THE TYPOLOGICAL DIVINE: A STUDY IN THE FIGURAL EXPRESSION OF RENAISSANCE KINGSHIP

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PREFACE

Twentieth-century literary scholarship continues to demonstrate the necessity of recovering the typological mode of historical apprehension in our study of medieval and Renaissance literature. Early studies such as those by Erich Auerbach and Jean Daniélou have clarified the general theological and historical convictions once requisite for figural conceptualization in the Western world, and more recent work has concentrated on specific literary examples such as medieval plays, Spenser's Faerie Queene, Milton's Paradise Lost and "Lycidas," and specimens of Herbert's poetry, to mention but a few. Few critics, however, have worked broadly and synthetically on major typological themes as they exhibit themselves in one or more given eras. In particular, no significant investigation has yet fully examined the extent to which Renaissance poets and dramatists used the person and institution of the monarchy in figural expression for political, moral, and theological ends. Convinced that such an investigation would make an important contribution to our understanding and appreciation of Renaissance thought and literature, I have examined and attempted to define the multiple ways by which Renaissance poets of the late Tudor and Stuart eras used the devices of monarchial typology to construct both metaphysical and ethical statements about their society and world. After providing a definition of typology in its various modes and tracing the development of monarchial typology in particular, I examine and discriminate its figural expression in Edmund Spenser's

poetry, in William Shakespeare's Cymbeline, and in the prose works of John Milton.

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CHAPTER I

CHRISTIAN TYPOLOGY: THE FOUR MAJOR MODES

Preliminary to any discussion of Christian typology is the need to understand and describe the language and structures of typology as precisely as possible. Not infrequently one finds in recent discussions numerous misapprehensions and problems in critical nomenclature which confuse rather than clarify the definition and function of Christian typology as it has been used in the past and ought rightly to be used in critical discussions today. Moreover, because no single examination has satisfactorily reviewed the numerous and complex ways by which Christian typologists have expressed themselves and inasmuch as the critical literature frequently, and sometimes too easily, assumes an adequate understanding of the varieties of typological formula, it will be helpful to define the major modes of typological expression and carefully discriminate the differences among them. To this end, a discussion of the four major modes of typology--historical, ontological, pagan-Christian, and correlative--is appropriate and necessary.

The Historical Mode of Christian Typology

Christian typology in its most simple and usual sense may be defined, according to K. J. Woollcombe, "as the establishment of historical connexions between certain events, persons or things in the Old Testament and similar events, persons, or things in the New Testament."[1]

Specifically a "type" (τύπος), as a Biblical and hermeneutical term, is a person, event, or institution in the Old Testament which prefigures a person, event, or institution in the New Testament. Etymologically the word derives from the Greek verb τύπτειν, which means "to strike,"[2] and denotes the making of an impression in a plastic substance, as, for example, the pressing of a coin against soft clay. In such an instance, the nounal form, τύπος, might refer either to the coin and its design or to the imitation of it in the clay. In other words, the "type" can be either the formative mold or the replica produced from it. In the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, τύπος occurs two times (Exodus 25:40 and Amos 5:26); in the New Testament Stephen quotes both instances in Acts 7:43-44. Appearing fourteen times in the New Testament, τύπος is translated variously in the Geneva Bible (1560) and the Authorized Version (1611) as "print," "figure," "fashion," "manner," "form," "example," and "pattern." In each instance τύπος maintains its fundamental metaphoric sense of mold, pattern, or model. Additionally, several other New Testament words with strong typological implications are used as synonyms: σκιά, "shadow," in Hebrews 10:1 and παραβολή in Hebrews 9:9, translated in the A.V. as "figure." "Antitype," the New Testament fulfillment of an Old Testament type, is a transliteration of ἀντίτυπος, which means "corresponding to the type"; it is whatever is subsequently "shadowed forth or presented by the type" (OED). Thus in I Peter 3:20-21, St. Peter claims that Christian baptism by water which saves is the antitype of the Noachian flood. By virtue of its redemptive value, Christian baptism corresponds and brings to complete realization the grace which Noah and his family found in the deluge. In Romans 5:14 St. Paul calls Adam a type of Christ (τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντες, "a type of the

one to come") because, as Leonard Goppelt explains, "in the universal havoc he caused, Adam is for Paul a τύπος, an advance presentation, through which God intimates the future Adam, namely, Christ in his universal work of salvation."[3] Such typological parallels between the Old and New Testaments are numerous and reflect the New Testament's evident concern to proclaim the unfolding providential design of history in the light of Chirst's incarnation. Indeed there is evidence to suggest that within the Old Testament there are developing typological patterns[4] and that Christ himself understood his own life and ministry typologically. Goppelt summarizes:

> Something quite new is thus proclaimed when Jesus describes His person and work quite simply and yet most significantly as more than a renewal of OT events: "Behold, a greater than Jonah is here," i.e., one greater than the prophets is now calling to repentance, Mt. 12:41 f. and par.; "Behold, a greater than Solomon is here," i.e., a revelation of God's wisdom surpassing Solomon, Mt. 12:42 and par.; a greater than David is here, Mk. 2:25 f. and par.; a greater than the temple, Mt. 12:6; the Righteous One whose death is "the blood of the (new) covenant," Mk. 14:24 and par. These sayings correspond to the basic feature of all the work of Jesus . . . [and] in all probability go back to Jesus Himself.[5]

Licensed by Christ's own expression, New Testament writers consciously employ typology for kerygmatic purposes by presenting their Lord as the fulfiller of eschatological events proclaimed by the Prophets and adumbrated by the institutions of the old covenant.

Biblical writers, especially those who stamp typological patterns with the words type, antitype, shadow, etc., work with three major assumptions about the nature of history and the role of God in Christ. First, the authors of both Testaments think of history as a process occurring within and dependent upon a linear conception of time. In

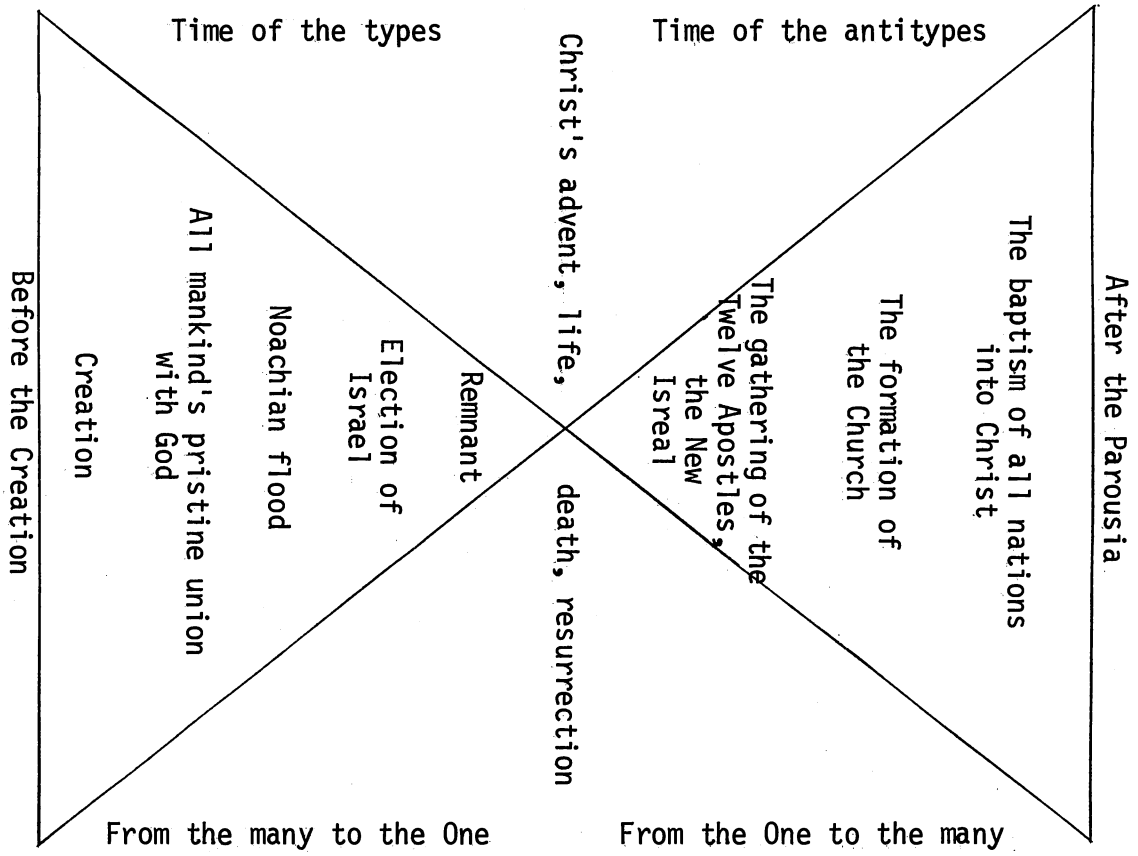
contrast to the Hellenistic cyclical notion of time, the Judaeo-Christian understanding of time is utterly eschatological. Oscar Cullmann makes the difference quite clear:

> All philosophical speculation concerning the nature of time, such as is carried on throughout the whole course of Greek philosophy without ever coming to a solution of the question, is quite foreign to Primitive Christianity. Indeed, we can clearly define the conception of the course of time which the New Testament presupposes by stating it in opposition to the typically Greek idea, and we must start from this fundamental perception, that the symbol of time for Primitive Christianity as well as for Biblical Judaism and the Iranian religion is the upward sloping line, while in Hellenism it is the circle.[6]

From the biblical point of view, time is never an abstract of the mind: it is rather an integral correlative to the orders of creation; as such it has both a beginning and end and may be fully embraced by the redemptive designs of God. Second, Biblical writers believe that all temporal events are providentially ordered for the final good of man by God. This view of history's unfolding holds that all events are divinely ordained and that each historical occurrence, person, place, or thing receives its lasting significance from the fact that ultimately each is a meaningful part of the whole grand design. Again Cullmann: "Because time is thought of as an upward sloping line, it is possible here for something to be 'fulfilled'; a divine plan can move forward to complete execution; the goal which beckons at the upper end of the line can give to the entire process which is taking place all along the line the impulse to strive thither. . . ."[7] In the sixteenth century William Whittingham sums up this conviction exactly when on the title page of his vernacular Newe Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ (1557) he depicts

Time and Truth with this inscription: "God by Tyme restoreth Truth, / and maketh her victorious."

Finally, within this providentially ordered sequence of events Christ stands at the mid-point so that his life and ministry serve as the fulcrum whereby God is able to turn the world to his redemptive purposes. As the Intersector of cosmic history, Jesus Christ not only binds the past and future to himself, but he becomes for the world the Center of all history. The critical nature of Christ's role is seen in the following scheme which diagrams the Biblical vision of Christ's place in history:



In this scheme events of the past (e.g., the Noachian flood, the election of Israel) steadily anticipate Christ who in his life recapitulates their true significance and then so orders the future as to bring all of history to its rightful conclusion as God originally intended. From a typological point of view this positioning of Christ in the center is requisite for all figural design. Maren-Sofie Røstvig notes an early seventeenth-century summation:

> The theologian Sardo [De Arcanis (Rome)], writing in 1614, drew up a long list of examples showing Christ seated in the middle. Thus Christ is the central figure in the Trinity, placed between God the Father and the Holy Ghost, and Christ was born in medio nocte in the middle of Palestine, which in its turn is the centre of the world--Jerusalem being the umbilicus terrae. Furthermore, Christ was presented in the Temple in medio doctorum and crucified in the middle hanging between earth and heaven, all of which leads to the grand conclusion Est itaque Christus, utrisque Testamenti centrum.[8]

Both protology and eschatology converge in Christ. Thus typology's concerns are threefold: it asserts that historical events are moving dynamically toward a certain future; it further implies an observable design according to which the created order advances; and finally it claims that such events are meaningful only as they relate to the incarnate Logos of God.

Given these assumptions of Biblical typology ("more a faith than a 'philosophy'," as C. A. Patrides rightly suggests[9]), certain characteristics of typology become apparent. For a typological relationship to be established, only one point of correspondence needs to exist between the type and the antitype. Thus, for example, as David S. Berkeley observes, there is "a strong intimation of the substance of typology, if not the name , in the application of the word 'Messiah' to Cyrus, a Gentile king, in Isaiah 45:1. Assuredly never thought the long-awaited

Messiah of Israel, Cyrus was in fact a type of the Messiah in the sense of delivering the chosen people from captivity."[10] A gloss on this verse in the Geneva Bible substantiates Berkeley's observation: "Because Cyrus shulde execute the office of a deliverer, God called him annointed for a time, but after another sort he called David." Inasmuch as Cyrus shares with David--an explicit and admitted Biblical type of Christ--the work of deliverance, the gloss rightly infers that the pagan emperor Cyrus qualifies as a type of Christ. Generally speaking, however, a typological relationship becomes more memorable when more correspondences connect type and antitype. Thus Jonah is an especially notable type of Christ because he was a preacher of repentance, a prophet to the Gentiles (although a reluctant one), and, as the gloss on Jonah 2:6 in the Geneva Bible informs, he was delivered "from the belly of the fishe and all these dangers as it were raising . . . from death to life." By these three correspondences Jonah has become a classic type of the prophetic, universal, and resurrected Christ.

Types are not necessarily aware of themselves as types nor do they in any way cause the appearance of antitypes. Indeed, types may lie unrecognized for centruies before their figural significance is realized. For example, in Isaiah 7:14 the eighth-century prophet announced that a maid will conceive and bear a son whose name would be Immanuel. In its immediate context this prophecy was spoken to King Ahaz; it was understood to mean that a maid of his day would deliver a child named Immanuel (meaning in Hebrew "God-with-us") who would be a guarantee to Ahaz that he would in fact defeat his enemies, Rezin and Pekah. This prophetic announcement had a distinct contemporary significance, and there is no indication that either the mother or the child was ever

aware of the typological importance of that nativity. In the first Gospel, however, St. Matthew writes that when the virgin Mary was found to be with child, "all this was done, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which being interpreted is, God with us" (1:22,23). Mary's pregnancy is the fulfillment of Isaiah's words spoken some 700 years earlier; the unknown and unknowing maid of Ahaz's time became a type of the ideal virgin even as the Immanuel of Ahaz's day was also a type of God's eternal guarantee. Although the true virgin and the true God-man progressed far beyond the original mother-and-son pattern, yet the ideal mother and Child were found to correspond with the mother and son of Isaiah's time. In the establishment of Biblical typological relationship on a historical plane it is only necessary that types precede the figure that fulfills them, and, as Rosemond Tuve makes clear, God alone provides the inspired typologist with the consequent realization of the type's latent significance:

> Where typology is in question, God Himself is conceived as the author of the relation between history's literally true events and the mainings they figure forth. That Melchisedec in giving Abraham the bread and wine prefigured the Last Supper and shadowed its eucharistic meanings, that Abel suffering death at his brother's hand and Isaac carrying the wood for his sacrifice prefigured Christ's passion, that the children of Israel delivered from "Egypt" by Moses is a figure of every deliverance of a soul from bondage by Christ--all these examples of the "letter" of history are conceived as embodying their meanings when they happened, even though those who enacted or recorded them could not read those meanings, which were yet to be revealed when later also-literal historical events drew the veil from truths always there but hidden.[11]

Types, then, in their most immediate contexts frequently possess unsuspected values. Finally, although types need only one correspondence,

it is always true to say that the fundamental basis for all typological structures is similarity, resemblance, and appropriate proportion which serve to emphasize the continuity of God's redemptive plan in Christ.

The structures of typology must not be confused with those of allegory. G. W. H. Lampe marks the essential difference between the two exegetical methods:

> Allegory differs radically from the kind of typology which rests upon the perception of actual historical fulfillment. The reason for this great difference is simply that allegory takes no account of history. The exegete has to penetrate through the shell of history to the inner kernel of eternal spiritual or moral truth. The whole range of the Scriptures is one enormous field of symbolism in which the interpreter is free to wander at will, unrestricted by considerations of historical accuracy, the apparent intention of the Biblical authors, or the superficial diversity of their outlook. He can gather his symbolism whence he pleases and combine it into any pattern which he may happen to fancy.[12]

In much allegorical exposition, such as that practiced by Origen, the Alexandrian school of Biblical interpretation, and many medieval writers, the literal and historical sense, if it is regarded at all tends to play a relatively minor role, and the aim of the exegete is to elicit the moral, theological, or mystical meaning which each Biblical passage is assumed to contain. The sacred text is treated as a spring-board for the exploration of hidden truths. By the early Middle Ages the fourfold sense of Scripture--derived from Origen's practice of subdividing the spiritual sense into the allegorical (presenting the doctrine) and the anagogical (relating to the coming world)--was increasingly expounded and received its final authority from Thomas Aquinas, who justifies the practice with this famous passage from the Summa Theologica (Q. I, Art. 10):

> The author of Holy Writ is God, in whose power it is to signify His meaning, not by words only (as man also can do), but also by things themselves. So, whereas in every other science things are signified by words, this science has the property, that the things signified by the words have themselves also a signification. Therefore that first signification whereby words signify things belongs to the first sense, the historical or literal. That signification whereby things signified by words have themselves also a signification is called the spiritual sense, which is based on the literal, and presupposes it. Now this spiritual sense has a threefold division. For as the Apostle says (Heb. x.,I) the Old Law is a figure of the New Law, and Dionysius says (Coel. Hier. I.) the New Law itself is a figure of future glory. Again, in the New Law, whatever our Head has done is a type of what we ought to do. Therefore, so far as the things of the Old Law signify the things of the New Law, there is the allegorical sense; so far as the things done in Christ, or so far as the things which signify Christ, are types of what we ought to do, there is moral sense. But so far as they signify what relates to eternal glory, there is the anagogical sense. Since the literal sense is that which the author intends, and since the author of Holy Writ is God, Who by one act comprehends all things by His intellect, it is not unfitting, as Augustine says (Confess. xii), if, even according to the literal sense, one word in Holy Writ should have several senses.[13]

In this well-known definition Aquinas admits the literal world of typology but then proceeds rapidly to discuss the more spiritual levels of significance. From the literal level he encourages the exegete to penetrate the deeper threefold sense of a text: the patently allegorical (the general application to Christ and His church), the moral (elsewhere known as the tropological sense), and the anagogical (the application to ultimate reality). Saint Augustine's explanation of the story of the Good Samaritan in his Quaestiones Evangeliorum (P.L., 35, 1340-41) is an apt example:

> A certain man came dwon from Jerusalem into Jericho; in the human race he is known as Adam. Jerusalem, that city of heavenly peace, from whose blessedness he fell. Jericho, as the moon is understood, signifies our mortality because it rises, increases, wanes and dies. The man fell among robbers --the devil and his angels--who robbed him of immortality.

> For the encouragement of sin they beat him; they felt him half-alive. Inasmuch as that part which can understand and know God, man is alive; in that part which wastes away and is pressed by sin, he is said to be half-alive. However, a priest and a Levite, who passed by at this sight, signify that priests and ministers of the Old Testament, who could not do good for salvation. The Samaritan is understood as a guardian, and God himself is signified by this name. The binding of wounds is the restraining of sinners; olive oil, the consolation of good hope on account of the tenderness given to the restoration of peace; wine, the exhortation to work with a most fervent spirit. His beast of burden is the flesh in which he considered it worthy to come to us. Sitting on the donkey is believed to be the Incarnation of Christ. The stable is the Church wherein travelers are refreshed as they return from their journey into the eternal homeland. The following day is the resurrection of the Lord. Two denarii are rather two precepts of charity which the Apostles received through the Holy Spirit for evangelizing others, or the promise of life present and future. Here are the two promises: he shall receive seven times as much in this age; and in the future age he will obtain eternal life (Matt. 19:20). The stable keeper is the Apostle. What he disburses is that plan which says: I have no commandments of the Lord concerning virgins, yet I give you this judgment which he did with his own hands, lest someone among the weak be troubled by the novelty of the Good News--let him delight in the Good News [translation mine].

This method of patristic exegesis, the inheritance of medieval theologians, receives its most memorable expression in Augustine of Dacia's (d. 1282) famous distich: Littera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria, / Moralis quid agas, quo tendas anagogia (The literal teaches the deed; what you believe [is taught] allegorically; what you do, morally; for what you strive, anagogically.). It would, of course, be a grievous oversimplication to suppose that the entire interpretive enterprise of the Middle Ages always conformed neatly to this fourfold explication of Scripture. Nevertheless, it is true that for the allegoricist the necessity of an actual historical situation is not nearly so important as the discovery and application of some spiritual truth. Robert E. McNally explains:

> This study [of the sacred text] did not center in the res gestae as such, for they were past and the hagiographer dead, but rather in the res gestae as a revelation present to the exegete through the sacra pagina. History, synonymous with littera, deals with the exterior, the sensible aspect of things. It is knowledge in specie. It is in itself superficies et umbra. That Chirst, for example, died on the cross is a res gesta whose primary sense, the historical, merely declares the event without piercing into its deepest significance, the sacramenta gestorum, the magni sacramenti narratio. History indeed preserves the memory of the event, but it does not express its fulness.[14]

For the allegorist the Biblical text is like a shell or covering which conceals the interior meaning; the littera but the entrance to a fuller world, the lower symbol of a higher meaning.

