are bound to govern so as "to ensure the fulfillment of God's Law" (Eire 299).

5. In his poem, "Disprayse of a Courtly Life" (Poems 262-3). See also Blair Worden, 217-23, on Sidney's criticism and dislike of courtly flattery.

6. Robert Stillman cites these passages from Holinshed, arguing that "the explanation assigned by Holinshed for the Samotheans' destruction is nearly identical to the one used to account for Philisides' fall" (165).
7. Greville refers to Queen Elizabeth as the "she-David" who "ventured to undertake the Great Goliath among the Philistins abroad, I mean Spain and the Pope. . ." (165). Annabel M. Patterson's observations on the context of Greville's work must, however, be held in mind: the "Life was itself a 'text,' with its own motives and strategies. . . . Writing not under Elizabeth, but under James, Greville held a view of Elizabethan foreign policy that was entirely different from that of Sidney in 1580. Much of the Life is devoted to a eulogy of Elizabeth, from a post-Armada perspective. Its moralism is therefore addressed to Jacobean 'visions' and failures, particularly the pro-Spanish policies and pacifism of James himself. . ." (Censorship 32).

8. Stillman concludes, correctly, I believe, that in locating the Mira dream vision within the OA Eclogues, Sidney "frustrates conventional expectations about the nature of pastoral romance. . . . by transforming the nature of its politics. Vergil set the precedent for a marked patriotic strain in subsequent pastoral literature by creating such allegorical panegyrics as the one on Daphnis-Caesar in the fifth Eclogue." The convention was followed by SannazarO, who praised Naples in his Arcadia, by Gil Polo and Montemayor, in their "elaborate paeans on the glories of Spain," and by Spenser, who lauds Elizabeth in his "April" eclogue. Consequently, "it is sufficiently surprising that The Old Arcadia contains not a single hint of praise either for England or for Elizabeth. . . . For Sidney's pastoral romance to include a myth of England's fall into effeminate wantonness is unprecedented and startling" (165-6). See Patterson on Sidney's theory, as derived from the Defence and the Arcadia's, on the use of pastoral for political criticism "under hidden forms" (Censorship 28-31).

9. Ultraprotestants often objected that the term priest was popish (whether applied to clergy within the Roman Church or within a nominally Protestant church considered inadequately reformed). Master Edward Dering explains why he and others objected to use of the term within the Elizabethan Book of Common Prayer: "Commonlie in this booke they call the Minister by the name of priest: which name ( . . . importeth a popishe sacrificer, and so is sacrilegious) . . . . For if by the word Priest, you meane . . . a Sacrificer, so Christ onely is the priest of the newe Testament. . . ." (A Parte 82).

10. During Edward's reign, for example, John Hooper preached, "There should be among Christians no altars," and Bishop Nicholas Ridley exhorted the curates and churchwardens to set up 'an honest table' for communion "and to take down all other altars" (Brigden London 462-4).

11. Acts and Monuments 5: 698. The "papists'" altars were sometimes presented as types of the idolatrous "high places" of the Old Testament, such as those destroyed by iconoclastic kings like Hezekiah and Josiah. See, for example, William Leigh, qtd. in Aston 114.

12. Maurice Evans, in his Penguin edition of the 1593 Arcadia, calls this poem's "theme, the decay of belief in the planetary deities, . . . common to the period, perhaps related to the changing conceptions of astronomy and the challenge to the Ptolemeic system," citing Giordano Bruno's Spaccio della bestia Trionfante (1585) as an example (861). Dennis Moore criticizes Evans' suggestion of thematic similarities between the Mira poem and Bruno's Spaccio (105).

13. Cf. Foxe Acts 4:251-2. The final fall of Spenser's Orgoglio, another character associated with the papacy, is compared to the fall of a high castle (Fairie Queene I.8.23).

15. As in the painting upon which Aston’s book centers.

16. As was noted in my earlier discussion of the sparrows associated with Urania in the Old Arcadia Eclogues, Ringler has observed that Sidney employs the sparrow as an emblem of lust in that poem (OP 4), in OA 29, in A & S 83, and in OA 10, which refers to the "sparrow’s lechery," and that such symbolism appears as well, for example, in John Skelton’s Philip Sparrow (Poems 482). Moore notes that, in The third part of the Countess of Pembrokes Yvychurc: Entituled. Amintas Dale (1592), Abraham Fraunce comments that Venus’ chariot is drawn by doves and swans because "... Doves are wanton, and Swans are white and musical, both being means to procure love and lust." The fact that Sidney adds sparrows, "notoriously lecherous" birds, to the conventional doves, contributes, Moore argues, to a still "more single-mindedly wanton image" (101-2). Sparrows sometimes symbolized the penis in Renaissance Italian erotica (Frantz 66-8).