In contrast, the typologist perceives quite another set of priorities within the Scriptures. He takes the historical preoccupation of the Bible seriously and reads the history of the world as the progressive unfolding of God's relentless salvation of man. His practice, encouraged by the Biblical writers themselves, is first to establish and then clarify relationships between the two Testaments. He guides himself with the principal conviction that events and personages of the Old are important prefigurements of events and personages in the New. J. N. D. Kelly in his Early Christian Doctrines summarizes:

> [The typologist] assumed that, from the creation to the judgment, the same unwavering plan could be discerned in the sacred story, the earlier stages being shadows or, to vary the metaphor, rough preliminary sketches of the later. Christ and His Church were the climax; and since in all His dealings with mankind God was leading up to the Christian revelation, it was reasonable to discover pointers to it in the great experiences of His chosen people. . . . Typology, unlike allegory, had no temptation to undervalue, much less dispense with, the literal sense of Scripture. It was precisely because the events there delineated had really happened on the plane of history that they could be interpreted by the eye of faith as trustworthy pointers to God's future dealings with men.[15]

To be sure, the Bible does employ allegory (e.g., that of the vine in Isaiah 5:1-6 and Psalm 80:8-16); however, in all instances the rhetorical trope--whether a short metaphoric phrase or an extended parable or even a whole book (Song of Solomon)--subsumes itself under the Scripture's larger commitment to proclaiming the redemption of nations and people in history. With typology, as with Scripture, there is no serious allowance for any fictive framework. The type exists in history and its meaning is factual. "The type," as Pascal rightly concludes, "has been made according to the truth, and the truth has been recognized according to the type."[16] In marked contrast, as Jean Daniélou insists, allegory is not a proper or dominant sense of Scripture at all: "it is the presentation of philosophy and Christian morality under Biblical imagery analogous to the Stoic presentations of morality in a Homeric dress."[17] Thus although allegorical writings may lay claim to truthfulness and often maintain a spirit which might be that of Christ, their frequent tendency to depreciate the importance of redemptive events disqualifies the method of any presumption to the prime hermeneutic of Scripture.

It must be admitted, however, that there is a long history of confusion about the relationship of typology to allegory. Patristic and medieval theologians customarily used various and often the same terms to describe both exegetical methods without actually distinguishing the two approaches. No doubt this confusion is due in some measure to St. Paul's statement in Galatians 4.24 that the story of Abraham's two sons was an "allegory" (ἅτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα) of the two covenants, for as G. W. H. Lampe points out, in this Biblically-designated allegory "there is indeed a real historical type here. The election of Isaac and the election of the Church, the rejection of Ishmael and the rejection

of first-century Judaism, are part and parcel of one and the same continuous pattern of God's activity towards his people. There is an actual historical connexion between the type and the antitype. . . ."[18] Inasmuch, then, as St. Paul uses the term "allegory" to describe a typological relationship, it is not surprising to find that later exegetes, commentators, and homileticians often mingle the two quite distinct approaches to Biblical interpretation. As Kelly observes, it is important nonetheless to distinghish carefully between the two hermeneutical methods: "the word [allegory] led to confusion even in the patristic age, and its accepted meaning today denotes a somewhat different type of exegesis from typology. Since the fathers employed both typology and allegory (in its modern sense), the distinction between the two methods needs to be clearly brought out."[19]

Typological structures must also be distinguished from archetypal patterns and symbolism. According to Northrop Frye, an archetype is "an original pattern from which copies are made or an idea of a class of things representing the most essentially characteristic elements shared by the members of that class. It is, in other words, a highly abstract category almost completely removed from the accidental varieties of elements contained in any particular species belonging to it."[20] Derived from two sometimes complementary schools of thought, Frazerian comparative anthropology and Jungian depth psychology, the literary theory of the archetype attempts to locate the universally shared human experience or image and is thus largely uninterested in isolating any single set of significant historical events. In contrast, typology is committed to the determination of specific events which in their association exhibit figural design. Whereas archetypal patterns always cohere

by virtue of a common pattern found in great diversity, typology relates but a combination of two events, persons, or things, one of which is a direct rehearsal of a later eschatological act.

Types are not necessarily symbols, though at times they may function symbolically. Although the word "symbol" maintains a complex variety of meanings, it may generally be said that a symbol designates "a word or set of words that signifies an object or event which itself signifies something else; that is, the words refer to seomthing which suggests a range of reference beyond itself."[21] Thus, as Frye defines it, "a literary symbol unites an image (the analogy) and the idea of conception (the subject) which that image suggests or evokes--as when, for example, the image of climbing a staircase (the difficulty involved in the effort to raise oneself) is used to suggest the idea of 'raising' oneself spiritually or becoming purified (T. S. Eliot's Ash Wednesday)."[22] Because a type does not depend on its antitype for its immediate historical significance and in fact may exist for centuries without any known antitype, a type is obviously not always a symbol. Indeed, even after its antitype is disclosed, a type may still prove recalcitrant to symbolic reference. In some cases, however, a type may function as a symbol. For instance, David S. Berkeley, after distinguishing between type and symbol, suggests that "Lycidas may be reckoned a symbol of the poet-priest-shepherd; but as a type he is a living person seen in the concrete reality of Cambridge University, in the shipwreck off Wales, in the surges of the Irish sea, and he is most concretely and individually realized as a member of the society of Heaven."[23] Symbols inherently point beyond themselves to larger realities; types, however, receive their first meaning within their immediate historical context.

The Biblical writers themselves speak explicitly of typological relationships in a conservative and limited manner. In Jean Daniélou's estimate there is within the Scriptures a strong tendency to rely only on four major Old Testament types: "in the truth, the ark of Noah, the crossing of the Red Sea, the Mosaic law, and the entry into the promised land, are the four fundamental types of the Old Testament, of which the Gospel will be both the accomplishment and model."[24] Although there are others--Adam, Malchisedek, Jonah, David, and Solomon are all types of Christ--Daniélou is correct in his suggestion that New Testament anti-typal thought chiefly looks back to these four key typical experiences. Summarizing the extent of the Biblical typological vision, SacVan Bercovitch lists these portions of Scripture as demonstrating typological thought and pattern:

> A general typological approach pervades the First Epistle of St. Peter, the First Epistle to the Corinthians, and the Epistle to the Hebrews, as well as the apocryphal Epistle of Barnabas. It may also be seen to underlie the Gospel of St. Matthew, and in a broad sense the "acted parables" of Jesus--such as the entry in Jerusalem (e.g., Mark 11:8-11)--and certain "exemplary" events in his life, such as the flight into Egypt (e.g., Matt. 2:13-15). The many Gospel references to Jesus as the Suffering Servant and the apocalyptic Son of Man have often been linked typologically to the Old Testament prophecies, especially those in Deutero-Isaiah 40-55 and Daniel 7, thus providing an important connection between typology and millenarian eschatology. The connection extends, of course, to the passage in the Book of Revelation concerning Babylon, the Remnant, the Dragon, and related <u>figurae</u>.[25]

To this précis one might also add the Gospel of St. John, for Harold Sahlin[26] has demonstrated that the fourth Gospel is built upon the model of the history of the Hebrew people from the departure from Egypt until the consecration of the Temple. His thesis is corroborated by the work of Oscar Cullmann,[27] who, perceiving a connection between the Gospel of

St. John and the sacraments, makes it evident that the typology of the Paschal celebration is common to both. As expansive as the cateloguing of Biblical types may seem, it is nonetheless important to recognize that from a Biblical point of view, the list of type-antitype relationships is in fact limited. If one wishes to remain true to the Biblical use of typology, one must be content to find types of the New Testament only in those persons or events either explicitly stamped or strongly implied in the Biblical text itself. Thus it is erroneous, from a strictly Biblical perspective, to claim that Job is a type of Christ, that Eve is a type of Mary, or that Rahab's hanging of a scarlet cord from her window (Joshua 2:18) is a type of Christ's crucifixion. Although it has frequently been suggested that these are Biblical figurae, the Scriptures themselves are silent on the matter. At this point, however, we are close to that sometimes imprecise boundary dividing Biblical types from the later exegetical tradition of the Church--a tradition which may be of great spiritual value but one that cannot be considered as always providing a reliable interpretation of the Bible.

Biblical exegesis in the patristic era was marked by three major developments: a massive increase in the sheer number of perceived types, a discernible shift in exegetical emphasis to allegoricism, and a gathering of all known figural relationships into collections and commentaries. First, in their homilies, commentaries, polemical treatises, letters, catechisms, histories, and liturgical rites, the Church Fathers skillfully and often ingeniously culled out of the Scriptures an almost innumerable host of figural relationships which they believed were of immense value for the mission and life of the developing church. For example, Clement of Alexandria, noting a series of parallels between the

Old Testament sacrifice of Abraham's son, Isaac, and the sacrificial death of Christ, urges this typological amplification:

> Isaac is a type of the Lord, being first of all a child inasmuch as he was son (for he was the son of Abraham, as Christ is the son of God) and secondly a consecrated victim like the Lord. But he was not offered as a sacrifice as the Lord was; he, Isaac, only bore the wood (ξύλα) for the sacrifice, just as the Lord bore the tree (ξύλον). He laughed with mystic meaning as a prophecy that the Lord would fill us with joy, we who have been ransomed from destruction by the blood of the Lord. But he did not suffer, not only leaving to the Logos, as is to be expected, the first-fruits of suffering, but what is more, by the fact that he himself was not slain he hints (ἀντίττεται) at the divinity of the Lord; for Jesus, after his burial, was raised up without enduring corruption, just as Isaac escaped the death of a sacrificial victim (Paed. I, 5:23, 1-2).

Although mention of Isaac is included in the roll call of heroes of the faith in Hebrews 11, the Epistle does not explicitly assign him figural importance as Clement obviously does. Elsewhere Tertullian adds that the typology of Christ's Passion is even further divided between Isaac and the ram: the latter caught by the horns is a type of Christ crucified; the horns of the ram prefigure the crown of thorns.[29] From yet another point of view, Theodoret suggests: "All these things were shadows of the economy of salvation. The Father offered his well-beloved Son for the world: Isaac typified the divinity; the ram the humanity: even the length of time is the same in both cases, three days and three nights."[30] In this manner the patristic theologians, turning the Biblical texts for every possible typical figuration, elaborated a richly dense typological theology. All of the great Fathers--Cyril of Jerusalem, Cyprian, Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa, Ambrose, and Augustine, to name but a few--are equally at home and confident in devising and passing on an ever-growing tradition of types.

In the patristic era the rapid development of a strongly allegorical practice of Scriptural interpretation signaled not only considerable confusion in exegetical nomenclature but in fact produced two sometimes competing schools of hermeneutical thought. In a general way one school, best represented by Origen and centered historically in Alexandria, tended toward Philonic allegorism while the so-called Antiochene school, rising mainly in the fourth and fifth centuries and represented by Diodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Mopsuetia, and Theodoret, fostered a stricter emphasis on the primacy of historical fact in the exposition of Biblical texts. Though the two rival traditions were in agreement about the cardinal issues, K. J. Woollcombe is right to assert that "In the sub-apostolic age the historical typology of the Bible was at once obscured and overlaid by the symbolic typology [allegory] of Hellenistic Platonism."[31] J. N. D. Kelly explains:

> The inherent difficulties of typology, however, made the transition to allegorism extremely tempting, especially where the cultural environment was Hellenistic and impregnated with Platonic idealism, with its theory that the whole visible order is symbolical reflection of invisible realities. Hence it is not surprising that most of the fathers injected a strain of allegory, some of them a powerful one, into their typology. Alexandria, famous in the later second and third centuries for its catechetical school, became the home of allegorical exegesis, with the great Biblical scholar, Origen, as its leading exponent. An admirer of Philo, he regarded Scripture as a vast ocean, or (using a different image) forest, of mysteries; it was impossible to fathom, or even perceive, them all, but one could be sure that every line, even every word, the sacred authors wrote was replete with meaning. . . . Every proper name, every number, all the animals, plants and metals mentioned there seemed to him to be allegories of theological or spiritual truths.[32]

Although it would not be just to suggest that Origen had no concern for the literal reading of Biblical texts, it must be said that the heavy strain of Platonism in his exegesis decidedly overrides any steady

occupation with the Biblical to notably human events. Eventually the Alexandrian school--including Clement of Alexandria, Dionysius the Areopagite, Cyril of Alexandria, Hilary, Ambrose, and the Cappadocian fathers--so reinforced the bias of the allegorical tradition that by the sixth century it was usual for exegetes to explicate the Scriptures on multiple levels, the literal being often their least concern. "The ultimate effect," as Woollcombe summarizes, "was the gradual fusion of allegorism with historical typology, which resulted in (a) the most bizarre forms of spurious historical exegesis (e.g., Gregory of Nyssa interpreted Miriam's timbrel as a symbol of her virginity, and therefore claimed that she was a type of the Virgin Mary; Theodoret saw in the Red Heifer of Num. 19 a type of the earthly body of Christ), and (b) the use of the typological vocabulary for allegorical purposes (e.g., Cyril of Alexandria wrote that the 'village' of Mark 11:2 was τύπος τοῦ βίου τοῦ παρόντος).[33]

After the fifth century the figural inventiveness of the Church Fathers diminished, and the subsequent history of typology is largely one of refinement, compilation, and systematization. Thus, for example, St. Augustine of Hippo (354-430) in De Civitate Dei, tracing in Book XV the progress of the earthly and heavenly cities, rehearses nearly all the earlier patristic elaboration on Noachian typology:

> Moreover, inasmuch as God commanded Noah, a just man, and, as the truthful Scripture says, a man perfect in his generation--not indeed with the perfection of the citizens of the city of God in that immortal condition in which they equal the angels, but insofar as they can be perfect in their sojourn in this world--inasmuch as God commanded him, I say, to make an ark, in which he might be rescued from the destruction of the flood, along with his family, i.e. his wife, sons, and daughters-in-law, and along with the animals who, in obedience to God's command, came to him into the ark: this is certainly

> a figure of the city of God sojourning in this world; that is to say, of the church, which is rescued by the wood on which hung the Mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus. For even its very dimensions, in length, breadth, and height, represent the human body in which He came, as it had been foretold. For the length of the human body, from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot, is six times its breadth from side to side, and ten times its depth or thickness, measuring from back to front: that is to say, if you measured a man as he lies on his back or on his face, he is six times as long from head to foot as he is broad from side to side, and ten times as long as he is high from the ground. And therefore the ark was made 300 cubits in length, 50 in breadth, and 30 in height. And its having a door made in the side of it certainly signified the wound which was made when the side of the Crucified was pierced with the spear: for by this those who come to Him enter; for thence flowed the sacraments by which those who believe are initiated. And the fact that it was ordered to be made of squared timbers, signifies the immoveable steadiness of the life of the saints; for however you turn a cube, it still stands. And other peculiarities of the ark's construction are signs of features of the church.[34]

Similar extended passages on typological themes are found in much of Augustine's writings, notably Enchiridion ad Laurentium, De Doctrina Christiana, and Contra Faustum Manichaeum. Augustine's disciple, Paulus Orosius, working out a detailed analysis of the pre-Christian world in his Historiae adversus Paganos, concludes that the pagan world itself finds its figural fulfillment in Christian Rome. Full of rhetorical exaggeration, Orosius' Historiae served well into the Middle Ages as a manual of universal history. Bishop Eucherius of Lyons' Formulae Spiritalis Intelligentiae, containing a rich depository of allegorical and typological exegesis, became for centuries a textbook of figural and ethical interpretations. St. Gregory of Tours in the Latin version of the so-called Seven Holy Sleepers, Passio septem dormientum, makes important typological application of profane and pagan material. Isidore of Seville in his Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum provides a verse by verse commentary on types and allegories universally acknowledged to be

discerned in the Old Testament. Others, including John Cassian, Gregory the Great, St. Jerome, Maximus the Confessor, and the eighth-century Bede of Jarrow, collect, embellish and pass on what eventually becomes an encompassing figural vision of the history and destiny of mankind. These interpretations of the Fathers, made definitive and sacrosanct within a massive exegetical canon, were preserved for centuries by their medieval successors who in turn passed them on through the centuries until the time of the Renaissance.

Medieval writers and artists preserved the copious patristic tradition and expanded its expression in numerous extra-literary ways. Collections of Biblical glosses, such as the Glossa Ordinaria of Isidore of Seville, provided extensive marginal and interlinear comments on the text of the Latin Vulgate. Known as the "bibles of Scholasticism," these glossae were gathered into separate books and arranged either in the order of their Biblical occurrences or alphabetically. Of Isidore's work in particular Emile Mâle writes: "It would obviously be trivial to assert that in interpreting the Bible the scholars to whom the artists looked for guidance consulted one commentary rather than another, but it is probable that the Glossa ordinaria was most frequently used, for it was a convenient manual for teaching and widely known in the monastic and cathedral schools. In any case it remains one of the most valuable books transmitted to us by the Middle Ages, for by its help may be solved almost all the difficulties presented by allegorical [and typological] representations of the Bible."[35] Other medieval manuals more specifically concerned with the depiction of typological relationships provided detailed expositions on figural themes. The Biblia Pauperum,[36] the Speculum Humanae Salvationis,[37] the Legenda Aurea[38] of Jacobus de

Voragine, and the Pictor in Carmine[39] were indispensable source-books for artists working with typological motifs. The Biblia Pauperum, compiled in southern Germany before the middle of the thirteenth century, originally contained thirty-four wood-cuts, each of which groups two Old Testament figures and four Bible passages around a central New Testament event. Thus in the plate depicting the figural history of the Annunciation, both God's announced curse upon the serpent and his favorable response to Gideon's request for the dewing and drying of the fleece (Judges 6:30-36) are pictured as anticipations of the great announcement He would make to Mary, informing her that she will conceive and bear the Messiah as the Old Testament prophets (in this instance, Isaiah, David, Ezekiel, and Jeremiah) had promised. Grouped to form a constellation of four circles and two upright figures surrounding a large central roundel, the wood-cuts of the Biblia Pauperum are clearly designed for easy adaptation of their arrangement to the requirements of stained-glass fenestration. Widely disseminated in manuscript form during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and first printed in moveable type in 1462, the Biblia Pauperum became enormously popular in Germany, Holland, and France. In addition to this most famous of the early block-books, the Speculum Humanae Salvationis, dating from the early fourteenth century, provides forty-two similarly detailed sets of figural combinations. Describing the life of Christ, the Speculum Humanae Salvationis pauses at each major incident in the story to recall three Old Testament figures. The proem from a fifteenth-century English translation, The Miroure of Mans Salvacionne, explains why:

> Take hede in ilka Chapitle / the certein guyse es this
> That of the new law forthemast / a sothe reherced is

> To whilk sothe suwyngly / out of the testament olde
> Thre stories ilk after other / appliables shall be tolde
> ffor to make seling prove / of the forsaid sothfastnes
> Be god schewed of olde tyme / be fiuratif lyknesse.[40]

Another thirteenth-century work, the Legenda Aurea by Jacobus de Voragine contains ecclesiastical lore dealing with the lives of Old Testament figurae, homiletical material for saints' days, and commentary on liturgical rites; it is replete with typological exposition. David Diringer describes the importance of these manuals for medieval iconography:

> In the lower classes, amongst the nearly illiterate laymen, three richly illuminated books became fashionable in the late thirteenth and the early fourteenth centuries. They were the Biblia Pauperum, the Legenda Aurea, and the Speculum Humanae Salvationes; the last, which was the Dominican manual of devotion, first appeared c. 1324. . . . The Biblia Pauperum, as it is commonly called, or as it should be called, the "Bible of the Illiterates," contains the allegories [and types] rendered into later forms. The use of the Legenda and the Speculum was so widespread, and their influence so great, that, in Dr. Joan Even's opinion, while the Summa of the Dominican S. Thomas Aquinas was the foundation of learned thought, the Legenda and Speculum, also Dominican productions, were the bases of popular iconography.[41]

In addition to the Biblia Pauperum, the Speculum Humanae Salvationes, and the Legenda Aurea, special mention must also be made of the Pictor in Carmine, a much copied thirteenth-century treatise which contains the largest known collection of types and antitypes. It was perhaps written by an English Cistercian, Adam, abbot of Dore. Designed to provide medieval church artists with a handy compilation of accepted figural themes, the Pictor in Carmine attempts to curb the license of painters and sculptors who created within cathedral sanctuaries such fanciful grotesqueries as double-headed eagles, pipe-playing monkeys, and centaurs with quivers. As a large and comprehensive index to typological subject matter, the Pictor in Carmine provides 138 groupings:

1-28 deal with events from the annunciation to Mary to the baptism of Christ; 29-77 cover the period of Jesus' ministry; 78-115, from his entry into Jerusalem to the ascension; 116-133 the beginnings of the church; 134-138 the end of the world. In all, 646 typological relationships are set forth in more than 3,500 lines of verse. The listing of types under the heading Crucifigitur Christus is representative of the work as a whole:

1. The Lord lays open the flesh for the rib from which he made the woman.
2. Eve enticed extends her hand to the fruit of the forbidden tree.
3. God dresses Adam and Eve in tunics of skins as a sign of death.
4. Cain kills Abel, his brother, in a field.
5. Abraham offers his son Isaac on a heap of wood on the altar.
6. Rebecca, using her hands, surrounds her son, Jacob, with the hides of kids.
7. His brothers strip Joseph of his decorated coat which hangs to his ankles.
8. The paschal lamb is killed by the children of Israel.
9. The blood of the lamb is blotted on each door-post with a metaphorical meaning.
10. A bull-calf is burned at the door of the temple of the Levites.
11. They [Joshua and Caleb] carry grapes on a double rod from the land of Canaan to the sons of Israel.
12. A red cow is burned outside the camp.
13. A bronze serpent raised in the desert heals those wounded by fiery serpents.
14. Samson, having shaken two columns, dies and crushes the leaders of the Philistines.
15. Jonah, caught by Lot, is willingly thrown into the sea.
16. The phoenix with aromatic wood gathered around is burned by a spontaneous fire.
17. The bishop ordains presbyters within the Church.[42]

Of these seventeen types which represent nearly all the classical figurae said to adumbrate the death of Christ, the artist need but choose which best suits his purpose and design.

Medieval art is host to innumerable figural themes and designs. While much typolgoical exposition in the visual arts occurs in small and

unpretentious works such as manuscript illuminations of the Bible of Floresse (c. 1165),[43] larger and more fully developed programs provide the most impressive rehearsal of figural conceptualization. Notably the famous windows of the cathedrals at Bourges, Chartres, Le Mans, Tours, Lyons, Rouen,[44] and Canterbury[45] present a sequence of figures understood as a whole only from a typological point of view. In King's College Chapel, Cambridge, the twenty-four side windows follow a strict typological scheme which includes not only most of the major Old Testament types but also figures and events from the Apocrypha and extra-Biblical Marian tradition.[46] Thus in the third panel of the second window (according to Wayment's numbering), the marriage of Sarah to Tobias is held to be a prefiguration of the marriage of the Virgin Mary because Sarah had remained a chaste woman despite her previous marriages to husbands who had been destroyed by the devil Asmodeus. The bas-relief sculpture of cathedral porches, façades, and main entrances at Chartres, Beims, Amiens, Senlis, and Lyons all trace in historical progression the outstanding persons involved in the church's eschatological vision.[47] Not unexpectedly the ornamentation of baptistries and fonts exhibits strong typological themes. The mosaics in the cupola of the Florence Baptistry narrate in ascending levels the typical story of the world from its beginning to the consummation in the cosmic reign of the Pantocrator.[48] Romanesque and Early Gothic fonts, such as those in the church at Freudenstadt (c. 1100), at the Church of San Frediano in Lucca (c. 1150), at Saint-Barthélemy in Liège (c. 1115), and at the cathedral at Hildesheim (c. 1240) all display memorable figural compositions in bronze or bas-relief.[49] Artists frequently embellished crosses with representations of Old Testament adumbrations of the sacrifice of Christ.

A particularly beautiful cross-stand for an altar crucifix from Saint Bertin and Saint Omer (c. 1170) contains brilliant enamel inlays depicting Paschal types including Aaron's sealing of the Jews' foreheads with the letter tau, an episode not described in Exodus 12 but connected with the Passover on the basis of Ezekiel 9 and its New Testament confirmation in Revelation 7:3.[50] The enameller Nicolas of Verdun in the retable of the Klosterneuburg Altar (c. 118) presents a central panel of fifteen antitypes with two flanking columns of types, headed Ante legem and Sub lege. Here the Old Testament types are divided into two categories--those occurring before the giving of the Law and those subsequent to the events of Exodus 20:

	Ante legem	Sub gracia	Sub lege
1.	Promise of Isaac	Annunciation	Promise of Samson
2.	Birth of Isaac	Nativity of Christ	Birth of Samson
3.	Circumcision of Isaac	The Magi	The Queen of Sheba
4.	Abraham and Melchizedek	The Baptism	The Laver on 12 oxen
5.	The Exodus	The Entry	The Paschal Lamb
6.	Moses goes to Egypt	The Last Supper	Manna in the ark
7.	Melchizedek	Betrayal	Death of Abner
8.	Death of Abel	Crucifixion	Two spies and grapes
9.	Isaac offered	Deposition	King of Jericho taken
10.	Eve's fall	Burial	Jonah swallowed up
11.	Joseph in the pit	Harrowing of Hell	Samson and the lion
12.	First-born smitten	Resurrection	Samson and the gates
13.	Jacob's blessings	Ascension	Elijah taken up
14.	Enoch translated	Pentecost	Giving of the Law
15.	Noah's ark		
16.	Last Judgment, without types[51]		

Further examples of such figural relationships are to be found in almost any examination of medeival ecclesiastical art. Pulpit carvings, tapestries, icons, frescoes, altar mensae, vestments, candlesticks, chalices, and other liturgical works of art often contain and express figural themes.

Recent criticism continues to demonstrate that in addition to the employment of typology in ecclesiastical literature and art, the more dramatic, epical, and imaginatively lyric works of the medieval era also make ample structural and thematic use of the figural vision. V. A. Kolve, examining the complex formal design of the Corpus Christi mystery plays, concludes that their highly selective choice of Biblical events requires a typological principle of organization: "Figures and their fulfillment, the mimesis of total human time--these are the core of the Corpus Christi cycle and the source of its formal shape."[52] Such a thesis, of course, undermines much of the older evolutionary theory of medieval dramatic origins inasmuch as it contends that the highly pervasive nature of typology in the Middle Ages provided an immediate structural basis for large dramatic programs. Other studies in Old and Middle English Advent Lyrics,[53] Fred C. Robinson's examination of the Exodus poem,[54] Bernard F. Huppe's Doctrine and Poetry: Augustine's Influence on Old English Poetry,[55] Alvin A. Lee's fourth essay on Beowulf in The Guest-Hall of Eden,[56] G. V. Smither's explication of verse in the Ancrene Riwle,[57] Elizabeth Salter's observations on The Pearl and Piers Plowman,[58] Rosemary Woolf's studies on figuralism in Middle English religious carols,[59] and numerous works on Dante's Commedia.[60] In short, all the medieval arts--architecture, painting, sculpture, literature, and even music[61]--evince an inescapable typological impress in thematic conception and execution. Indeed, any medieval work of extended length dealing with a theological, moral, historical, or apocalyptic theme is to be remarked as unusual if it somehow is not imbued with figuralism.

In England during the first three quarters of the sixteenth century (decades which C. S. Lewis rightly describes as "drab"), there is an apparent decline in the artisitic employment of typological programs. With the greatest volume of humanistic studies devoted to the recovery of the classical and pagan arts, the late medieval figural vision gives way to a sometimes tedious fascination by scholars and antiquaries on matters of archeological, historical, and textual interest. Christian humanism in the earlier sixteenth century intended to educate to piety and virtue by the reading of universally honored Greek and Roman pre-Christian writers. English clerics, like John Colet (1467?-1519), learned in Italy from Ficino and Pico that "the most beautiful works of the Ancients were full of that flavour of Christ."[62] As English churchmen sought more and more in their christology to emphasize the ethical imperatives of their Lord rather than the crucial role of the Messiah in history, the eschatological vision of the church became obscure. Moreover, the irenic disdain of Erasmus for the necessity of religious images fostered a pious English iconoclasm which effectively discouraged any ardent preoccupation with the portrayal of Biblical figures. Of the plastic arts in particular, Hilary Warment concludes: "At the court of Henry VIII, towards the end of his reign, Old Testament prefigurations, or 'figures,' were regarded with the same circumspection as were actual physical images. After Henry's death [1547] the system of type and antitype went into an eclipse so nearly total that by the reign of James I (1603-1625) few traces are left. . . ."[63] Certainly such a statement, if referring to the fine arts, needs little qualification. Yet importantly, the figural schema, if less obvious, continued nonetheless without serious abatement through the sixteenth century in numerous

influential chronicles, histories, vernacular translations of the Bible, countless sermons, and repeated printings of earlier exegetical commentaries. An English translation of the popular Legenda Aurea went through eight printings by 1527. The Great Bible (1539), the Geneva Bible (1560), and the Bishops' Bible (1568) all variously contain frontispieces, head notes, and extensive marginalia frequently devoted to typological matters. Homileticians of all persuasions--John Fisher, Thomas Cranmer, Edmund Bonner, John Harpsfield, John Jewel, Hugh Latimer, and Richard Bancroft, to mention but a few of the outstanding ones--regularly included the figural idiom in their preaching. Apocalyptic and millenialistic visionaries of the sixteenth century invariably interpreted ecclesiastical history in typical fashion. Thus John Bale in The Images of bothe Churches after the most wonderfull and heavenlie Revelacion of Saint John (1550) promotes the seven churches of Asia Minor in the Apocalypse to be prophetic types, the Roman Church being the antitype of the church Thyatira because it harbored a false prophetess. Chroniclers such as Thomas Lanquet, John Rastell, Robert Fabyan, and the metricist Arthur Kelton traced their histories with a typological perception of world events. With this said, however, Wayment is nevertheless correct to remark a generally notable eclipse in the literary and artistic use of figuralism. It is not until the final decade of the century, with the publication of Books I-III of Edmund Spenser's Faerie Queene, that one discerns a return to the creative use of figurae for aritstic purposes.

With the rise in patriotic exuberance at the close of the sixteenth century and the emergence of a heightened religious conviction brought on by theological conflicts in the first half of the seventeenth century,

typology as a significant mode of historical apprehension reasserts itself as a vehicle for literary expression. As expected, Biblical commentators, writers of tracts, preachers, dogmatists, apologists and polemicists continue to make extensive use of the method. But there is a difference: the figural expression after the turn of the century becomes at once more prolific; the literary quality often memorable. Lancelot Andrewes, for example, preaching a Christmas sermon from Hebrews 1:1-3, compares the manner of God's diverse revelation in the Old Testament with his supreme disclosure in Christ:

> Now, for the Manner. It was multiformis. GOD, & c. Many manner wayes.
> One manner, by dreames in the night, (Iob 33). Another manner, by visions; And those againe of two manners. I Either presented to the outward sense, as Isay VI. 2 Or, in an extasie, represented to the inward; as Dan. X. Another yet, by Urim, in the brest of your Priest. And yet another, by a small still voice, in the eares of the Prophet. I Reg:19. And sometime, by an Angell, speaking in him (Zach.I.). But, most-what, by His Spirit. And, (to trouble you no more) very sure it is; that as, for the matter, in many broken peeces: so, for the Manner, in many diverse fashions, spake He to them.
> But then, if, in πολυτρόπως, you understand Tropos, figures; Then were they yet many more. The Paschal Lambe: a (Exod. 12.) the Scape-goat: b (Levit. 16.) The Red Cow: and tropes they were; shadowed out darkly, rather than clearely expressed. Theirs, was but candle-light, to our day-light; but Vespertina cognito, in comparison of ours, whom the Day hath visited, sprung from on high. This, for the Matter and Manner.[64]

Once again the remembered figurae of the past resound with meaning as rhetoric and theology complement each other. Indeed, the sermons of nearly all the famous Renaissance divines, whether Anglican or Puritan, are replete with an express figuralism of high rhetorical quality; Donne's great Christmas sermon of 1621 is a particularly fine example of typological preaching at its best.

Importantly, many of the poets of the seventeenth century invest their verse with imaginative figural reference for political, moral, theological, and aesthetic ends. John Abbot writes two books of verse on the typological importance of the naming of the Savior: Jesus Praefigured: Or a Poeme of the Holy Name of Jesus (1623), an elaborate apology for Roman Catholicism. The heirs of Spenser construct long poems which frequently are preoccupied with extending the meaning of Old Testament figurae. Michael Drayton in his divine poems, especially "Moses His Birth and Miracles," sees Israel's history adumbrating England's own experiences. Both of the Fletcher brothers, Giles and Phineas, are adept typologists. Giles' Christ's Triumph over Death (1610) contains, as the argument indicates, "obscure fables of the Gentiles typing it." Phineas' longer Locusts, or The Apollyonists (1627), a flaming attack against Rome ignited by the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, argues the Pope as a "second Lucifer" (Canto V.38.8) whose trickery in England was clearly prefigured by his perfidy in hell. Indeed, for all the miseries Phineas sees in England, he is convinced "the world is Israels type, who (blinded) see / Freedom in bonds, and bonds in libertie."[64] With less accomplishment but more length, William Alexander's Doomes-Day, Or the Great Day of the Lords Judgement (1614) labors through twelve "hours" in which "Some temporall plagues and fearfull judgements / Are cited here as figures of the last."[65] More happily, many of the poems in George Herbert's Temple (1633), as Rosemund Tuve[66] and others[67] have demonstrated, are typological in structure, orientation, and detail. Convinced that "Gods works are wide, and let in [affect] future times" ("The Bunch of Grapes"), Herbert frequently constructs his poems with an imaginatively lyric use of Christ figurae.

Thus such poems as "Aaron" and "The Sacrifice" are almost wholly formed from within the figural tradition; others such as "Sunday," "Joseph's Coat," "Peace," "Prayer (I)," "Jordan (I)," "Affliction (V)," "The Priesthood," and "Love Unknown" contain allusions to Biblical types which often prove critical to the poems' meaning. John Donne, especially in his sermons but also in "The First Anniversary," "A Valediction: Of the Booke" and Biathanatos, makes inventive figural application.[68] The prose of Sir Thomas Browne is checkered with numerous typological observations. With the possible exception of Richard Crashaw,[69] all of the major religious poets of the seventeenth century generally find the Christian scheme of types and antitypes congenial resources for their lyric expression. Speaking of Henry Vaughan, for example, Barbara K. Lewalski and Andrew J. Sabol summarize:

> Though typology is not all-pervasive in Silex as it is in The Temple, the biblical allusions often present the speaker's experience as a typological recapitulation of biblical events. "White Sunday" states explicitly that the Old Testament stories refer typologically to the modern Christians: "thy method with thy own, / Thy own dear people pens our times, / Our stories are in theirs set down / And penalties spread to our Crimes." "Mans fall, and Recovery" asserts the same point but emphasizes the Christian's advantage over the Old Testament Jews by reason of his identification with the antitype of all the types, Christ: "This [Christ's sacrifice] makes me span / My fathers journeys, and in one faire step / O're all their pilgrimage, and labours leap, / For God (made man,) / Reduc'd th' Extent of works of faith; so made / Of their Red Sea, a Spring; I wash, they wade." This typological perspective locates the speaker in the biblical story, and his experience is interpreted especially through imagery from the Song of Solomon, the Psalms, and Revelation. In "The Law, and the Gospel" the speaker sees himself recapitulating the Israelites' and the early Christians' experience with God's revelation and begs, "O plant in me thy Gospel, and thy Law." And in "The Brittish Church" he sees Christ's Passion recurring in the contemporary Puritan persecutions of the Church.[70]

Poets as diverse and different in temperament as Robert Herrick,[71] John Cleveland,[72] and Thomas Traherne,[73] all to varying degrees, employ typology in their reprise of the past. John Milton's Nativity Ode,[74] Lycidas,[75] Paradise Lost,[76] Paradise Regained,[77] and Samson Agonistes[78] are saturated with a complex figuralism. In short, the return of typology as a mode for literary expression is a major characteristic of seventeenth-century poetry and prose.

The extent to which figural thought is restored to the late Renaissance apprehension of historical and theological truth may additionally be seen in the publication of numerous manuals devoted to the explanation and cataloging of typological material. The many editions of these guidebooks, references, and commentaries, published in England and on the Continent, insured a widespread audience comfortably familiar with both the outline and detail of Christian typology. Only the more notable needs mention; they are numerous enough: Henry Ainsworth's Annotations upon the Five Bookes of Moses and the Booke of Psalmes (1627); Solomon Glassius's Philologia Sacra (1623-36); John Weemes's The Christian Synagogue (1622) and Exercitations Divine (1632); William Ames's The Marrow of Sacred Divinity (1638?); Thomas Hayne's The Times, Places and Persons of the Holy Scripture, otherwise intituled, the General View of the Holy Scriptures (1607); James Noyes's The Temple Measures (1647); the younger John Brinsley's The Glorie of the Latter Temple Greater then of the Former (1631) and The Mystical Brasen Serpent: with the Magnetical Vertue thereof (1653); John Davenport's Knowledge of Christ indispensably Required of all Men that would be Saved (1653); Thomas Taylor's Moses and Aaron, or the Types of the Old Testament Opened (1653); Isaac Penington's Expositions with Observations Sometimes,

on Severall Scriptures (1656); John Cotton's A Brief Exposition with Practical Observations upon the Whole Book of Canticles (1655) and A Brief Exposition . . . upon the Whole Book of Ecclesiastes (1654); William Gouge's Learned and very Useful Commentary on the Whole Epistle to the Hebrews (1655); Francis Robert's Mysterium and Medulla Bibliorum (1657); William Guild's Moses Unveiled; Or, Those Figures which Served unto the Patterne and Shaddow of Heavenly Things . . . Briefly Explained (1658); John Pearson's Exposition of the Creed (1662); Samuel Mather's The Figures or Types of the Old Testament (1683); Benjamin Keach's Tropologia: A Key to Open Scriptures Metaphors . . . Together with the Types of the Old Testament (1681); and K. Vitringa's Observationes Sacra, 3 vols. (1689-1708).

The enthusiasm with which many of these works rehearse the accumulated mass of typological relationships reveals at times an extraordinary fondness for the discovery of figures. William Guild's Moses Unveiled, entirely representative of the popular dissemination of typological information in the seventeenth century, provides this marvelous "Dedicatorie" to the Bishop of Winchester:

> As in the Creation darknes went before light, or as the dawning precedes the brightnesse of the day, and as Joseph obscurely at first behaved himselfe unto his Brethren, and Moses covered with a vaile stood before the people: Even so (Right Reverend) in the detection of the glorious worke of mans Redemption, mysticall promises went before mercifull performance, darke shadowes were the forerunners, of that bright substance, obscure types were harbingers to that glorious Antitype the Messiah, who was comming after, and Levi's Law with its figurative and vailed Ceremonies, was very resemblance, painting and pointing out that cleere Lampe and Lambe of God, the expresse Image and ingraven Character of the Father: So that as folded in swaddling clouts, and lying in a Crib, hee was seene and showne unto the Wise-men that came from the East; so involved in typicall Ordinances, and lurking under shadowish signes, he was offered and exhibited unto the

> Jewes that saw his day but a farre off; the eclipsed and dimme light of the Moone (as it were) as yet onely glimmering, or the twinkling brightnesse of starry Lamps, as yet onely dazedly glistering: Untill the true Phosphorus, that glorious Sunne himselfe did arise in the Horizon of our Humanity, dispersing the beames of his bounty, and manifesting himselfe to be that onely light of the world, promised to them that sit in the Region of darknesse, for comfort and illumination, and to the joy of all in heaven and earth, the Lambe himselfe onely opening that sealed Booke, and unfolding the truth of former mysteries.

Concerned to enumerate the many shadowings each major Old Testament figure casts, Guild, for example, catalogs no fewer than forty-nine typological correspondences between Joseph and Christ. Thus as "Joseph was the first-borne of beloved Rachel, so was Christ the first-borne of freely beloved Mary," as "Joseph is sent by his Father to visit his Brethren in the Wildernesse, so was Christ sent to visit mankinde in the world, who were straying in sinne," and as "a Virgin was given in Wife unto Joseph by the King, so are the godly given to Jesus by his Father, to be his Church." Concluding each section with "the Disparitie," Guild also marks this difference between type and antitype: "Joseph accused his Brethren unto his Father, and brought them their evill saying, Gen. 37.2. But Christ Jesus excuseth his brethren, covering their faults, and intercedeth for them." In this way, Guild and others--from anonymous preachers to major poets--preserved for their age a typological tradition no less impressive than that which the compiler of the Pictor in Carmine and the sculptors of Chartre cathedral did for theirs. Indeed, except for the brief eclipse of figural thought in England in the early and middle years of the sixteenth century, it may be rightly judged that typology in the Renaissance was as vibrant and fashionable a mode of thinking about history, theology, politics, and poetry as ever

it had been. One is even tempted to suggest that it was in fact the usual vision of men whose minds turned upon the consideration of ultimate values and cosmic visions.