17. For differing interpretations of the moon, as well as of the falling tower, in the Mira poem, see Craft 42-5. In a letter to Sir Thomas Cawarden, Master of the Revels, concerning the 1552/3 Christmas festivities at court, George Ferrers writes that in his role as Lord of Misrule in the previous year’s festivities, his "devise was to cum oute of the mone" (Documents Relating to the Revels at Court. . . . 89). This Edwardian Lord of Misrule also seems to have employed his histrionic props and display to associate not only the moon but also papism with foolery, the latter a stance likely to be popular with the reigning monarch. In the same letter, Ferrers ponders whether he should ride to court "uppon some straunge beast," suggesting as an appropriate choice "the serpente with sevin heddes cauled hidra . . . the chief beast of myne armes." (89). When confronted with the spectacle of a seven-headed beast, many Renaissance Protestants would have thought almost automatically of the seven-headed beast of Rev. 13, and thus of papism. It would not seem improbable that various of these symbolic effects associated with folly (the moon and the seven-headed beast, and thus popery) might have come to be linked to one another in the minds of contemporary audiences. In describing his Paradise of Fools— to be crowded with "... all things vain, and all who in vain things / Built their fond hopes of glory or lasting fame, / Or happiness in this or th‘other life," with many of his examples specifying papist "gear" and observances or papists themselves—Milton emphasizes that "all things transitory and vain" finally “wander here— / Not in the neighboring moon, as some have dreamed . . . “ (Paradise Lost 3.418-497), implying that (as in Orlando Furioso) the moon was frequently considered an appropriate locale for the foolish and fleeting.

18. Given the apocalyptic focus of this dissertation, it seems worth observing that while Sidney’s narrator expects an ultimate doomsday, his goddesses seem not to. As M. H. Abrams has noted, Revelation "incorporates and confirms . . . a paradigm of history which is radically distinctive. As against Greek and Roman primitivism and cyclism (the theory of eternal recurrence), the biblical paradigm attributes to earthly history a single and sharply defined plot, with a beginning (the fiat of creation), a catastrophe (the fall of man), a crisis (the Incarnation and Resurrection of Christ), and a coming end. . . .” (343-4). That the goddesses’ hold the cyclical, classical view of history is suggested by Diana’s remark to Venus: "... you see we both do feel / The weak‘ning work of time’s forever whirling wheel. / Although we be divine, our grandsire Saturn is / With age’s force decayed—yet once the heav’n was his" (350, p479).
19.  Skretkowicz notes in his commentary the similarity in the two
descriptions, commenting that tucking of garments to the knees "was
Diana's fashion..." (559, 563).

20.  See the discussion of this scene in my sixth chapter.

21.  The metaphor was discussed in my last chapter, as part of my argument
that Cecropia functions on one level of Sidney's narrative as an
allegorical representative of the Church of Rome.  Bullinger's traditional
explanation, which appears as part of his commentary upon the woman-
clothed-with-the-sun in Rev. 12, was cited at that time: 
"...under the
type or figure of a woman, he describeth the Church of God at all tymes.
Neither is it a strange or rare thyng, since at the first beginnyng of
things the woman began to represent the type of Christes spoushe the
Church, as is to be sene in the .2. of Genes.  And so hath the Apostle
expounded the type in the .5. chapter to the Ephes.  I neede not now to
recite, that Esay hath ofterthen than once resembled Gods Church under the
type of a woman..." (A Hundred Sermons upon the Apocalipse of Jesu
Christ... trans. John Daus [London, 1573], sig. 159').

22.  While some radical Reformers, including Karlstadt, favored
exceedingly plain apparel, others, such as Luther, believed that such
prescriptions led to a "new monkyry" and enslavement of conscience in
matters upon which God had allowed relative freedom of choice.  Even
Luther, however, endorsed the more general Pauline recommendation "that
women adorn themselves in modest apparel" and the ideal that "Christians
should be clothed and adorned with their virtues..." Calvin condemned
"sumptuous dress" for both men and women on the grounds that it drew the
"Christian away from the spiritualistic heart of religion..." (Auski
Plain Style 210-2; 218).

Mira's style of dress is analogous to the style often attributed to
the Bible: "the unpolished simplicity... of sacred Scriptures does
have its own rather moderate adornment, polished graces, and beautiful
charms; but these are utterly unlike the artifice of the rhetoricians..."
'the sacred Scriptures have, but do not display eloquence'..." (Oliver Bowles, qtnq St. Augustine; qtd. in Auski Plain Style 292).