The Ontological Mode of Christian Typology

Because the Biblical message is predicated upon its own distinctive understanding of God's action in human history, the predominant mode of its typological expression is temporal, Christo-centric, and eschatological. In addition, however, to its usual kerygmatic presentation of history redeemed, the Bible also demonstrates another mode of typology which in the subsequent development of figural thought has proven to be of nearly equal consequence. Noting that "the typology of the Bible reveals an ontological dimension," David Shelley Berkeley observes that "a minor yet important kind of typology is that which connects an earthly person or event with a transcendent presently existing person or event."[79] Hebrews 9:24 is the locus classicus:

> But in Hebrews 9,24 one reads: "For Christ is not entered into the holy places made with hands, which are the figures [ἀντίτυπα] of the true, but unto heaven itself. . . ." Here the word 'antitypes,' so different from the historical meaning of 'antitype' in I Pet. 3,21, signifies something imperfect and inferior to the true, i.e., an ontological type. In other words, Hebrews 9,24 . . . appears to license, as between places of worship and the enthroned Christ, spatial categories from which time is excluded, and a bifurcation of heavenly and earthly realities.[80]

Whereas it was once generally thought that the metaphysical vision behind Hebrews 9:24 necessarily implied some accommodation of the Platonic doctrine of ideas,[81] recent scholarship argues that a thoroughly Semitic world view permeates the Weltanschauung of the Epistle. C. T. Fritsch explains: "By describing the earthly tabernacle as the antitype, or

copy, of the heavenly archetype, the writer is expressing one of his basic religious beliefs, namely, that the divine order is projected into, or stamped upon, the world of sense and time in the earthly tabernacle and its cult, and that God's eternal purpose of redemption is continually being realized on earth through these visible media."[82] Here the visible media--"holy places made with hands" and "heaven itself" --both subsume themselves under "the true" [τῶν ἀληθινῶν]. In such an arrangement the necessity of time no longer becomes a determinative factor: the typological correspondences shift to spatial and qualitative categories; the homologues establishing figural connections are ontological in character. While distinguishing between the two kinds of typology, historical and ontological, Berkeley does not think their relationship problematic: "Time is meaningless in the ontological perspective but highly significant from an eschatological point of view. Allowing primacy in Judaeo-Christianity to the latter, I regard the two kinds of types in Hebrews 9,24 ff. as complementary. The difficulty is resolved by Augustine's view that there is no such thing as future time with God: all things are present to him, and His foreknowledge is therefore simply knowledge."[83]

Although temporal events are vital links in the chain of history and of first importance for the structuring of historical typology, from the vantage point of the Eternal Present such events may cohere in different patterns. Indeed, when one ponders the conceptual possibilities of typological relationships cut loose from the thread of time, as Sir Thomas Browne did, the figural conceptualization leads to astonishing paradoxes:

> Before Abraham was, I am, is the saying of Christ, yet it is true in some sense if I say it of my selfe, for I was not onely before my selfe, but Adam, that is, in the Idea of God, and the decree of that Synod held from all Eternity. And in this sense, I say, the world was before Creation, and at an end before it had a beginning; and thus was I dead before I was alive; though my grave be England, my dying place was Paradise, and Eve miscarried of me before she conceiv's of Cain.[84]

Although such radical musings are uncommon even for Browne, his more usual consideration of ontological typology is nonetheless expansive. For example, in The Garden of Cyrus (1658), after his single mention of a well-known Old Testament historical type, Browne quickly expands his typological frame to include the whole of cosmic life:

> Light that makes things seen, makes some things invisible; were it not for darknesse and the shadow of the earth, the noblest part of the Creation had remained unseen, and the Stars in heaven as invisible as on the fourth day, when they were created above the Horizon, with the Sun, or there was not an eye to behold them. The greatest mystery of Religion is expressed by adumbration, and in the noblest part of Jewish Types, we finde the Cherubims shadowing the Mercy-seat: Life it self is but the shadow of death, and souls departed but the shadows of the living: All things fall under this name. The Sunne it self is but the dark simulachrum [likeness, image, figure], and light but the shadow of God.[85]

Less speculative typologists than Browne, however, were generally content to think of ontological types as simple earthly adumbrations of higher or lower forms of reality. Thus, as Jean Daniélou's synopsis of Theodore of Mopsuestia's sacramental typology makes clear, the Church Fathers upon occasion were accustomed to see the Church's celebration of the Holy Eucharist as a present earthly type of the eternal heavenly liturgy:

> His whole sacramental symbolism is founded on the parallel between the visible and the invisible liturgies. We are here in

> ling with the symbolism of the Epistle to the Hebrews. We can certainly speak of typology, but we must make it clear that Theodore's is concerned more with the relation of things visible to the invisible than with the relation of things past to things to come, which is the true bearing of the word. Moreover, Theodore refers to the Epistle to the Hebrews in his first catecheses: "Every sacrament is the indication in signs and symbols of things invisible and beyond speech" (12:2), and he quotes Hebr. VIII,5, and X,1. He develops this line of thought especially in reference to the Eucharistic sacrifice, which he sees as the sacramental participation in the heavenly sacrifice. And this leads us to remark that the sacramental platonism of Theodore is itself the consequence of the literal quality of his exegesis. Rejecting [the more usual eschatological] typology because he refused to see a relationship between historic realities, he was led to interpret sacramental symbolism in a vertical sense, as the relationship of visible things to invisible.[86]

In this way, as Malcolm MacKenzie Ross notes, "the patristic Eucharist was conceived as a corporate act of sacrifice by Christ and His Church in which time was annihilated and through which the eternity of the Risen Son was not only revealed but experienced."[87]

Typologists of all ages have habituated themselves to the discernment of ontological types found in God's creation. Ireneus in his Adversus haereses is of the opinion that "things which are invisible and ineffable on earth are in turn the types of celestial things."[88] In an apostrophe to the Divine Intelligence, Augustine exclaims: "O Wisdom, Thou most sweet light of the cleansed mind; for Thou ceasest not to intimate to us what and how great Thou art, and these intimations of Thee is the universal beauty of creation."[89] Biblically such natural typology receives its justification from Romans 1:20: "For the invisible things of him from the Creation of the world are clearely seene, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternall Power and Godhead" (KJV). Thus the Church from its earliest times has always perceived Nature to be filled with figurae, signs bearing the marks of a

divine impress. For example, the sun in Isaiah 60:19, Amos 8:9, and Malachi 4:2 has always been understood as a type of Christ, the source of all light. Other Biblical types of the Messiah include the eagle (Deut. 32:11-12), the rose (Song of Solumon 2:1), the wilderness rock (I Cor. 10:4), and the lion (Rev. 5:5). The headnote to the fourth chapter of Jonah designates the miraculous growing gourd a type, presumably of God's mercy. Serpents, according to Samuel Mather,[90] are continuing types of Satan's presence, even as the appearance of the first and all succeeding rainbows since God's covenant with Noah are types of God's ever-present mercy.[91] Special numbers such as one, three, seven, nine, ten, and combinations thereof have figural significance associated with sacred persons, things, and events; others such as two, four, and five are types of earthly or frequently demonic antitypes.[92] In the fifth chapter of his Letter to the Romans, St. Paul allows the intimacy of a Christian husband and wife to typify the great mystery (μέγα μυστήριον) of the heavenly marriage between Christ and his bride, the Church. With such apostolic encouragement at hand, Church Fathers such as Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret, and Jerome, did not hesitate to use the word "mystery" as a synonym of "type" and "shadow" in their exegetical commentaries and homilies.[93] Eventually, of course, many of the mysteries of human life and of the universe come to be so infused with typical possibility. As a hymn verse by Alan of Lille (c. 1128-1203) bears witness, the orders of creation are both themselves and pictures of something else:

Omnis mundi creatura
Quasi liber et pictura
   Nobis est et speculum,
Nostrae vitae, nostrae sortis,

Nostris status, nostrae mortis
Fidele signaculum.[94]

Every creature in the world is a book to be read, a painting to be studied, and a mirror into which one may peer to discover faithful signs.

Mindful of the immense scale of Nature, typologists frequently allude to the figural quality of the Great Chain of Being. In the same way that the world's history affirms a horizontal continuity of events progressively revealing God's eschatological purpose, so also the hierarchical order of Nature pressing vertically upwards requires that the lower orders anticipate and typify the higher. Often within each class of creation, the first of its kind is commonly a type valued for those correspondences which typify some higher and more spiritual echelon of being. Thus the untamable primate of the sea, the Leviathan of Psalm 74:12-14, Isaiah 27:1 and Job 41, images Satan, primordial chaos, wickedness, and hell itself. Working downward, Origen in his demonology suggests that each particular series of animals typified a kind of demon.[95] Conversely "Dionysius the Areopagite [in his Celestial Hierarchies] would have the ecclesiastical hierarchy on earth duplicate the angelic hierarchy in heaven."[96] Man himself, within his ordered degrees, served variously as a type of higher realities; from medieval times a Christian king, by virtue of his anointing, was a typus Christi, rex imago Christi, and rex vicarious Christi.[97] Thus in addition to the large number of types made possible sub specie aeternitatis, the highly developed notion of the universe arranged in an elaborate hierarchical order also contributed significantly to the increase of ontological figures.

Of the seventeenth century in particular, Perry Miller observes that "a habit of reading sermons in stone was universal, as indeed it

had been for many Christian centuries; metaphysical poets had found exemplification of religious truths in the most unlikely occurrences, and nature was pressed into the service of the highest mysteries by Jacobean and Carolinian essayists and philosophers as well as divines."[98] Quoting Richard Hooker, C. S. Lewis describes what was surely the usual persuasion of most sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Christians: "We meet on all levels divine wisdom shining through 'the beautiful variety of all things' in their 'manifold and yet harmonious dissimilitude."[99] This "shining through," as Henry Vaughan suggests in "The Tempest," means that the natural world is constantly urging man to transcendence:

> All things here shew him heaven; Waters that fall
> Chide, and fly up; Mists of corruptest fome
> Quit their first beds & mount; trees, herbs, flowers, all
> Strive upwards stil, and point him the way home.[100]

For this reason, Vaughan intimates in "The Retreat" that Nature is full of types of heaven which allow him to glimpse God's "bright face":

> When on some gilded cloud or flower
> My gazing soul would dwell an hour,
> And in those weaker glories spy
> Some shadows of eternity.[101]

So also Thomas Traherne in his "Thanksgivings" praises God not only for his provision of historical and Biblical figures, but also for the many wonderful ontic types which show him "the beauty of [his] everlasting Counsels":

> In all the Regions of [Heaven and Earth,
> [Time and Eternity;
> Living in thine Image
> Towards all thy Creatures;
> On Angels wings,
> Holy Meditations.

According to the transcendent Presence of my Spirit everywhere,
Let me see thy Beauties,
Thy Love to me,
To all thy Creatures,
In the [First Creation, Government of Ages, Day of Judgment, Work of Redemption,]
In [My Conception and Nativity, All my Deliverances, The Peace of my Country, Noah's Ark]
With Moses and David,
Let me behold thy ways,
Delight in thy Mercies,
Be praising thee.
O shew me the excellency of all thy works![102]

Here the figural ark of Noah and the typical lives of Moses and David find their place among the equally sure adumbrations of national peace, Traherne's own birth, and all God's "beauties."

Throughout the presenting of Christian ontological types one infers that inasmuch as Christ is preeminently the perfect and express Image of the invisible God (Col. 1:15), ever since his Incarnation all other images now possess some special relationship to Him as the Proto-Image. By his actual appearance in time as the historical Antitype, Christ in his new intimacy with the world enlarges the typological foundations so that by His continuing incarnational presence all of creation is seen to cohere in a more intimate and ultimately figural way with him. Richard Hooker, for example, after carefully positing the orthodox and catholic doctrine of the Incarnation in his Fifth Book of the Ecclesiastical Polity, proceeds to argue the more deliberate impress of God's presence on all things:

> All other things that are of God have God in them and he them in himself likewise. . . . God hath his influence into the very essence of all things, without which influence of Deity

> supporting them their utter annihilation could not choose but follow. Of him all things have both received their first being and their continuance to be that which they are. All things are therefore partakers of God, they are his offspring, his influence is in them, and the personal wisdom of God is for that very cause said to excel in nimbleness or agility, to pierce into all intellectual, pure, and subtile spirits, to go through all, and to reach out unto every thing which is.[103]

God, not only by his first making man an image of his divine life in the creation, but also by his confirmation of that image in the Incarnation, seals and by extension makes valid the imaginal character of all things. God's divine intrusion into the world in Christ consecrates everything. Again it is Traherne who, bringing together historical and ontological types, finds such figural possibilities (beginning with his own self) worthy of rapture:

> This Body is not the Cloud, but a Pillar assumed to manifest His Lov unto us. In these Shades doth this Sun break forth most Orientlv. In this Death is His Lov Painted in most lively colours. GOD never shewd Himself more a GOD, then when He appeated Man. Never gained more Glory then when He was bereaved of all Sense. O let thy Goodness shine in me! I will lov all O Lord by thy Grace Assisting as Thou doest: And in Death it self, will I find Life, and in Conquest Victory. This Sampson by Dying Kild all His Enemies: And then carried the Gates of Hell and Death away, when being Dead, Himself was born to his Grave. Teach me O Lord these Mysterious Ascentions by Descending into Hell for the sake of others, let me Ascend into the Glory of the Highest Heavens. Let the Fidelity and Efficacy of my Lov appear, in all my Care and Suffering for Thee.[104]

Even as Samson, the great Old Testament type of Christ, prefigured the final triumph of Christ's death and resurrection, so Traherne envisions his own bodily dying a "Mysterious Ascention," a type of Christ's present victory in "the Glory of the Highest Heaven." Day by day, as Traherne lives out his Christian life, he images the achievement of God made

permanent and transtemporal in Christ. Elsewhere Traherne suggests that Christ by the power of his Incarnation invests all that surrounds him in this earthly home with a special figurative power:

> Rich Sacred Deep and Precious Things
> Did here on Earth the Man [Jesus Christ] surround
> With all the Glory of the King of Kings.[105]

The advent of the Logos into the visible world results in a new and profoundly intimate correspondence of things created by the divine Image. By his irrevocable presence in the world Christ recapitulates, confirms, and makes valid the imaginal quality of all things. Karl Keller, although in context speaking specifically of Edward Taylor's nature typology, expresses in fact the basic conviction of all who see Nature tending toward the antitypal Christ: ". . . in his love of the things of the world, Taylor wishes to see them as having purpose, and to him they have significance as types of Christ. Perhaps this helps to explain the profusion of strained comparisons of worldly things with Christ in his Meditations. Christ is the unifier of all disparities, the atoner (i.e., the at-one-er) of Nature and man."[106]

Thus by virtue of the Biblical witness, the upward Tendenz inherent in the ordered hierarchies of Nature, and the sure incarnational impress of the Word, the whole cosmos gives eloquent figural testimony through innumerable ontological types that all things point to God, the divine Antitype of the figural universe.

The Pagan-Christian Mode of Typology

As the early church sought to relate its figural understanding of history centered in Christ to missionary and apologetic needs, Christian

writers devised various--and sometimes competing--methods of responding to pagan mythologies of philosophical and religious interest.[107] As early as Justin Martyr (A.D. 110-165) the idea is advanced that the similarities between certain Christian mysteries, such as the virginal conception and the Ascension, and some of the mysteries of paganism are due to the fact that demons, knowing the true mysteries, inspired the Greeks to make misleading imitations of them. Thus, for example, in his First Apology, Justin argues that heathen mythologies, purporting to describe the creations of Proserpine and Minerva, are actually demonic reworkings of the sacred genesis:

> From what has been already said, you can understand how the devils, in imitation of what was said by Moses, asserted that Proserpine was the daughter of Jupiter, and instigated the people to set up an image of her under the name of Kore [Cora, i.e., the maiden or daughter] at the spring-heads. For, as we wrote above [chap. lix], Moses said, "In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth. And the earth was without form and unfurnished: and the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." In imitation, therefore, of what is here said of the Spirit of God moving on the waters, they said that Proserpine [or Cora] was the daughter of Jupiter [and therefore caused her to preside over the waters]. And in like manner also they craftily feigned that Minerva was the daughter of Jupiter, not by sexual union, but, knowing that God conceived and made the world by the Word, they say that Minerva is the first conception [ἔννοια]; which we consider to be very absurd, bringing forward the form of the conception in a female shape. And in like manner the actions of those others who are called sons of Jupiter sufficiently condemn them. (Ch. 64)[108]

Convinced that the Mosaic testimony to God's creative activity was of far greater antiquity (and hence more intrinsically reliable) than subsequent Attic literature, Justin earlier in the same Apology argues that Plato's theory of creation in his Timaeus is but one more indication of the pagan's obvious debt to Genesis.[109] Of course, if perchance the

pagan witness remains somehow untainted by demonic distortion, all such testimony owes its residual truthfulness to the universal operation of the seminal Logos, the pre-existent Word of God, so that "whatever things were rightly said among all men are the property of us Christians."[110] Thus apologists of the rigorous school, such as Athenagoras, Theophilus, Tatian, and Tertullian, were able to commend and discredit the half-light of pagan thought. Generally, however, they tended to deprecate pagan literature and culture wherever possible.

Other ancient Christian writers were willing to concede a great deal more to the preparatory work of God's Spirit among the pagans. As Don Cameron Allen notes, "with few exceptions most of the apologists agreed that pre-Christian poets and philosophers possessed proximate truth. Some--Plato, Hermes Trismegistus, Plotinus, Cicero, Seneca--had more than others, but almost no ancient was without a grain of wisdom. Everyone knew (in fact, Justin mentioned it) that St. Paul was not loath to borrow a phrase or two from the Greek poets; hence, it was sensible for properly controlled Christians to find a use for 'the gold and silver of the Egyptians'."[111] In his Stromata (or Miscellanies) Clement of Alexandria (A.D. 153-217), for example, argues that Greek literature and philosophy reveals a covenant with the pagans similar to God's Old Testament covenant with the Jews:

> For clearly, as I think, . . . the one and only God was known by the Greeks in a Gentile way, by the Jews Judaically, and in a new and spiritual way by us. . . . Accordingly, then, from the Hellenic training, and also from that of the law, are gathered into the one race of the saved people those who accept faith: not that the three peoples are separated by time, so that one might suppose three natures, but trained in different Covenants of the one Lord, by the word of the one Lord. For that, as God wished to save the Jews by giving to them prophets, so also by raising up prophets of their own in

> their own tongue, as they were able to receive God's beneficence, He distinguished the most excellent of the Greeks from the common herd. . . .[112]

Like Justin, Clement believes the best of pagan thought to have been informed by the directly inspired Jewish Scriptures which explain and guarantee the essential reliability of so much Attic literature. Yet unlike Justin, Clement perceives such complements not as faint traces of truth somehow unmarred by devilish trickery, but rather as rich deposits of pre-Christian revelation given to Gentiles whom God favored with grace and intimations of the truth. Citing St. Paul's speech at Athens in Acts 17 as the Biblical warrant for acknowledging some familiarity of pagan thought with Christian truth,[113] Clement elsewhere urges his pagan readers to compelte their world view by accepting Christ.[114] What they had already grasped of the ultimate nature of reality is indeed a slender spark, capable of being fanned into flame, a trace of wisdom, and an impulse from God.

If God providentially arranged for pagans to anticipate the Incarnate Wisdom of God in Christ, more generous Christian writers like Clement soon taught themselves to discern those adumbrations of the truth in Greaco-Roman culture which might well serve as figural counterparts to Old Testament types. Clement, for example, sees the Greek lustrations, which he regards as borrowing from Biblical revelation, as figures (ἐκιόνες) of baptism.[115] Elsewhere Orpheus is a Gentile David,[116] Tiresais a type of the Christian pilgrim,[117] and, Odysseus a figure of the prudent believer in that when this famous pagan adventurer tied himself to the ship's mast to elude the Sirens' temptation, he exactly foreshadowed how the Christian must fix himself to the Cross of

Christ to escape Satan's wiles.[118] J. Auffret summarizes the more conventional and popular pagano-Christian typological schema generally well developed by the fourth century among those Fathers sympathetic to pagan culture and literature:

> In early Christianity, Orpheus was interpreted as a Type of Christ. So was Apollo, and so were Hercules and Pan. Eusebius speaks of Orpheus drawing all men to him by his music as symbolizing the attractive power of Christ. Indeed the Muse's "enchanting son" foreshadows Christ, "deliciae humanae naturae." Had not Orpheus descended to Hell ro rescue Eurydice, as Christ was to rescue the souls of the Righteous from Limbo? That is why the catacombs of Rome offer a dozen figures of Orpheus with his flute, charming animals and plants. They also represent Hercules slaying the Hydra--a Type of Christ slaying Death and Sin; and they represent Christ as a Sun-God driving his fiery car.[119]

So thorough was the Fathers' corporate listing of pagan mythological persons, things, and events collaborating Old Testament adumbrations that Jean Daniélou feels at one point constrained to suggest that "it almost seems there is a Greek image for every single figure in the Old Testament."[120] "Certainly," as Theophilus of Antioch remarked to Autolytus, "they [the Greek poets] did at all events utter things confirmatory of the prophets."[121]

The incorporation of pagan types into the design of sacred history carried on throughout medieval times and well into the Renaissance. Emile Mâle, for example, describes the illumination of an uncommonly fine fourteenth-century manuscript containing the Le Roman des fables d'Ovide le Grand by Chrestien Legouais of Sainte-More:

> Among miniatures illustrating the stories of Medea, Aesculapius or Achilles, one unexpectedly finds pictures of the Crucifixion, the Annunciation, or the Descent into Limbo, and the rhymed commentary which accompanies each story from Ovid expalins and justifies the presence of the Christian subject. We learn, for example, that Aesculapius, who

> suffered death because he had raised the dead, is a type of Christ, and that Jupiter, changed into a bull and carrying Europa on his back, also typifies Christ, the sacrificial ox who bore the burden of the sin of the world. Theseus, who forsook Ariadne for Phaedra, prefigures the choice which Christ made between the Church and the Synagogue. Thetis, who gave her son Achilles arms with which to triumph over Hector, is no other than the Virgin Mary who gave a body to the Son of God, or as the theologians have it, gave Him the humanity with which He must be clothed in order to conquer the enemy.[122]

In cathedral sculpture Mâle also remarks the repeated inclusion of the sibyl (especially Erythaea, celebrated in Augustine's De civitate Dei, XVIII, 23) who typifies the messianic expectations of Gentile peoples.[123] It is not with unusual surpise, then, that one discovers among the many Old Testament and less frequent Apocryphal figurae of the Cambridge King's College Chapel windows the nymphs of Nysa who ministered to the infant Dionysus, son of the almighty Zeus and the mortal Semele, presented as pagan types of all those who would later adore the Christ-child.[124]

Perhaps the most important reinforcement of this recognition of pagan types, continuing the practice of many Church Fathers, is the constant inclusion of numerous typological identifications interwoven among late medieval and early Renaissance commentaries on Virgil and Ovid. Don Cameron Allen[125] in particular provides meticulous documentation of the extent to which medieval and Renaissance scholars such as Bernard of Silvester, Arnulph of Orleans, and Giovanni del Virgilio sought to amplify Virgil and Ovid with copious allegorical and figural notation. Pierre Bersuire, for example, in his Metamorphosis Ovidiana Moraliter (1515) continues the patristic suggestion that Hercules is a type of Christ because he is "a good, wise priest, who fights against the lion of pride and anger, against the devil Diomedes and his horses of heresy,

against multiple livings signified by Cerberus and Geryon, and against Cecus, who is, among other things, the Prince of Hell."[126] A few years later Jacobus Bonus in De Vita et Gestis Christi (1526) sums up almost the whole of the Herculean figural tradition in a work containing detailed typological comparisons between Christ and the pagan Alcides. Still later in the seventeenth century, Donne in Biathanatos (Part III, Dist. 5, Sect. 1), Ralegh in The History of the World, and Milton in both the Nativity Ode (ll. 227-228) and Paradise Regained (IV, 562) make explicit mention of Hercules' typological significance as a pagan figure of Christ. Indeed, Ralegh's History, after advancing the usual euhemeristic explanation concerning the origin of pagan deities, provides a memorable précis of the most notable pagan types commonly said to parallel Old Testament figurae:

> And as Adam was the ancient and first Saturn, Cain, the eldest Jupiter, Eva, Rhea, and Noema or Naamath, the first Venus; so did the fable of the dividing of the world between the three brethren, the sons of Saturn, arise from the true story of the dividing of the earth between the three sons of Noah; so also was the fiction of those golden apples kept by a dragon, taken from the serpent which tempted Evah; so was paradise itself transported out of Asia into Africa and made the garden of the Hesperides; the prophecies that Christ should break the serpent's head and conquer the power of hell occasioned the fables of Hercules filling the serpent of Hesperides and descending into hell and captivating Cerberus; so out of the taking up of Enoch by God was borrowed the conversion of their heroes, the inventors of religion and such arts as the life of man had profit by, into stars and heavenly signs and withal, that leaving of the world and ascension of which Ovid: Ultima caelestum terra Astraea reliquit. Astraea last of heavenly wights the earth did leave.[127]

As Ralegh's catalog makes obvious, the use of pagan types is best suited to religious and devotional literature infused with humanist learning. The Spenserian Giles Fletcher, for example, in Christ's Triumph over Death (1610) urges the Savior's victory on the cross partially expressed

by the prefigurement of Gentile fables. In stanza seven Fletcher recalls four well-known pagan types whose lives variously anticipated some aspect of the crucifixion's meaning:

> Who doth not see drown'd in Deucalions name,
> (When earth his men, and sea had lost his shore)
> Old Noah; and in Nisus lock, the fame
> Of Samson yet alive; and long before
> In Phaethons, mine owne fall I deplore:
> But he that conquer'd hell, to fetch againe
> His virgin widowe, by a serpent slaine,
> Another Orpheus was then dreaming poets feigne.[128]

When the Hellenic Noah, Deucalion, underwent the anger of Zeus, so he foreshadowed, as did Noah himself, Christ's bearing the brunt of God's righteous wrath; as Scylla, in the manner of Delilah, triumphed over King Nisus, so he helps vivify the typical significance of Samson's defeat; as Apollo's son fell from heaven, so Fletcher previews his own decline in Adam; as poets feigned Orpheus' journey into Hades to liberate Eurydice, so they unawares fashioned the type of Another who would in truth conquer hell. In such fashion the Church Fathers, medieval writers, and Renaissance humanists Christians habitually incorporated what they knew of secular-pagan history and myth into the chronology of Old Testament events.

Nonetheless, even the most generous Christians sympathetic to the virtues of paganism, such as Clement of Alexandria, Augustine, and the much later Milton, repeatedly emphasize the distance in kind and degree separating uninspired pagan from inspired Biblical texts. Lewalski's observation is apposite: "Christian writers of any age could seldom refrain from noting the inadequacies of these myths when compared with the true Old Testament types. Seventeenth-century commentators were

much more disposed than their Renaissance counterparts to point up the false, feigned aspects of the classics: even devotees of the classics such as the Cambridge Platonist Henry More emphasized the groping and mistakes of the pagans which must be rectified in Christ. . . ."[129] Here Milton's posturing over the right typological reading of pagan mythologies may be seen to recapitulate the various shiftings which frequently characterized the qualified Christian endorsement of pagan types. Berkeley summarizes the tension:

> Milton's On the Morning of Christ's Nativity bows to Justin in describing with authorial relish the dénichement of the pagan deities and to Clement in naming Christ "mighty Pan" and in likening Him to the serpent-strangling infant Herakles. In In Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained, although typological collocations are a central means of securing organic unity, Milton shifts to the rigoristic view of Justin and others: he notes the mythology of the Gentiles as being of demonic origin or as being distorted versions of the truths committed to Moses and his successors. Yet even in the more patent diatribe against Greek culture--Paradise Regained--very much in spirit and substance a précis of Eusebius' Evangelicae Praeparationis, Herakles and Oedipus are presented in IV, 563-576 as true types of Christ; and other exceptions may be found. The mature Milton, in short, could hardly tear himself loose from the conviction that God has penetrated the culture of Greece with innumerable beams of His grace that one day He might make a new people for His name. Lycidas from the poet's youth is sympathetic with, even enthusiastic over, the view stated by Clement, widening it horizontally to reach the Druids and Hyperboreans in farthest Britain and even intimating a purer religion there than in ancient Greece.[130]

Milton, of course, in attempting to integrate the best of paganism with Christianity has it both ways: some of the demonically inspired figures which retire at Christ's appearing are both false gods and authentic types to the final realities.

Yet as important as pagan types are to the total figural scheme, nonetheless Rosemund Tuve is correct to insist that pagan types are not

usually invested with the same typological force as that which Biblical types are said to possess:

> It seems to me unquestionable that the mode of thought in religious allegory encouraged the appropriation and deepened the "true meaning" in classical materials figuratively understood; still, Hercules accomplishing the labors is not a type of the saving Christ in the same way that Samson is, with the carried-off gates of Gaza proclaiming, at the instant they yielded, the fall of Hell's gates before the power of Hell's eternal harrower. . . . The shadow of a later revealed truth is indeed most commonly and widely argued to be truly present in imperfect pagan visions of it, and this sense was far more important in the conservation of classical story for us through the Christian Middle Ages than was any cunning plot to hang onto the delightful lies by accommodating them to reigning conceptions--a picture of the medieval mind frequently offered to us. Nevertheless, this Greek and Roman pantheon and history was not thought of as God's special manifestation and care as was His slow sure redemption of man as recorded in His chosen people's history and Old Law and New. A deity's authorship was not customarily seen in the late classical and Stoic allegorizings of ancient myth; even when such readings seem "true," we are conscious of the willed imposition of meaning.[131]

Generally the citation of pagan figures held to foreshadow Biblical revelation tend to be isolated mythological events often divorced from their contexts. Rarely, for example, do typologists of any era find, as they did in the Old Testament story of Abraham, complex figural patterns emerging from their textual study of Egyptian, Greek, and Roman literature. We are not expected to make exact equations between pagan heroes and the protagonists of divine history. There is, as Tuve observes, "no attempt to find parallels in Christ's life for the attacks of the women upon Orpheus, nor do we look for something to parallel the bush Isaac's ram was caught in, the anguished prayer of Abraham-the-father, the ass they left behind, the fact that the sacrifice was burned. Equation is simply not the character of the allegorical [i.e.,

typological] relation."[132] Because pagan types serve primarily to corroborate what is already known in Christian revelation, they are never instanced by Christian writers as anticipatory proofs of the antitypes' appearance; and in no event is a pagan type ever said to adumbrate a New Testament antitype without attachment to a specific and prior Old Testament figure.

Importantly, any hesitation by Christian authors to accept pagan types does not necessarily imply reservation about the assumptions or usefulness of typology itself. The incorporation of pagan types into a theological structure, licensed but appearing to be a minor Biblical theme, is, of course, encouraged by any disposition toward theological universalism which seeks to emphasize God's saving ways with all men. If, however, the majority of Christian writers accept--but decline to endorse without qualification--the figural possibilities of paganism, such reservation serves chiefly to underline the inevitable tension which the particularity of the Christian Gospel seems to require. Furthermore, when the impulse of any era urges, as C. S. Lewis suggests when describing the spirit of the Middle Ages, the "building [of] a syncretistic Model not only out of Platonic, Aristotelian, and Stoical, but out of Pagan and Christian elements,"[133] then, of course, the incorporation of pagan thought, including the figural use of heroes and gods, is more evident. In short, the employment of pagan figures may reflect not only the theological inclination of a given writer, but it also, and perhaps more importantly, may reveal a dominant cultural preoccupation of an era. One would therefore expect--and does in fact find--the pagan-Christian figuralism of the post-Nince patristic era, of the

fourteenth century in Italy, and of the early seventeenth century in England to be pronounced.

The Correlative Mode of Typology

Typological schemes extend themselves in many directions. Historical typology arches in design in a fundamentally linear and temporal direction. For ontological figures one conceives the paradigm in more spatial terms. Important to both modes, however, is the fact that they function almost exclusively in explicit theological contexts--as within sermons, devotional poetry, and cathedral art. Lancelot Andrewes and John Donne, for example, favor the handling of Biblical and historical types as they explicate significant events commemorated in the Christian calendar. Thomas Traherne, Henry Vaughan, Jonathan Edwards, and Edward Taylor, on the other hand, prefer the use of ontological types for a more lyric expression of the Christian mystery. But in both the historical and ontological modes the focus of instruction or persuasion is always Christ who in his coming announces himself as the center of history and of the universe.

In the Renaissance (especially among the English in the seventeenth century) there arises yet another kind of typological expression which in effect builds upon and extends the more usual Biblical, patristic, and medieval understanding of _figurae_. Designated by Murray Roston[134] as "postfiguration" and as "correlative typology" first by Barbara K. Lewalski[135] and later by Steven N. Zwicker,[136] this kind of figural _schema_ deems the original Biblical type/antitype relationships as earlier patterns adumbrating and clarifying later events of crucial significance in the progressive history of the church. In this expanded figural mode

the first "type/antitype" configuration may presage a later and more nearly eschatological pattern of "type/antitype." William F. Lynch, commenting on Erich Auerbach's early intuitions about this mode of figuralism, emphasizes its importance as a means whereby contemporary history is allowed to participate in the ongoing dynamics of redemptive history:

> Altogether essential to the figura is the inward historical reality of the two events or persons that are related: "one of them not only means itself, but also the other; the other, on the contrary, encloses or fulfills the first." "Both lie, as real events or forms, inside time," Yet there is also a sense in which both are still open to a third future [italics mine] which "though still incompleted as event is already completely fulfilled in God and has been so in His Providence from all eternity." Thus this new history remains everywhere real and everywhere open, as complete and incomplete as the heart would have it. Thus Cato, Vergil, Beatrice in the Commedia are complete historical reality which is not reduced to a shadow but rather deepened by its significative power.[137]

As type finds its fulfillment in antitype, both in turn become penultimate coordinates in a figural set which may be duplicated in the later dealing of God with his church in the world. Roston's summary is to the point:

> Instead of searching in the Old Testament for stories whose validity lay in their adumbrating the New, he [the sixteenth-century Protestant Christian] now searched for those [types] which seemed to parallel his own personal history, those which he felt were being relived by him in a later generation. Sometimes, it is true, the saints had been seen retrospectively as having re-enacted the Passion of Christ and fulfilled in their deaths the requirement of imitatio Dei. But here was an essentially new concept, with its roots in the soil of the temporal world, whereby mortal men, not elevated into sainthood, began to see their daily struggles, both spiritual and physical, in terms of a biblical archetype [i.e., figural pattern]. The Puritans sailing towards the New World proclaimed that they were bound for the Promised Land, for "God's own country," not because they had found a neat rallying-call, but

> because their own voyage was for them a seventeenth-century cyclical re-enactment of the Exodus from Egypt.[138]

By investing the figural tradition with "reduplicative powers," as A. C. Charity in Events and Their Afterlife describes this "contemporizing" of the Gospel,[139] Renaissance poets from Dante to Milton were able to intensify the immediate application of figuralism. The title pages for the Old and New Testaments of the Geneva Bible are cases in point. On both pages identical woodcuts depict the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea. Around the woodcuts are the texts: "Feare ye not, stand still, and beholde the salvasion of the Lord, which he wil shewe to you this day. Exod. 14,13"; and "Great are the troubles of the righteous but the Lord delivereth them out of all, Psal. 34,19." To the extent that the same woodcut is used for a visual introduction to both Testaments, the choice of the Exodus emphasizes the unity of God's redemptive activity fulfilled in Christ--an obvious presentation of historical typology. Inasmuch, however, as the accompanying Biblical texts contain present tense imperatives, they reflect a correlative application of the familiar historical type. In short, the Puritans--English exiles driven out of their homeland during the oppressive reign of Queen Mary--are the latter-day pilgrim people who reenact the longings of Israel for the promised land. The typological truth of yesterday becomes today's figural reality.

From a schematic point of view, correlative typology is surely not as neatly paradigmatic as either historical or ontological typology. One frankly incurs what at first may appear a major conceptual difficulty in permitting so-called late post-Biblical "types" the privilege of looking backwards in time to some previous antitypal fulfillment. David

S. Berkeley's criticism of Steven N. Zwicker's attempt to see a typological link between Charles II and Christ may be apposite: ". . . to read Astraea Redux and To His Sacred Majesty typologically founders on a violation of chronology: Charles II lived sixteen centuries after Christ, yet he is made, contrary to the lapse of time that definition requires between type and antitype, to have lived before the appearance of the Saviour."[140] For Berkeley any bond between Charles II and Christ is best described as analogical. It may be argued, however, that in addition to the evident teleological thrust of traditional typology rightly defined, there is also a genuine (but sometimes vaguely formulated) notion that Christians may periodically recognize historical figurae even after the advent of Christ. Barbara K. Lewalski, one of the first to point out the phenomenon, urges this consideration in her discussion of correlative typology in Samson Agonistes:

> There is basis in Patristic and Medieval typological theory for associating Samson and the Christian Elect--the concept that the Old Testament type refers to the "whole Christ," not only the historical person but also the members who are his "body" and thus participate in his life. Accordingly, many Old Testament events such as the Exodus story were understood to foreshadow the wanderings of the Church throughout history and the spiritual experience of each of the Elect, though in traditional theory the primary antitype was always Christ himself. But in Protestant formulations the Christic reference became much less prominent, and the Christian Elect often came to be seen as the direct antitype of the Israel of old.[141]

In this understanding of yet another typological mode, figural events occurring after the Biblical witness complement, reinforce, confirm, parallel, and participate in the essential intent of the first adumbration. In a sense they are in fact more sure figures precisely because the Antitype has already authenticated their predecessors. And insofar

as they are nearer to the Parousia, the apocalyptic Second Coming, such "postfigurations" are often imbued with an intensity not usually accorded Old Testament types.

The paradigm for correlative typology differs from that of conventional historical typology. In the more usual and older mode of typological thought the vast majority of types point exclusively to the future; types are _figurae futurarum_. Within the compass of correlative typology, however, allowance is made for the presence of historical types even after the coming of Christ, the Antitype. Whereas orthodox historical typology adheres to the formula "type/Antitype," correlative typology modifies (but claims substantially not to alter) the formula to read "type^{1}-Antitype/type^{2}-Same Antitype." Obviously the allowance for such "postfigurations" indicates that some typologists license a much less precise definition of typology than that maintained in medieval and patristic times. "In correlative typology," as Steven N. Zwicker defines it, "the contemporary figure is a shadow of the christological antitype, looking backward in time to its fulfillment or forward to the eschaton."[142] In short, it appears that Renaissance typologists sometimes permit historical types to exist in the tension between the antitypal "already" and the antitypal "not yet"--Christ Himself being the express Antitype of both _kairoi_ in his two great advents--the Incarnation and the Second Coming.

Correlative typology emerges as a figural mode in Renaissance times for several reasons. First, prior to the Renaissance, men of no previous era ever seriously thought of themselves as living in an unusually providential time in world history. To the medieval mind, especially before Dante, the continuum of history remained unbroken; the events of

more than a millenium lay behind as a road but recently traversed. By the middle of the sixteenth century, however, when Giorgio Vasari first employed the word "Renaissance,"[143] most educated men clearly perceived their age to be one peculiarly and richly endowed with special historical significance. Joseph Anthony Mazzeo describes the new realization:

> This kind of historical consciousness means that the humanists of the Renaissance saw themselves as detached from their immediate past in the Middle Ages and spiritually at home in a remote past more to their taste. It also means that they are aware of living in a new time. Historical categories like "Middle Ages" or "Renaissance" are, of course, inventions, and with all such categories there will be endless debates concerning just what they should or should not comprehend. With all the arguments over just when the Renaissance began and precisely what we mean by the term, there still remains the fact that in the fourteenth century in Italy we find the more thoughtful and articulate people defining themselves and their own times in terms of a restoration of classical ideas and values. The Renaissance was a revolution of consciousness which first took place in the minds of the cultural leaders of Europe before it transformed their institutions and culture.[144]

As Renaissance humanists deliberately attempted to recapitulate the ethos of the classical world in their own lives, so Renaissance typologists sought to discern in their own history figurae futurarum in imitation of the Scripture's typical vision. Not the least unusual is Michael Drayton's conviction, for example, that the English naval victory over the Spanish Armada in 1558 was a contemporary rehearsal of the great Old Testament type of Christian freedom:

> In eighty-eight at Dover that had been,
> To view that navy, (like a mighty wood),
> Whose sails swept Heaven, might eas'ly there have been,
> How puissant Pharaoh perish'd in the flood.
> What for a conquest strictly they did keep,
> Into the channel presently was pour'd.
> Castilian riches scatter'd on the deep,
> That Spain's long hopes had suddenly devour'd.

> The afflicted English rang'd along the strand,
> To wait what would this threat'ning power betide,
> Now when the Lord with a victorious hand
> In his high justice scourg'd th' Iberian pride.[145]

By linking the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 with the typological defeat of the Egyptian Pharaoh ("to view that [Spanish] navy . . . [one] might easily there have seen, / How Puissant Pharaoh perish'd in the flood."), Drayton imbues the English victory with a measure of providential significance equal to that of the Exodus. The implication is obvious: what God is doing for his newly chosen people, the English, is as important as what he has already done for his chosen people of former times. Especially after 1588, when many Englishmen became convinced that God is recasting the typical experience of the Hebrew nation into the mold of English history, Anglican churchmen not infrequently conclude that God is demonstrably partial to England as a nation and upon occasion dare even to infer that "God is English." Indeed, in An Harborowe for Faithfull and Trewe Subjects (1599), John Aylmer, the Bishop of London, allows a personified and matronly England to inform her children of a second Incarnation, Christ's second birth in England:

> I have . . . enriched you above all your neighbours about you: which make[s] them to envie you, & covet me. Besides this God hathe brought forth in me, the greatest and excellentest treasure that he hath, for your comfort and al the worldes. He would that out of my wombe should come that servant [Christ] of your brother [John] Wyclefe, who begate Husse, who begat Luther, who begat truth. What greter honor could you or I have, then that it pleased Christ as it were in a second birth to be borne again of me among you?

After due allowance is made for the intent of Aylmer's rhetorical hyperbole, his underlying conviction remains clear: England of the Reformation relives the figural history leading up to the Incarnation and so

gives birth to the Messiah in her own times. Here, as in all examples of correlative typology, ancient moments of figural importance--realized (but not diminished) by the coming of the antitype--stand ready for mimetic employment in the figural description of later events of great historical significance.