23.  See Auski Christian Plain Style and "Simplicity." Auski explains, "...no topos is more central to the gathered polemic of the first Reformers
than Paul's distinction between the 'inward man' and the 'outward man' (2
Corintians iv.16)... Zwinglei and Calvin... urge emulation of 'the
simplicity that is in Christ' (2 Corinthians xi.3), of his 'lowliness of
mind' (Philippians ii.3)..." ('Simplicity' 359).

24.  Tyndale, tracing, "By what means the prelates fell from Christ,"
oberves, "...when the pope had exalted his throne above his fellows,
then the unity that ought to be among brethren in Christ's church brake;
and division began between [the Western Church] and the Greeks..." (255,
259). Cf. Tyndale 267-8. Mornay declares that "so great" has been the
ambition for primacy within the Church of Rome that critics as early as
Chrysostom "complained, that to obtain supremacie, the Bishoppes of Rome
had filled the Churches with blood, and had defiled the Supper of the
Lorde with murtheres, untill thei had utterly for it destroyed whole
Cities" (Treatise 243).

25.  Mornay implies a connection between unity and another previously
discussed characteristic of Mira, simplicity: "...'in the Church of
Rome there is a certaine root duplicitas of doublenesse,' which is
contrarie to the 'simplicitie of a Dove,' which is so much commended to
Christians..." Mysterie 319). The contrast is, of course, fundamental
to Spenser's characterization of Una and Duessa, as reflected in their

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26. Moore summarizes efforts by previous critics to identify Mira (89-93). Mira could, of course, be associated with both the True Church and Queen Elizabeth, but such a yoking would require a much more positive assessment of Elizabeth's role as Governor of the Church than this poem and his letters suggest that Sidney held.

27. According to Moore, the narrator's willingness to judge the contest in the first instance and the punishments subsequently inflicted upon him by Venus and Diana are designed to reveal "the presumption of human meddling in divine affairs" (106-7). Yet, the goddesses of this poem are so comically garish and uncouth (as Moore acknowledges) that an author with religious convictions as deeply held as those of Sidney cannot possibly have advanced them as serious representatives of the divine. The tone of their remarks, which focus upon their declining following among mortals and which concomitantly reveal their own longing for earthly sway, is much more in keeping with that of Protestant satire against the Church of Rome. Moreover, judging the contest accurately is certainly not presented as a task requiring superhuman capacities. Indeed, the goddesses seem more guilty of hubris than the narrator, for example, in not even considering the possibility that Mira, rather than one of them, might prevail.

28. Cf. Duncan-Jones, "Samothea": "It is highly appropriate . . . that Sidney, using 'Samothea' as his name for Britain, should praise it as a place where honour was pursued (hinting that in later days this was not so). . ." (176).

29. Moore discovers hubris not only in the narrator's philosophical speculations and in his agreeing to judge the goddesses but also in the symbolism of the amber crown he bestows upon the contest's victor (Mira). Amber, Moore believes, "suggests hubris because of the gem's association with Phaeton, a prime classical example of the overreacher. After months of disconsolate grieving for him, the Heliades (his sisters) turn into trees, yet still they mourn," their tears hardening into amber. Moore argues that, like Phaeton, Sidney's narrator is guilty of hubris for agreeing to "undertake the execution of a task beyond his powers" (114-5). However, with no direct allusions to Phaeton within the poem, this interpretation seems a stretch. Moore mentions then dismisses in favor of a Phaeton allusion an alternative possibility for amber's symbolic significance: because of its capacity to attract straw after being rubbed, "Allegorical lapidarists drew the predictable parallels between amber's gentle attraction and God's grace" (113). I might argue with as much plausability as Moore's case for the Phaeton reading that the lapidarists' traditional allegorization of amber's power reinforces my interpretation of Mira as a representative of the True Church, which helps to draw humans toward God and His grace. Skretkowicz notes that, according to the OED, "Amber was worn as an amulet to attract lovers" (563).

30. Ringler makes the identification parenthetically and without explanation: "Mira, meaning wonderful, if she represents a real person, may have been one of the attendants of Queen Elizabeth (Diana)" (Poems 418). Moore assumes "that Ringler identifies Sidney's Diana with the queen because so many Elizabethans found the goddess of chastity a suitable image for praising the Virgin Queen," but counters, " . . . Sidney's description of Diana bears little resemblance to the goddess so often associated with the queen. . ." (99-90).
31. The Mira dream poem originally appeared in the Fourth Eclogues of the Old Arcadia, where it is said to have been composed by Philisides, Sidney's "fictional self-portrait" (Ringler Poems 378). Philisides' introduction to the poem in the Old Arcadia, a passage that Katherine Duncan-Jones labels "the nearest Sidney ever came to autobiography," makes the England/Samothea identification particularly obvious (Sidney 353).