Second, in a large segment of Renaissance theological thought a noticeable shift in doctrinal exposition occurs which tends to diminish the traditionally historic antitypal significance of Christ's person and ministry. With the strong Puritan emphasis on the sanctification of the present moment, the older and more rigorous understanding of Christ's figural importance recedes into the background. Where once Christianity's principalis materia, its central theological construct, was organized around the Incarnation (usually thought to conclude the era of types), Puritan divines sought to emphasize--without denying the historical Christ--the Christian soul as the immediate and crucial place of God's redemptive activity. Horton Davies, contrasting the older Anglican and the new Puritan theologies, describes the difference in emphasis:

> At the heart of Anglican piety there was the awed wonder at the condescension of the God-man, sheer adoring amazement at the humility of the Incarnation. . . . They seemed to be happiest when they narrated the chief events of the Gospel from the Gospels, beginning with the Virgin Birth, where the second Eve recovers what the first Eve lost, and provides through her Son the Savior a second chance for humanity. . . . In this meditation Christ was seen as the supreme revelation of the nature of God and of the possibilities open to man; the response evoked was always a gratitude of tenderness. It seems to be the continuation of the mysticism of medieval England.
>
> English Puritanism, however, did not lose itself in the mystery of the Incarnation, which it regarded as a subject for theological explanation rather than meditation. It had little interest in the retrospective gaze and little incentive, since

> it had rejected the Christian Year because of the multitude of saints' days, which hid the solitary splendor of the kind of saints, Christ. Its center of interest was not in the incidents of the Gospels, but in the Epistles of St. Paul and in the Acts of the Apostles, for it was absorbed in trying to live in the Spirit. Puritanism's point of departure was not the Nativity, the Passion, or the Resurrection, but the Ascension of Christ and the descent of the Holy Spirit. The Puritans were interested in the glorification of Christ as His ascension rather than in His humiliation at Bethlehem or Calvary. They had little interest in the historic drama of the past, only with the civil war of the soul in the present, in which Christ fought with Satan for possession. Theirs was not so much an imitation of Christ, as Anglican piety was, but a recapitulation in themselves of the story of Everyman Adam, from temptation and fall, through reconciliation, restoration, and renewal. They were interested in the stages of the redeemed soul's progress: election, vocation, justification, sanctification, glorification. "Here," said Haller, "was the perfect formula explaining what happened to every human soul born to be saved."
>
> The Puritan was not oblivious to the major events in the life of Christ, but the birth he cared for was the birth of the soul, his own regeneration. [Italics mine.][147]

Such a shift in emphasis means, of course, that much Renaissance theology inclines not to be as thoroughly incarnational, sacramental, historically figural, and objectively Christo-centric as was the church's early patristic and medieval expression. Understandably the implications of Christ's antitypal significance tend to be blunted, and subsequently one observes a relaxation of figural design which allows for the phenomenon of so-called postfiguration or correlative typology.

Finally, a theological conviction which lay great doctrinal stress on England's covenant relationship with God also mitigated the figural centrality of Christ's historic life and mission. Rather than looking back on Christian history in toto, Puritan preachers in particular did not hesitate to claim for England a place of singular importance in God's redemptive plan for his people. In point of fact England was

repeatedly described as an Israel redivivus. For example, Robert Harris, a popular preacher:

> The mercies of God are wonderfull towards us, as men, as Christians, as English-Christians: When I lay our selves by other Nations and Churches, I cannot reade what Moses said to his Israel, and not make it ours. Happy art thou O England, who is like unto Thee, O people saved by the Lord? Deut. 33. 29. For what Nation is there so great, who hath God so nigh unto them (the onely glory of a Nation) as the Lord our God is, in all things that wee call upon him for? Deut. 4.7. What publike suite did wee ever preferre that did not prosper? instance one; nay judge, what could have beene done more for this Vineyard, that the Lord hath not done it? Esay. 5.4. If peace be worth thankes, we have had it; if plentie, wee have had it; if victory, we have had it; if the Gospell, if all, wee have had all.[148]

Or again, this conviction of John Davys, an Elizabethan navigator:

> There is no doubt that we of England are this saved people, by the eternal and infalliable presence of the Lord predestined to be sent unto these Gentiles in the sea, to those Isles and famous Kingdoms, there to preach the peace of the Lord: for are not we only set upon Mount Zion to give light to all the rest of the world? Have not we the true handmaid of the Lord [i.e., Queen Elizabeth] to rule us, unto whom the eternal majesty of God hath revealed this truth and supreme power of Excellency? . . . It is only we, therefore, that must be these shining messengers of the Lord, and none but we.[149]

From 1550 to 1650, as John S. Hill,[150] Harold Fisch,[151] and others[152] have observed, the doctrine of special privative election extended to the nation of Britain where it was accepted that God had chosen this country as His spokesman and the instrument of His will, a divine favor inherited from the Hebrew tradition. England was the New Israel; its people the chosen ones. This providential sense of national election, together with an awakened historical consciousness and an obvious shift

in theological emphasis from Logos to Covenant, did much to relax the requisite demands of pre-Renaissance figural design.

While it would be inappropriate to imply that all or even most Renaissance allusions to Biblical events are typological (more often they serve nearly as parallels and analogues) or to suggest that correlative types eclipse reference to orthodox figuralism, it is apparent that Renaissance writers familiar with typology did in fact reshape and expand the figural tradition to fit their own reading of history. Especially with the popularization of Calvinistic covenant theology and a diminuation in the apprehension of Christ as Antitype, there develops a traditionally unprecedented warrant for the introduction of historical types appearing after the Incarnation. England, notably in her political history as a Christian people, becomes the harbinger of the eschaton, the end-time rule of Christ. As a nation whose manifest destiny is seen to be complementary and correlative in figural importance to Israel's, England is at once the Christian antitype (as the body of Christ) and yet the typical herald of the New World to be realized in Christ.

NOTES

[1]"The Biblical Origins and Patristic Development of Typology" in Essays on Typology (London: SCM Press, 1957), p. 39.

[2]The following discussion is taken largely from Leonhard Goppelt, "τύπος," Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, ed. Gerhard Kittel, trans. and ed. Geoffrey W. Bromiley (Grand Rpaids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1964-) and Walter Bauer, ed. A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, trans. William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1957). Hereafter cited as TDNT.

[3]Goppelt, "τύπος," TDNT, p. 252.

[4]See Gerhardt von Rad, "Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament," Interpretation, 15 (1961), 174-92; Horace D. Hummel, "The Old Testament Basis of Typological Interpretation," Biblical Research, 9 (1964), 38-50; Elaine Marie Prevallet, "The Use of the Exodus in Interpreting History," Concordia Theological Monthly, 37 (1966), 131-45; and A. C. Charity, Events and Their Afterlife (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1966), pp. 13-80.

[5]"τύπος," TDNT, p. 255 and note.

[6]Christ and Time: The Primitive Christian Conception of Time and History, trans. Floyd W. Filson (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1950), p. 51.

[7]pp. 53-4.

[8]"Structure as Prophecy: The Influence of Biblical Exegesis upon Theories of Literary Structure" in Silent Poetry: Essays in Numerological Analysis, ed. Alastair Fowler (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970), p. 62.

[9]The Grand Design of God: The Literary Form of the Christian View of History (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 3.

[10]Inwrought with Figures Dim: A Reading of Milton's "Lycidas" (The Hague: Mouton, 1974), p. 16.

[11]Allegorical Imagery: Some Mediaeval Books and Their Posterity (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1966), p. 222.

[12]"The Reasonableness of Typology" in Essays on Typology (London: SCM Press, 1957), p. 31.

[13]The Basic Writings of St. Thomas Aquinas, ed. Anton C. Pegis (New York: Random House, 1945), pp. 16-7.

[14]"Medieval Exegesis," Theological Studies, 22 (1961), 451. For further discussion see D. W. Robertson, Jr., "Historical Criticism," English Institute Essays 1950, ed. Alan S. Downer (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1951), pp. 3-31; Ernst R. Curtius, European Literature and the Middle Ages, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York: Pantheon Books, 1953), pp. 73-74, 310-325; and John MacQueen, Allegory (London: Methuen, 1970), pp. 18-58.

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[17]From Shadows to Reality: Studies in the Biblical Typology of the Fathers, trans. Dom Wulstan Hibberd (Westminster, Md.: The Newman Press, 1960), p. 61.

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[22]"Symbol," Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics.

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[25]"Selective Check-List on Typology," Early American Literature, 5 (1970), 3.

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[29]Quoted by Jean Daniélou, From Shadows to Reality, p. 126.

[30]Quaest. in Genes., 74. Quoted by Jean Daniélou, From Shadows to Reality, p. 130.

[31]p. 69.

[32]pp. 72-73.

[33]pp. 70-71.

[34]The City of God, trans. Marcus Dods (New York: Random House, 1950), p. 156.

[35]The Gothic Image: Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century (New York: Harper, 1958), pp. 138-39.

[36]For commentary, plates, and bibliography on the Biblia Pauperum, see Die Biblia Pauperum und Apokalypse, ed. Hans von der Gabelentz (Strassburg: Heitz und Mündel, 1912).

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[39]The text of Pictor in Carmine is reproduced in M. R. James, "Pictor in Carmine," Archaeologia, 94 (1951), 141-66.

[40]Quoted by V. A. Kolve, The Play Called Corpus Christi (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1966), p. 64.

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[42]James, "Pictor in Carmine," p. 161. The passage is my translation of a Latin text.

[43]Briefly described in Gertrude Schiller, Iconography of Christian Art, trans. Janel Seligman (Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society Ltd., 1966), II, 128 and Plate 418.

[44]Mâle, p. 140.

[45]James, 148-50.

[46]Hilary Wayment, The Windows of King's College Chapel Cambridge: A Description and Commentary (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1972), pp. 509 and passim.

[47]Mâle, p. 153.

[48]Patrides, p. 55 and Plate 7.

[49]Schiller, I, 140-41.

[50]II, 125 and Plate 419. For a detailed analysis of an enamel processional cross in the King Edward VII Gallery of the British Museum, see F. P. Pickering, Literature and Art in the Middle Ages (Coral Gables, Fla.: Univ. of Miami Press, 1970), 257-58.

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[52]p. 99. Understandably the English cycle plays have received the earliest adequate treatment involving figural analysis. Rosemary Woolf, The English Mystery Plays (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972) provides a survey of the previous work and includes a useful bibliography.

[53]The Old English Advent: A Typological Commentary (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1968).

[54]"Notes on the Old English Exodus," Anglia, 80 (1962), 373-78.

[55](Albany: State Univ. of New York, 1959).

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[57]"Two Typology Poems in the Ancrene Riwle," Medium Aevum, 34 (1965), 126-28.

[58]"Medieval Poetry and the Figural View of Reality," Proceedings of the British Academy, 54 (1968), 73-92.

[59]The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), especially pp. 199-201, 283-87.

[60]Erich Auerbach's commentary is extensive: "Figurative Texts Illustrating Certain Passages of Dante's Commedia," Speculum, 21 (1946), 474-89; Typologische Motive in der middelalterlichen Literature (Krefeld: Scherpe Verlag, 1946); "Typological Studies in Medieval Literature," Yale French Studies, 9 (1952), 3-10. Other significant criticism includes: Johan Chydenius, "The Typological Problems in Dante: A Study in the History of Medieval Ideas," Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum, 15 (1958), 1-159, and Alan C. Charity, Events and Their After-Life: The Dialectics of Christian Typology in the Bible and Dante (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1966).

[61]Typology in music, the relationship between the figural patterns of Gregorian chant and the chromatic scales, is discussed by Edward E. Lowinsky, The Secret Chromatic Art in the Netherlands Motet, trans. Carl Buchman (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1946).

[62]H. A. Enno Van Gelder, The Two Reformations in the 16th Century: A Study of the Religious Aspects and Consequences of Renaissance and Humanism (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1961), p. 128.

[63]p. 7.

[64]["Israel's Yoke"], The Poetical Works of Giles Fletcher and Phineas Fletcher, ed. Frederick S. Boas (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1909), II, 328.

[65]Alexander Chalmers, ed. The Works of the English Poets from Chaucer to Cowper (n.p.: C. Whittingham, 1810; rpt. New York: Greenwood Press, 1969), V, 318.

[66]A Reading of George Herbert (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1952).

[67]The most recent bibliography which includes all the relevant material on typology in Herbert's poetry is in C. A. Patrides, The English Poems of George Herbert (Ottowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1974).

[68]See Joseph A. Galdon, "Typology and Seventeenth-Century Literature," Diss. Columbia Univ., 1965, pp. 157-86.

[69]George W. Williams, Image and Symbol in the Sacred Poetry of Richard Crashaw (Columbia, S.C.: Univ. of South Carolina Press, 1963), is right to note that "Crashaw's typological allusions occur generally in his translations; typology never seems to have become a part of his poetic imagination as it bountifully did of Herbert's." p. 5.

[70]Major Poets of the Earlier Seventeenth Century (New York: The Odyssey Press, 1973), p. 400.

[71]Admittedly Herrick's poetry is meagerly typological; his most generous use of figurae occurs in "A Pastoral upon the Birth of Prince Charles."

[72]In his staunchly royalist poems Cleveland frequently employs classical types associated with Christ's kingship in an attempt to defend the rights and integrity of Charles I.

[73]See Richard Douglas Jordan, The Temple of Eternity: Thomas Traherne's Philosophy of Time (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1972), pp. 58-73.

[74]For a survey of the literature and considerable commentary on typology in the Ode, see Stephen Witte, "'Before Abraham Was, I Am': A Study of Selected Biblical Types in John Milton's Nativity Ode," unpublished paper available at Oklahoma State University.

[75]See David Shelley Berkeley, Inwrought with Figures Dim: A Reading of Milton's "Lycidas" (The Hague: Mouton, 1974).

[76]H. R. MacCallum, "Milton and the Figurative Interpretation of the Bible," UTQ, 31 (1962), 397-415, provides a good general introduction; his "Milton and Sacred History: Books XI and XII of Paradise Lost" in Essays in English Literature from the Renaissance to the Victorian Age: Presented to A. S. P. Woodhouse, ed. Millar MacLure and F. W. Watt (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1964), 149-68, shows how Milton uses Christian chronology, in which the six ages of history serve as antitypes of the six days of creation. For larger discussions see William G. Madsen, From Shadowy Types to Truth: Studies in Milton's Symbolism (New York: Yale Univ. Press, 1968), and "Earth as a Shadow of Heaven: Typological Symbolism in Paradise Lost," PMLA, 75 (1960), 518-26.

[77]See Barbara K. Lewalski, Milton's Brief Epic: The Genre, Meaning, and Art of Paradise Regained (Providence, R. I.: Brown Univ. Press, 1966), especially pp. 165-82; Robert Reiter, "In Adam's Room: A Study of the Adamic Typology of Christ in Paradise Regained," Diss. Univ. of Michigan, 1964; and Northrop Frye, "The Typology of Paradise Regained," Modern Philology, 53 (1956), 227-38.

[78]See Lynn V. Sadler, "Regeneration and Typology: Samson Agonistes in Its Relationship to De Doctrina Christiana, Paradise Lost, and Paradise Regained," SEL, 12 (1972), 141-56, and "Typological Imagery in Samson Agonistes: Noon and the Dragon," ELH, 37 (1970), 195-210; and Barbara K. Lewalski, "Samson Agonistes and the 'Tragedy' of the Apocalypse," PMLA, 85 (1970), 1050-62.

[79]Inwrought with Figures Dim, p. 17.

[80]p. 19.

[81]Concerning the possible influence of Platonism on the theology in the Letter to the Hebrews, R. Williamson, "Platonism and Hebrews," Scottish Journal of Theology, 16 (1963), 415, provides the following survey of earlier twentieth-century opinion: "The late Dr. W. F. Howard once wrote that in Hebrews 'we find side by side, without any apparent sense of incongruity, the Judaic conception of the two ages, and the Platonic conception of the two worlds, the real and the phenomenal.' Dr. C. H. Dodd was of the opinion that the Author of Hebrews was 'profoundly influenced by Greek thought of a Platonic type,' and Dr. Vincent Taylor declared that the aim of the Author of Hebrews was 'to present the new faith in terms which have been suggested by the Platonic philosophy.' Dr. Taylor went on to express the view that the Author of Hebrews 'may not have read the writings of Plato, but he is certainly influenced by the Platonic principle of the antithesis between the heavenly Idea, which is real, and the earthly Copy, which is transient and temporal.' The late Bishop Rawlinson described the Author of Hebrews as 'a Jew, perhaps, of the Alexandrian school, at once Biblical theologian and Platonist.' Williamson then proceeds to argue that "earth and heaven in Christian theology are not related to one another as Ideal to Copy in the way in which Plato would have understood such a relationship, but as areas of reality between which there is a two-way traffic." p. 423. See also A. Feuillet, "Les points de vue nouveaux dans l'eschatologie de l'Epistle aux Hebreaux," Studia Evangelica, 3 (1964), 369-87; C. T. Fritsch, "TO ANTITYPON," Studia Biblica et Semitica (Wageningen: H. Veenman, 1966), pp. 100-07; and George Wesley Buchanan, To the Hebrews, Anchor Bible Series (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1972), pp. 134, 153-62.

[82]102.

[83]p. 18. The quotation from Augustine is from De diversis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum, Lib. 2, q. 2, PL, XL, 138-39.

[84]Religio Medici, I, 59.

[85]IV, 19.

[86]The Bible and the Liturgy (Notre Dame: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1956), pp. 13-14.

[87]Poetry and Dogma: The Transformation of Eucharistic Symbols in Seventeenth Century English Poetry (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1954), p. 33.

[88]Ante-Nicene Fathers (Edinburgh, 1866-72; rpt. Buffalo, 1884-86), V, I, 486.

[89]Quoted by Perry Miller, ed., Images or Shadows of Divine Things by Jonathan Edwards (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1948), p. 143, note 39.

[90]The Figures or Types of the Old Testament (London, 1705), p. 146.

[91]pp. 27, 73, 77, and 376.

[92]Vincent Foster Hopper, Medieval Number Symbolism (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1938), passim.

[93]See Markus Barth, Ephesians: Translation and Commentary on Chapters 4-6, Anchor Bible Series (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1974), p. 643 and note 145.

[94]R. F. E. Raby, A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), p. 302.

[95]Contra Celsum, IV, 93.

[96]E. M. W. Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture (New York: Macmillan, 1944), p. 88.

[97]Ernst H. Kantorowicz, The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1957), pp. 87-97.

[98]p. 2.

[99]English Literature in the Sixteenth Century (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), p. 461. Lewis here quotes Hooker's Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, III, xi, 8.

[100]The Works of Henry Vaughan, ed. L. C. Martin (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), p. 461.

[101]p. 419.

[102]Thomas Traherne: Centuries, Poems, and Thanksgivings, ed. H. M. Margoliouth (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), II, 243. Hereafter cited as Traherne.

[103]LVI, 5.

[104]"The First Century (90)," Traherne, I, 49.

[105]"In Salem dwelt a Glorious King," Traherne, p. 152.

[106]"'The World Slickt Up in Types': Edward Taylor as a Version of Emerson" in Typology and Early American Literature, ed. Sacvan Bercovitch (Amherst: Univ. of Massachusetts Press, 1972), p. 186.

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[108]The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325, ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969), I, 184-85. Hereafter abbreviated ANF.

[109]pp. 182-83.

[110]"Second Apology," ANF, I, 193.

[111]Mysteriously Meant, p. 19.

[112]ANF, II, 489-90.

[113]p. 321.

[114]"Exhortation to the Heathen," ANF, II, 205.

[115]"Stromata," p. 461.

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[117]p. 205.

[118]Daniélou, A History of Early Christian Doctrine, II, 94-95.

[119]"Pagano-Christian Syncretism in Lycidas," Anglia, 86 (1969), 32.

[120]A History of Early Christian Doctrine, II, 94.

[121]ANF, II, 110.

[122]The Gothic Image, pp. 339-40.

[123]pp. 336-38.

[124]Wayment, p. 53.

[125]Mysteriously Meant, pp. 83-199.

[126]p. 173.

[127]Book V, Chapter 6.

[128]The Poetical Works of Giles Fletcher and Phineas Fletcher, I, 59.

[129]Milton's Brief Epic, p. 174.

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[131]Allegorical Imagery, p. 223.

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[133]The Discarded Image: An Introduction to Medieval and Renaissance Literature (Cambridge: Cambirdge Univ. Press, 1964), p. 11.

[134]Biblical Drama in England from the Middle Ages to the Present Day (London: Faber and Faber, 1968), pp. 69-78.

[135]"Samson Agonistes and the 'Tragedy' of the Apocalypse," PMLA, 85 (1970), 1050-62.

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[139]Events and Their After-Life: The Dialectics of Christian Typology in the Bible and Dante (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1966), p. 258.

[140]"Some Misapprehensions of Christian Typology in Recent Literary Scholarship," unpublished paper (but forthcoming in Studies in English Literature), p. 5.

[141]"Samson Agonistes and the 'Tragedy' of the Apocalypse," p. 1055.

[142]Dryden's Political Poetry, p. 49.

[143]The Oxford Anthology of English Literature, ed. Frank Kermode and John Hollander (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1973), I, 504.

[144]Renaissance and Revolution: Backgrounds in Seventeenth Century English Literature (New York: Pantheon Books, 1967), p. 39.

[145]Moses, his Birth and Miracles, III.

[146]A marginal notation in John Aylmer, An Harborowe for Faithfull and Trewe Subjects (1599). William Haller in The Elect Nation (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), notes that Matthew Parker, in a letter to Cecil, also remarks the Englishness of God's nature (p. 107).

[147]Worship and Theology in England: From Cranmer to Hooker, 1534-1603 (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1970), pp. 67-68.

[148]Works (1635), p. 158.

[149]Quoted by J. E. Neale, Essays in Elizabethan History (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1958), p. 29, from Walter Raleigh, "The English Voyages of the Sixteenth Century," in R. Hakluyt's Principal Navigations (Hakluyt Society, 1905), xii, 32, n. 1.

[150]"Servant of God: The Theme of Divine Vocation in Milton," Diss. Univ. of Toronto 1974, as reported in an abstract in Christianity and Literature, 24 (Winter 1975), 73.

[151]Jerusalem and Albion: The Hebraic Factor in Seventeenth-Century Literature (New York: Schocken, 1964), pp. 65-114.

[152]See Roston, pp. 51, 62, and 70; Michael Fixler, Milton and the Kingdoms of God (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern Univ. Press, 1964), pp. 13-45; and F. S. Plotkin, "Sighs from Sion: A Study of Radical Puritan Eschatology in England, 1640-1660," Diss. Columbia 1966.

CHAPTER II

MONARCHIAL TYPOLOGY

When Eusebius of Caesarea (A.D. 260-339) writes that "kings, whom the prophets, after anointing them under a divine impulse, constituted certain typical Christs, as they themselves also were, the shadows of the royal and princely sovereignty over all,"[1] he reiterates that patristic consensus regarding the figural importance of certain God-pleasing Old Testament Kings. Frequently, however, even among the Fathers, kings in general--and after the Edict of Milan (A.D. 325), Christian emperors in special--were conceived as ontological types shadowing the ascended Christ who presently reigns in glory. Homilies of the eloquent St. John Chrysostom (A.D. 344?-407), for example, exhibit a lively sermonic use of such royal figuralism. In his homily on the prologue to John's Gospel,[2] the preacher (in order to magnify the splendrous antitypal glory of Christ in his session) emphasizes the distance separating pagan kings from the "true" (ἀληθινός) king. In another homily,[3] occasioned by the reconciliation of Bishop Flavian with the emperor (whose diadem is a "token of the munificence of Him who gave it"), Chrysostom reminds his audience that if they discover themselves blessed by an earthly monarch, "how much more will [they] have from God!" Preaching on Romans 13, Chrysostom urges his Christian listeners to reverence the emperor because, among other things, the inspired Pauline text explicitly designates the governing authority as

"minister" (διάκονος),[4] implying that in God's economy the emperor is one whose office is similar to that of the appointed and typical ministers of the church. Indeed, for his own times Chrysostom asks for an even greater obedience to earthly kings precisely because they are more like Christ "now that they are believers." In a passage contextualized by figural exegesis,[5] Chrysostom images the Incarnation of the heavenly Monarch to be like the self-camouflaging of any king who "disguises himself in the garb of a common soldier" so that he might more effectively do battle against the enemy. Obviously for Chrysostom the king in his ceremonial trappings, executive power, and sometimes beneficent ways is a type of Christ because he encourages the Christian to look above and beyond him to the more sure and gracious rule of the Kosmokrator.

Understandably the general post-Constantinian understanding of the state and its emperors mitigates much of the antipathy expressed by earlier Fathers who repeatedly censured the political authorities for their policies of intimidation, coerced idolatry, and persecution. Admonished by Christ himself to "render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's" (Matthew 22:21) and by Paul to be "subject unto higher powers" (Romans 13:1), the first generations of Christians, while critical of the state's presumption, sought nonetheless to demonstrate themselves exemplary citizens insofar as doctrine and conscience might permit.[6] Payments of taxes were sanctioned, and prayers on behalf of authorities were made regularly at Christian assemblies. By and large, however, the early Christians abstained from public governmental offices, declined extensive involvement in the military, and universally refused participation in the idolatry of emperor-worship. With increased Christian

influence and a subsequent realization of a nominally Christian empire by the end of the fourth century, possibilities for viewing the Roman state from a typological perspective increased. As Christian thinkers applied the insights of their theological tradition to their new role in society as regards the imperial government, more and more churchmen learned to accept the emperor as God's vicar in religious as well as in temporal affairs. Certainly, as Karl F. Morrison observes, "Eusebius of Caesarea was an early and very distinguished representative of such men. In his hyperbolic praise of Constantine's conduct of ecclesiastical affairs, Eusebius left a clear model of the basis on which the doctrine of Caesaropapism later arose. The Syriac bishops, who, Constantius II boasted, accepted that Emperor's word as canon, also held this position as did all those other prelates who obediently followed imperial changes of creed throughout the Byzantine period."[7]

After the transfer of the legal, political, and administrative center of the Christian world from Rome to Constantinople in the fifth century, Byzantine monarchs with ecclesiastical sanction eventually became express types of the almighty Christ. Walter Ullmann describes the imperial theology as it culminates in Justinian (A.D. 527-65):

> It was in his function as God's vicar on earth that the person of the emperor as well as his office was surrounded with a halo of sacredness and sanctity which underlined his singular status amongst mortals. He performed liturgical ceremonies in consequence of his function as a priest. For instance, on Palm Sunday he represented in the procession Christ Himself entering Jerusalem; on Maundy Thursday with his own hands he washed the feet of the twelve poor men; at Christmas and the subsequent twelve days he dined with twelve members of the Byzantine aristocracy. . . .
>
> This quasi-divine position of the emperor was most suitably emphasized by the appropriate ceremonial symbolism which is a highly important factor enabling later generations

> to reconstruct its underlying ideology. All actions of the emperor bore the stamp of divine actions. Thus ceremonial imperial feasts appeared as divine services; all processions were introduced and accompanied with a strictly regulated liturgical ceremonial, acclamations, hymns, and genuflexions; all the buildings which formed the imperial palace were sacred, because its centre, the hall of the throne, was the most sacred of any sacred building in Constantinople. It was in this hall that the imperial throne stood, the symbol manifesting the exalted position of imperial majesty. It was here that the emperor, turned towards heaven to forward the people's wishes and prayers to divinity itself, a characteristic symbolic gesture denoting the emperor's mediating role between Christ and the Christian people. These symbolic manifestations were to make clear that the emperor was the vicar of the Pantokrator--the omnipotent Ruler--and that he himself was the Autokrator on earth, the autonomous Ruler, unhampered by any human agency.[8]

While it would be erroneous to infer that the Byzantine Church was in effect a department of state or that the emperor was a true king-priest (there was, as Deno J. Geanakoplos points out, "a complex give-and-take of authority and influence on various levels" between <u>imperium</u> and <u>sacerdotium</u>),[9] for our purposes it is appropriate to note that Byzantine monarchs did attach to themselves titles of typological importance: χριστὸς κυρίου ("the anointed of the Lord") and ζῶσα εἰκὼν χρίστου ("the living icon of Christ").[10] The emperor's realm was the universal Roman Empire which, having become the more perfect Christian Roman Empire after Constantine's conversion, was established by God on earth in imitation (μιμῆσις) of the divine order or kingdom in heaven. According to Eusebius, for example, in his τριακονταετήρικος, an oration in praise of the Emperor Constantine on the thirtieth anniversary of his reign, the emperor's "character is formed after the Divine original of the Supreme Sovereign" so that his mind "reflects, as in a mirror, the radiance of his virtues."[11] Invested with a semblance of heavenly sovereignty, Constantine "directs his gaze above, and frames his earthly

government according to the pattern of that Divine original, feeling strength in its conformity to the monarchy of God."[12] In brief, the king "directed, in imitation of God himself, the administration of this world's affairs."[13] Certainly such an obsequious definition of the emperor's place in God's world describes the "ministering authority" far more generously than ever St. Paul did in Romans 13. But after the conversion of Constantine the question is no longer the Christian's moral obligation in a pagan state; rather a new social order demands how best to describe theologically the interpermeation of the sacred and secular orders. In the development of a theology adequate to the task, obviously the descriptive possibilities of typology, notably in its ontological mode, play a major role in delineating the person and role of society's highest human authority: the emperor is "the icon of the living Christ."

Western medieval theology also exhibits an equally strong perception of the king as a figure of Christ. While in pre-Christian England pagan cyningas are never thought of as express types of the gods, nevertheless the great sacral character of Anglo-Saxon kingship helped prepare the way for a comfortably thorough establishment of the Christian typological understanding of the royal person. As William A. Chaney has demonstrated in The Cult of Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England,[14] missionary theologians reintroducing Christianity to England after A.D. 597 readily accepted the pagan idea of the king as heilerfullt, someone "filled with a charismatic power [mana] on which his tribe depends for its well-being."[15] Because "Wodensprung" Anglo-Saxon kings claimed an authority by divine descent, "the pagan notion of the sacral-able king," Chaney observes, "not only continued in Christian times but [was] strengthened

when translated into ecclesiastical terms."[16] Importantly, because the fundamental basis of Anglo-Saxon kennings for God is the concept of the Deity as the World-ruler, the typological relationship between God and the king is notably idiomatic in post-conversion England. Thus whereas the Anglo-Saxon monarch is commonly cyning, folcfrea, helm Scyldinga, and beaggifa, God himself is heofoncyning, engla frea, lifes frea, dryhtfolca helm, and sawla symbelgifa. In Beowulf (3054-55), for example, after the fire-dragon and tragically fallen Beowulf are found dead, the narrator cautions that no one touch the hoarded gold nefne god sylfa / sigora soð cyning, sealde bam ðe hē wold ("unless God himself, the true King of victories, should give it to whom he would"). Throughout Old English literature one of the most dominant images of God is that of the Soð Cyning which means, of course, that in post-conversion England (as previously) the earthly king continues to be a sacred figure in his Christian setting. Chaney summarizes:

> This image of the earthly king ruling under the heavenly one runs throughout the Old English period after the Conversion. It is found in the early privilege in which Ic Wihtred eorþlic cing, fram ðan heowenlice Cinge onbryd grants a privilege to the ecclesiastical foundations at Kent as, at the end of Anglo-Saxon rule, in the Confessor's charter to Christchurch, Canterbury, by the cyng ond Englalandes wealdend under Christe þan heofenlican cyninge. Thus the old special relationship of king and gods in paganism continues in Christian terms. God is aethelinga helm, and princes serve under their Lord's rule. "Just as Augustus reigned over all the earth ere Christ came," says an Anglo-Saxon homilist, "so now Christ has the aldordom of this and the next rule."[17]

Ethelred, king of Wessex from 866-71, says it succinctly: Cristen cyning is Cristes gespelia geteald on cristenre þeode[18] (A Christian king is accounted Christ's vicegerent among Christian people.).

Chaney's study is valuable because it calls our attention to the importance of the Anglo-Saxon cult of kingship which so effectively anticipated the introduction of Christian monarchial typology. Even more significant for our purposes, however, is Ernst H. Kantorowicz's examination of later developments in medieval theology and jurisprudence defining the royal persona. In The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology,[19] Kantorowicz carefully traces the genetic development of the idea of the "king's twin-born majesty" from the eleventh to the sixteenth century. Beginning with the Tudor mystic fiction of the king's two bodies (particularly as it helps explicate Shakespeare's Richard II), Kantorowicz details the movement of the corpus mysticum by rehearsing the transfer of theological and ecclesiastical qualities and symbols to the secular power. By investigating the origins and implications of the theory of the Crown as corporation, of the inalienability of the Crown and the royal fisc, of the emotionally charged concept of patria, and of the theory of the dignitas of the Crown, Kantorowicz demonstrates how and why the early medieval quality of the king as "man by nature, Christ by grace" was replaced in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by legal categories which in effect institutionalized the supra-personal nature of the king's person and office. Thus the early theological imagery did not merely halo kingship; it served--paradoxically--to further a secular construction of authority.

In an illuminating chapter on "Christ-centered Kingship" which makes full use of the so-called Norman Anonymous' De consecratione regum et pontificum as a source for the theology of kingship prevailing in the Ottonian and early Salian period, Kantorowicz summarizes:

> The kings whom the Anonymous refers to are the christi, the anointed kings of the Old Testament, who have been foreshadowing the advent of the true royal Christus, the Anointed of Eternity. After the advent of Christ in the flesh, and after his ascension and exaltation as King of Glory, the terrestrial kingship underwent, very consistently, a change and received its proper function within the economy of salvation. The kings of the New Covenant no longer would appear as the "foreshadowers" of Christ, but rather was the "shadows," the imitators of Christ. The Christian ruler became the christomimētēs--literally the "actor" or "impersonator" of Christ--who on the terrestrial stage presented the living image of the two-natured God, even with regard to the two unconfused natures. The divine prototype and his visible vicar were taken to display great similarity, as they were supposed to reflect each other; and there was, according to the Anonymous, perhaps only a single--though essential--difference between the Anointed in Eternity and his terrestrial antitype, the anointed in Time: Christ was King and Christus by his very nature, whereas his deputy on earth was king and christus by grace only. For whereas the Spirit "leaped" into the terrestrial king at the moment of his consecration to make his "another man" (alius vir) and transfigure him within Time, the self-same Spirit was from Eternity one with the King of Glory to remain one with him in all Eternity. In other words, the king becomes "deified" for a brief span by virtue of grace, whereas the celestial King is God by nature eternally.[20]

After the twelfth century and during the time when jurisprudence develops as a science, the ontological dimension of christomimesis said to exist in the king as gemina persona grows paler while "functionally the ideal of the Prince's twin-like duplication was still active . . . and become[s] manifest in the king's new relationship to Law and Justice, which replaced his former status in regard to Sacrament and Altar."[21] Thus, as Kantorowicz notes, in the Policraticus of John of Salisbury (c. 1115-80), the king is rex imago aequitatis, "the image of Equity."[22] While such variation in title, as Kantorowicz also makes clear, does not necessarily replace the older notion of rex imago Christi (for Christ is, after all, Christus ipse ipsa iustitia), it does mean that eventually the jurists--rapidly becoming the redefiners of medieval social truth--

prefer to emphasize certain attributes of Christ's person which distinctly stress the king's legal prerogatives. The king no longer appears so much as the *oraculum* of divine power (as he was for the Norman Anonymous), but he has become the *lex animata*, the "living Law," and "finally an incarnation of Justice."[23] The changes in his title are, of course, not of kind or degree; the transition rather involves a change in perspective and the introduction of juristic nomenclature. Furthermore, as Kantorowicz reiterates throughout *The King's Two Bodies*, English political theology always maintained a strong "Christological undercurrent" well into and beyond the Tudor era. Indeed, Kantorowicz states that F. W. Maitland, the great nineteenth-century historian of English law, "was perfectly correct when he said that those English Crown jurists of the sixteenth century were building up 'a creed of royalty which shall take no shame if set beside the Athanasian symbol.' It was indeed a 'royal Christology' which the jurists established. . . ."[24] In short, while the typological definition of medieval kingship was transmuted in service to a new political idiom (e.g., the king is the hypostasis--"the standing-under"--of *Iustitia*), the essential figural paradigm remains undisturbed. The monarch is always *typus*--whether *vicarius Dei*, *Lex animata*, or *imago aequitatis*--of a greater, more transcendent, higher ontological reality.

The monarch's permanent claim to any high sacral, typological, and juridic importance depends on the proper administration of sacred oils (*oleum sanctum*) upon his body during the coronation service.[25] Not unsurprisingly, this service, noticeably rich in typoligical imagery, appears preeminently concerned to recall the historic figural character of the king's person and office. In particular, an examination

of the rite and ceremony of the Liber Regalis--used without interruption from the time of Richard II down to 1685 and translated into English for the coronation of James I in 1603--demonstrates precisely the manner by which the king is invested with figural importance.

The Liber Regalis consists of three parts: an introduction with the "election" of the king by the nobility and his oath to govern to the best of his ability; the rite of unction itself; and the delivery of the royal ornaments and subsequent enthronement. On the day before his coronation (always a Sunday or holy day) the king rides bare-headed from the Tower of London through the city to his palace at Westminster in order to be seen by the people. On the night before his coronation, under the direction of the Abbot of Westminster, the king is to "give himself up to heavenly contemplation and to prayer, meditating to what a high place he had been called, and how he [Christ] through whom kings reigned has appointed him in especial to govern his people and the Christian folk" (p. 113). In his prayers the monarchial candidate is rubrically encouraged to consider "the royal dignity [which] has been given him by God as to a mortal man" (p. 113). In particular, the king is specifically recommended to "imitate the prudence of Solomon" (p. 113), the Old Testament type of Christ the King. Then early in the morning of the appointed coronation day, after a brief confirmation by the prelates and nobles, and "after being clothed with spotless apparel [the shirt of which was made with slits that could be opened for his anointment at the breast, elbows, and shoulders] and shoed only with socks" (p. 114), the king is carried on a lofty chair in solemn procession to Westminster Abbey; on the way the clergy chant "those anthems which are usually sung at the reception of kings" (p. 114). Upon arrival

at the Abbey, the king is seated on the throne and ceremonially recognized by name with acclamations. As the choir sings Psalm 89, the king, with the Archbishop and other episcopal attendants, approaches the high altar, offers his first oblation (a pall and pound of gold), and prostrates himself upon the floor as one of the bishops prays: "O God, which visitest those that are humble, and doest comfort by the light of thie holy Spirit, send down thie grace upon thie servant, [name], that by him wee may feele thie presence amongst us, through Jesus Christ our Lord" (p. 251). Immediately thereafter the king is escorted to a chair before the altar, and the coronation sermon is delivered. The sermon ended, the king promises by solemn oaths to grant and keep the laws, customs, and franchises granted to the people of England. After the oaths, the choir sings Veni Creator Spiritus. One of the bishops then offers prayer asking for the king's enrichment in grace and goodness. As a litany is sung, another bishop presents four long orations, each remarkable for its juxtaposing mention of the new king with important Old Testament types of Christ. A portion of the first prayer:

> O Almightie God, and everlasting Father, Creator of all things, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, whoe didest cause thie faithfull servant Abraham, to Triumph over his enemyes, didst give many victories to Moyses and Joshua the Governers of thie people; didst exalt thie lowly servant David unto the height of a Kingdome; and didst inrich Salomon with the unspeakeable guifte of Wisdome and Peace: Give eare wee beseech thee unto our humble prayers, and multiplie thie blessings uppon this thy Servant [name], whome in lowly devotion wee doe consecrate our King, that hee being strengthened with the faith of Abraham, indued with the mildness of Moses, armed with the fortitude of Joshua, exalted with the humilitie of David, beautified with the Wisdome of Salomon, hee may please thee in all things. . . . May hee by thie mercie royally ascent upp to the Throne of his Forefathers. . . (p. 255).

In the second prayer:

> O Lord: thou that governest all Kingdomes from everlasting: Blesse wee beseech thee this our King, that he may rule like David, and by thie mercie obtain his reward. Grant that by thie inspiration hee may governe with the Mildenesse of Salomon, and inioy a peaceable kingdome . . . let Nations adore him (p. 256).

From the third prayer:

> Visite him as [thou] did'st Moses in the Bush, Joshua in Battell, Gideon in the Field, and Samuel in the Temple, Besprinkle him with the dewe of thie Wisdome. Give unto him the blessing of David and Saloman (p. 256).

With the conclusion of these prayers, the first part of the service concludes.

With the anointing of the king's body in the second part of the coronation service, the prayers which surround the ceremony recall even more vividly many of the most important typical persons, events, and things in the Old Testament. In the preface to the anointment:

> It is verie meete, right, and our bounden duties that wee should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto thee O Lord, holy Father, Almightie and everlasting God, the strength of thie Chosen, and the exalter of the humble, whoe in the beginning by the powring out of thie Floude, didest chasten the Sinne of the World, and by a Dove conveying an Olive branch, didst give a token of reconcilement unto the earth: And againe didest consecrate thie servant Aron a Priest, by the annoynting of Oyle and afterwards by the effusion of Oyle, didest make Kings and Prophets to governe thie people Israel: and by the voice of the Prophet David didest fortell that the Countenance of the Church should be made Chearfull with Oyle: Wee beseech the Almightie Father, that by the fatnesse of their Creature, thou wilt vouchsaffe to blesse and sanctifie thie servant [name] that in the simplicitie of a dove hee may Minister peace unto his People, that hee may imitate Aron in the service of God: That hee may attaine the perfection of Government, in Councell and Judgement: And that by the annoynting of this Oyle, thou maist give him a Countenance alwaise Cherfull and amiable,

> to the whole people, through Jesus Christe our Lord. Amen (p. 257).