Ringler implies at times certainty that Sidney himself reassigned the dream vision (OA 73) from Philisides to Amphialus, writing, "In the revised New Arcadia of 1584 Sidney... assigned three of [Philisides'] songs to other characters--OA 62 to Zelmane, OA 73 to Amphialus, and OA 74 to Dorus," and, "...Sidney had himself transferred five of the poems" from the Old Arcadia eclogues "to the narrative text of the New Arcadia, and furthermore had revised his fictional self-portrait Philisides... and in the process had transferred three poems dealing with Mira (OA 62, 73, 74) to other characters." In the paragraph immediately following the first of the above remarks, however, he writes, "In the New Arcadia Sidney, or the editors of 90 transfer this poem [OA 73] to the third book, where it is introduced as a dream Amphialus 'had seen the night before he fell in love' with Philoclea." In the explanation following this statement, Ringler assumes knowledge of his earlier discussion of the various texts and manuscripts of the revised Arcadia. The sole, now lost, manuscript of the revised Arcadia (G) was, according to Fulke Greville, entrusted by Sidney to Greville, together with "a direction set down under his own hand how and why it was to be further amended." (Ringler believes that Sidney probably left the manuscript with Greville in 1585, when he departed for the Netherlands.) One transcript (Cm) of this lost manuscript now survives (Cambridge University MS. Kk. I. 5), having been completed, in Ringler's estimation, "by an unimaginative scribe who worked hastily and therefore made many verbal errors and frequently omitted words or phrases, but otherwise mechanically copied what was before him." The published edition of 1590 was overseen by Greville, Matthew Gwynne, and John Florio, who as "editors appear to have followed their original conscientiously, and to have made only such changes and additions as they thought had been intended by Sidney himself." Ringler explains, "Cm leaves two pages blank" for the Mira dream vision, "but does not transcribe the poem. 90 gives the poem in full, but retains the name Mira [rather than changing it to Philoclea] in lines 91 ff., which may indicate that it is specifically identified the poem to be inserted, contained only the incipit or first few lines. ..." Ringler concludes that Sidney's general practice was not to recopy the complete texts of poems transferred from the Old to the New Arcadia, but to instruct his scribe to do so and that the 90 editors generally followed Sidney's marginal instructions for transferring poems from the original to the revised Arcadia and amended the poems according to these directions (Poems 370-1, 378, 418-9). As my argument throughout this discussion will imply, I believe that Sidney did intend to reassign the dream vision to Amphialus in the revised Arcadia, since doing so allows for a perfect fit, both chronologically and thematically, with other correspondences established between the histories of events relating to the Reformation in England, on the one hand, and of Amphialus (a character new to the revised Arcadia) and his family, on the other hand.

32. As William Leigh Godshalk and others have observed, "...Sidney likes to transfer a passage from one context to another, often changing altogether the tone or meaning" ("Sidney's Revision" 321). Cf. R. W. Zandvoort 67-73.

33. Mira may be associated with the queen, the True Church, and the Countess of Pembroke, and with the latter two simultaneously (with the Countess being considered a true believer within the larger Church), for, as Moore (quoting Hoyt H. Hudson) points out, according to traditional assumptions about allegory, "...a fictional character may represent a
historical character in parts or a part of its actions while in other parts it represents an abstraction or generalization, or another historical person" (131).

34. Martin Raitiere argues that Coredens should be identified as Fulke Greville (143-5). Such an identification would accord with my current argument, since Greville was both a courtier in the service of Queen Elizabeth and a devotee of the True Church.

35. Unlike Moore, who believes the punishment is depicted as justified, Stillman considers Philisides "the victim of a humorously cosmic injustice" (166-7). I agree with Stillman that the punishment is unjust, but responsibility for the injustice lies not with the cosmos but with Venus and Diana (and, therefore, with Queen Elizabeth). Stillman does acknowledge, "It is difficult not to believe that these events also represent a protest on Sidney's part against the unjust treatment that he has received, perhaps from the Queen, perhaps merely from fortune" (167).

36. "When the young king died ... in Sir Henry's arms, the fortune of the Dudley/Sidney family faded" (Hannay 5). On both family's prosperity under Edward and the difficulties faced by both of Sidney's parents under Elizabeth, see, for example, Wallace, especially 1-26 and 72-87.

37. See Wallace 1-7.
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