After this prayer the king lays aside his robe, the choir sings Psalm 20 (Domine, de potentia tua leatatur rex) with an antiphon recalling the anointing of Solomon by Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet in I Kings 1:38-39, and the Archbishop undoes the loops of the king's apparel and shirt in order to open "the places to be annoynted" (p. 257). The assisting Dean of Westminster pours oil from an ampula into a floriated spoon, and with the spoon the Archbishop anoints the sovereign first on the palms of the hands with chrism "as Samuel did annoynt David" (p. 257). Then before continuing with further anointings, the Archbishop offers another prayer which says in part: "Looke down Almightie God, with thy favourable Countenance, uppon this glorious King; and as thou didst blesse Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, so vouchsaffe wee beseech thee with thy power to water him plentifully with the blessings of thy grace . . ." (p. 257). Immediately the Archbishop proceeds to anoint the king further: "on the Brest," "between the Shouldiers," "on both the Shouldiers," "on the two boughts [the insides of the elbows] of both Armes," and "on the crowne of the Head, in manner of a Crosse" (p. 258). To confirm this unction, the Archbishop then blesses the anointed king with this prayer:

> God the soone of God, Christ Jesus our only Lord, whoe is annoynted with the oyle of gladness above his fellowes, hee by his holy annoynting power downe uppon thie head, the blessing of the Holy Ghost, and make it enter into the bowells of thie hearts, so that by this visible guift, thou mayst receive invisible grace, and having justly executed the government of this imperiall Kingdome, thou mayst raigne with him eternally . . . (p. 259).

and from the prayer thereafter:

> Kindle O Lord his hart with the love of thie grace, by that holy Oyle wherewith thou hast annoynted him, as thou did annoynt Kings, Preistes and Prophettes, that he loving Justice, and leading his people by the wayes of righteousnes, after the glorious Course of this life which thou hast appointed, hee may come to thy eternall ioy, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen (p. 259).

With these prayers ended, the second part of the service concluded. The Dean of Westminster dries the places where the king had been anointed, and a coif of fine lawn is placed upon the king's head to protect the chrism from irreverence.

After the unction the service continues with the delivery of the regalia and the king's investiture with the colobium sindonis (an alb or rachet, perhaps a dalmatic), the tunica, hose and buskin, sword belt, sword armils, the royal mantel, crown, ring, sceptre, and staff. After the king is fully vested, the Te Deum is sung. Then after kissing the bishops, he ascends to his throne to receive fealty and homage of prelates and peers. According to the Liber Regalis, the coronation service is now ended. If a Queen consort is to be crowned, her ceremonial follows immediately.

With the coronation finished, the Mass begins; its Epistle is I Peter 2:13-19; the Gospel, St. Matthew 22:15-21. Within the propers of the Mass there appear to be no significant typological motifs except for the recalling of two notable figurae in this remarkable pre-communion prayer:

> Blesse O Lord the verteous Carriage of this King, and accept the workes of his hands; replenish his Realme with the blessing of Heaven, of the dewe of the Water, and of the deepes; let the influence of the sonne and the Moone droppe fatnes

> uppon the high Mountaines, and the Cloudes plenty upon the lowe Vallies; that the Earth may abound with store of all things. Let the blessing of him that appeared in the bush discend upon his head, and the fullnes of this blessing fall uppon his Children and posteritie. Let his feete be dipped in Oyle, and his horne exalted like the horne of an Unicorne, by which hee may scatter his enemyes from the face of the Earth. The Lord that setteth in Heaven be his defender for ever and ever through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen (p. 270).

Calling to mind the figure of the unconsumed burning bush of Exodus 3 (from patristic times a type of the Incarnation) and the unicorn of Numbers 23:22 and Psalm 92:10 (the cornua rinocerontis, a type of royal Christ), the Archbishop asks God to bless the newly anointed king as the nation's defender--presumably because the king also qualifies as typus Christi.

In an age when the very mention of great Old Testament personages such as Aaron, David, and Solomon could not be made without associations of layered typological significance, the Liber Regalis by iterative figural allusion suffuses the king with rich figural bearing. When the king in his sacring receives "invisible grace" by "this visible gift," he becomes, as did all his predecessors, an ontological type of the heavenly Lord. Indeed, upon the presentation of the gladium, the kingly sword, the Archbishop, speaking directly to the king, says it explicitly: "thou doest represent [cuius typum geris (p. 95)] Christ our Lord, to whome with the Father and the Holy Ghost be power and dominion nowe and for ever. Amen" (p. 260).

Although a Christian king's accession, anointing, and coronation inevitably guarantees him the status of typus Christi, the general theory of monarchial typology--based on the injunction of St. Paul in Romans 13 and reiterated by most pre-Constantinian patristic theologians--conceded that all kings, Christian and non-Christian, are in

fact de jure figures of the Divine Monarch. Alfred Hart notes, for example, the aura of mystic sacredness surrounding every king's body--a fact universally acknowledged by all pre-Shakespearean dramaticsts:

> [George] Peele in the Battle of Alcazar [1594], refers to "the sacred name" of Sultan Amurath, whom he elsewhere calls "the God of earthly kings." Longshanks in Edward I is welcomed on his return from Palestine "like an earthly God" and presents John Baliol to the Scottish nobles as their "anointed "King"; three other passages speak of his "sacred person." The reference in David and Bathsabe comes from the Bible itself. [Robert] Greene's language is similar. In Alphonsus 1589 Amurack, "the Great Turk," speaks of Jove as his "brother"; Fausta, his wife, addresses her son-in-law Alphonsus as "sacred prince," and Carinus alludes to his son's "sacred feet." The flatterer Ateukin calls James IV "my God on earth," and Dorothea alludes to her husband as "dear anointed King." Marlowe has the same phrases in Tamburlaine. Bajazath, the Sultan of Egypt, talks of his "sacred arms," the virgins address the hero as "sacred person free from scathe."[26]

Later in the same essay, however, Hart concludes that most such adjectives as "sacred" or "anointed," when applied indiscriminately as ornamental descriptive phrases appended to the titles of kings and emperors, carried no more metaphysical weight than did such Virgilian epithets as pius or fidus when attached to some Roman warrior.[27] Hart, of course, is correct; the venerable figural tropes which once described the auroral splendor of kings and princes had by the time of the early Renaissance become so commonplace as scarsely to require comment. By the sixteenth century the typological assumptions concerning the king's office and person, undergirded by centuries of dogma and preaching, had become so solidly established in the common mind that they were rarely, if ever, questioned.

It would, however, be helpful to distinguish between what, on the one hand, appear to be mere courtly-encouraged rhetorical conventions

and what, on the other hand, are obviously more deliberate, intentional, and conscious references to royal typology for expressly political, religious, and aesthetic ends. When, for example, sedition, rebellion, or foreign aggression seriously threaten the throne, the king and his supporters characteristically reinforce their utilitarian arguments for strict obedience by advancing intense figural descriptions of the monarch. Thus the famous Myrroure for Magistrates--modeled after John Lydgate's Fall of Princes (1438), edited for the most part by William Baldwin (fl. 1547-60), and published many times in Elizabeth I's reign--regularly defines all Christian monarchs as God's lieutenants. The Myrroure assumes, as did Lydgate, that the king in his ontic proximity to God adumbrates the Divine more closely than all other creatures in the great chain of being because ontologically his rank is of the highest human order. Baldwin's "Dedication" leaves no doubt about the matter:

> For it is Gods owne office, yea his chiefs office whyche they [the kings] beare and abuse. For as Justice is the chief vertue, so is the ministraction therof, the chiefest name, honoring and calling Kinges, and all officers under them by his owne name, Gods. Ye be all Gods, as many as have in your charge any ministraction of Justice.[28]

Precisely because kings are hedged with God's numinous divinity, no one may resist his nation's earthly god without disastrous social consequence for the common weal. Indeed, as Baldwin has the notorious Jack Cade tell it, pitching war against the lawfully constituted ruler is in fact an overt act of rebellion against God himself:

> Full litell knowe we wretches what we do.
> Whan we presume our princes to resist.
> We war with God, against his glory to,

> That placeth in his office whom he list,
> Therefore was never traytour yet but mist
> The marke he shot, and came to shamefull ende
> Nor never shall til God be forst to bend.
>
> God hath ordayned the power, all princes be
> His Lieutenauntes, or debities in realmes,
> Against their foes still therfore fighteth he,
> And as his enmies drives them to extremes,
> Their wise devises proves but doltish dreames.
> No subject ought for any kind of cause,
> To force the lord, but yield him to the lawes.[29]

Inasmuch as the Myrroure makes so much of the unusually close relationship between the magistrate and God (especially when the sovereign acts wisely, justly, and responsibly), its portrayal of the magistrate as a quasi-divine figure served admirably to reinforce both the royal security of the Queen and the larger interests of the nation.

Especially between 1520 and 1550, when Henry VIII sought increasingly to cultivate the nation's support for his anti-papal policies, the importance of the king's figural identity and the heinous nature of rebellion were incessantly emphasized by court propagandists. Summarizing the extent to which Henry's apologists argued his cause, Franklin Le Van Baumer indicates how fulsomely the commissioned pamphleteers presented their king's case:

> They appealed to divine and natural law to show that obedience is owed to the king, and to no one else, in this world. They summoned the authority of the Old and New Testaments to prove that even tyrants must not be resisted. They drew upon historical examples to demonstrate that never before had rebellion been crowned with success, except where God had directly countenanced it himself. They exalted the eminently Christian virtues of patience and humility to lull the intractable into a mood of acceptance. They kept alive the medieval functional ideal of society to show that the order established by God must not be tampered with. They conjured up all sorts of imaginary horrors to impress their readers with the chaos into which society would be plunged in the event of rebellion against the Lord's anointed. No argument, it seems, was overlooked in

> exalting the king as God's vicegerent on earth, and as being therefore ultimately beyond human control.[30]

In nearly all sixteenth-century homilies, pamphlets, and treatises concerned either to educate the prince or to clarify the relationship between the ruler and his subjects, deliberate mention of the king's figural importance is frequently made so that readers and listeners dare not forget their monarch's special typological status. Thus, although the early sixteenth-century humanists and Reformers in general had few delusions about the shortcomings of their kings (Luther himself once said, "Princes are commonly the greatest fools or the worst rogues on earth"),[31] most were nevertheless careful not to moderate the ethical implications which derived from the king's figural standing. Erasmus, for example, in Institutio principis Christiani (1540), comparing his prince to God, remarks: "God placed a beautiful likeness of Himself in the heavens--the sun. Among mortal men he set up a tangible and living image of himself--the king."[32] Elsewhere in the Institutio, Erasmus, describing the moral responsibilities of the Christian prince, notes the monarch's typological advantage as a prince in Christ: "If a Hebrew king is bidden to learn the law (Deuteronomy 17:16-20), which gave but the merest shadowy outlines of justice, how much more is it fitting for a Christian prince to follow steadfastly the teaching of the Gospels?"[33] In other words, because the antitypal Christ has already come, subsequent ontological types of the reigning Lord possess a distinct figural advantage over their Old Testament historical types because by Christ's example Christian rulers know more surely exactly how to comport themselves as rulers "in Him [who] is the perfect example of all virtue and wisdom."[34] Sir Thomas Elyot's The Boke named the

Governour, first published in 1531 and frequently reprinted up to 1580, while concerned chiefly to describe the right education and training of the statesman, also includes some slight figural justification for the king's (or any governor's) rights. Believing, for example, that the constitution of the heavenly orders into "diverse degrees called hierarches" provides a figural model for earthly social patterns, Elyot deduces that the monarchy is therefore antitypically endorsed by God.[35] Furthermore, Nature itself assumes antitypical importance in that it proleptically anticipates what human social life ought to be like on a typological level:

> One Sonne ruleth over the day, and one Moone over the nyghte; and to descende downe to the erthe, in a litell beest, whiche of all other is moste to be marvayled at, I meane the Bee, is lefte to man by nature, as it semeth, a perpetuall figure [italics mine] of a juste governaunce or rule: who hath amonge them one principall Bee for theyr governour, who excelleth all other in greatnes, yet hath he no pricke or stinge, but in hym is more knowledge than in the residue.[36]

For Elyot both the marvelous order of God's heavenly rule and the figure of the beehive provide complementary antitypological signs demonstrating the validity of monarchial government.

For the most part, however, it must be emphasized that monarchial figuralism in the earlier sixteenth century is used primarily to reinforce the authoritarian demands of the king. Even in William Tyndale's The Obedience of the Christian Man (1528), a work which, as Van Baumer notes, "thundered ad nauseum that the king's office implies duty, not license."[37] Tyndale demands an absolutely strict passive obedience to a tyrant because, from a figural point of view, "evill rulers are a signe that God is angre with us." Even Stephen Gardiner, who wrote De Vera Obedientia (1536) under some duress, repeatedly identifies the

king as "God's vicar" and "lieutenant":

> Indeed, God, according to his exceeding great and unspeakable goodness toward manking . . . substituted men, who, being put in authority as his vicegerents, should require obedience which we must do unto them with no less fruit for God's sake than we should do it (what honor soever it were) immediately unto God himself. And in that place he hath set princes whom, as representatives of his Image unto men, he would have to be reputed in the supreme and most high place, and to excel among all other human creatures. . . . By me (sayeth God) Kings reign, in so much that, after Paul's saying, whosoever resisteth power resisteth the ordinance of God.[38]

Other examples of Henrician propaganda urging non-resistance to God's appointed minister include Thomas Starkley's Exhortation to the People Instructynge Theym to Unities and Obedience (1540), Edward Fox's De Vera Differentia (1538), and Sir John Cheke's The Hurt of Sedition (1549). Though none are especially notable for any rich figuralism (indeed, the entire early sixteenth century lacks any vibrant typological expression), passing references are invariably employed to enhance the king's position. Nearly always the tactical deployment of theological argument is consciously designed to buttress and shore up the king's political and ecclesiastical authority. Any encroachment which might threaten the monarch's--and ultimately the nation's--security is persistently confined by an abrupt reminder that disobedience to the king is an immediate affront to God's will. Lacey Baldwin Smith, in a particularly well-argued essay explaining why sixteenth-century citizens charged with treason invariably debased themselves before the inscrutable will of the crown--even if they were utterly innocent--makes this telling observation:

> The Crown was sacrosanct: the King himself, as the Lord's anointed, could do not wrong, and although Tudor England had no

> theory of divine right of Kings, it needed none, for those who doubted the divinity that "doth hedge a king" were voices crying in the dark. The brilliant aura of divinity, the inscrutable light of infallibility which emanated from the royal person such that one contemporary dared "not cast [his eyes] but sidewise upon the flaming beams of [the King's] bright sun." The King, wrote Tyndale in 1528, was above judgement, for the man who dared judge a King "Judgeth King; and he that resisted the King resiseth God and damneth God's law and ordinance. . . . The King is, in this world, without law, and may at his lust do right or wrong and shall give accounts but to God only." In less theological terms, Sir Thomas More voiced the same opinion when he said "from the prince as from a perpetual wellspring, cometh among the people the flood of all that is good or evil." It was not for a miserable subject to judge between royal good and royal evil; his sole duty was to obey, and this was a doctrine to which all were expected to adhere.[39]

Thus in the realpolitik of early Tudor England, it frequently appears that God, ostensibly the king's Antitype and source of being and power, is mentioned and nominally recognized primarily for political reasons. Not surprisingly, in the Homilies, sets of sermons published by the government and ordered to be read in the churches, theology (particularly monarchial tyoplogy) often serves as the handmaid of politics. J. W. Allen notes the essential utilitarian spirit of the Henrician sermons:

> Obedience to the Prince was, it is true, conceived as a duty to God: a divine right to command is vested in the "common authority." This was believed, but it was believed because men felt that magistracy was so urgently needed that this must be true. It was not believed because of anything St. Paul said. The thirteenth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans contains what are perhaps the most important words ever written for the history of political thought. Yet it would be a gross mistake to suppose that men, at any time, took their political opinions from St. Paul. The Tudor theory of subjection was fundamentally utilitarian: it has strict reference to immediate expediency and to time and place.[40]

Although the Homilies treat a large variety of subject matter and are certainly, for the most part, traditionally orthodox in theological

expression, when they deal explicitly with political theology, they tend to demonstrate God not so much as the numinous One whose Justice kings ought always to emulate, but rather the homilies are satisfied to suggest a Deity whose antitypal approval of the figural king is presumed, unquestioned and expected.

After, however, the accession of Queen Elizabeth in 1558 and the developing success of her policies in later years, one finds a marked change in the national attitude regarding obedience to the Lord's minister. A comparison, for example, between the famous 1571 homily, An Homilie Agaynst Disobedience and Wylful Rebellion, with previous Henrician pulpit exhortations based on Romans 13, reveals not only the Queen's public expression of her own responsibilities as a Christian monarch, but also a large readiness on the nation's part to view her as in fact a typus Dei. That the correspondences between the prince, i.e., the Queen, and God are expressly figural is clearly stated near the beginning of the 1571 homily:

> [Earthly monarchs] should resemble his [God's] heavenly governaunce, as the maiestie of heavenly thinges may be the bacenes of earthly thinges be shadowed and resembled: And for that similitude that is betweene the heavenly Monarchie, and earthly kyngdomes wel governed, our saviour Christe in sundry parables, sayth that the kyngdome of heaven is resembled unto a man, a king, and as the name of the kyng is very often attributed and geven unto God in the holy scriptures, so doth God hym selfe in the same scriptures sometyme vouchsafe to communicate his name with earthly princes, terming them gods: Doubtles for that similitude of government which they have or should have not unlyke unto God their kyng.

The sermon continues to insist that earthly princes are required to emulate in their own courts the ministrations of God in his heavenly court:

> Unto the which similitude of heavenly government, the nearer and nearer that any earthly prince doth come in his regiment, the greater blessing of God's mercie is he unto that country and people over whom he raigneth: and the further and further that an earthly prince doth swarve from the example of the heavenly government, the greater plague he is of gods wrath, and punishment by gods justice, unto that countreys people over whom God for their sinnes hath placed such a prince and governour. For it is indeede evident both by the scriptures, and by dayly experience, that the mayntenaunce of al vertue and godlinesse, and consequently of the wealth and prosperities of a kingdome and people, both stand and rest more in a wise and good prince on the one part, then in great multitudes of other men being subjectes. . . .

In contrast, homilies issued by the government for a national audience under Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary I often fail to reiterate the prince's typical responsibilities to the degree of those published under Elizabeth's authorization. Indeed, for all her "policy," Elizabeth maintained a public image which outwardly conformed remarkably well with high figural expectation. In the 1558 edition of The Book of Common Prayer, for example, this petition for the Queen is incorporated within the Communion Service:

> Almightie God . . . so rule the heart of thy chosen servant Elizabeth, our Queene and governour, that she (knowing whose minister she is) may above all things seeke thy honour and glory, and that we her subjects (duely considering whose authority she hath) may faithfully serve, honour, and humbly obey her . . .[41]

The inclusion of this prayer, echoing the Pauline theology of Romans 13, reflects a developed appreciation for the figural integrity of the Queen: in effect it but asks that Elizabeth continue to be what she had already become--a recognizable and deeply appreciated typical minister of God "whose authority she hath."

It is, of course, a commonplace to say that Elizabeth inspired tremendous efforts and daring in her courtiers and subjects. The poets of her time wrote of her as if she were the object of some great chivalric quest or religious adoration. Some addressed her as Cynthia, Diana, Phebe, Pandora, Gloriana: others deemed it appropriate to speak of her with titles resonant with figural importance or with epithets and expressions of worship usually reserved for the Virgin Mary. It escaped no one's attention, for example, that their Queen was born on the Eve of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary and that she died on the Eve of the Annunciation. Frances A. Yates[42] has in particular detail shown how pervasive was Elizabeth's identification with Astraea, the goddess of Justice whose return signaled the return of the Golden Age, and with Mary, the Virgin Mother of Christ. Yates cites, as one example among many, these lines from a song in John Dowland's Second Book of Airs which give this advice:

> When others sing Venite exultemus!
> Stand by and turn to Noli emulari!
> For Quare fremuerunt use Oremus!
> Vivat Eliza! for an Ava Mari![43]

In another more extreme instance of the figural exuberance which thoughts of Elizabeth sometimes prompted, Bishop John Aylmer, vigorously defending his Queen from the misogynous attacks of John Knox, marginally notes that "God is English"--presumably because, among other things, God's most beloved nation is in figure ruled by an English empress. For a brief moment in the history of monarchial typology, the figural Elizabeth manages to predicate her God's nationality. More usually, however, both bishops and poets are satisfied to adorn Elizabeth's life and reign with a decorously elegant typology fitting her

Majesty's state. In his Orchestra (1596), for example, Sir John Davies graces his poem with a generous figural compliment to the Queen and her court when Penelope ("stricken dumbe with wonder quite") beholds "Our glorious English Courts divine image, / As it shoulde be in this our Golden Age."[44] But it is, however, in his Hymnes to Astraea (1599), an acrostic, that one finds Davies at his figural best: in twenty-six Hymnes, the initial letters of the lines of which, when read downward, spell the royal name ELISABETHA REGINA, Davies sings of "our State's faire Spring," his "sweet May of Maiestie," "Eye of the World," and "Rich sun-beame of th' Eternall light." Hymne XXIII, "Of Her Justice," aptly rehearses the theme:

E xil'd Astraea is come againe,
L o here she doth all things maintaine
I n number, weight, and measure
S he rules us with delightfull paine,
A nd we obey with pleasure.

B y Love she rules more then by Law
E ven her great mercy breedeth awe;
T his is her sword and scepter;
H erewith she hearts did ever draw,
A nd this guard ever kept her.

R eward doth sit in her right-hand,
E ach vertue thence takes her garland
G ather'd in Honor's garden;
I in her left hand (wherein should be
N ought but the sword) sits Clemency
A nd conquers Vice with pardon.[45]

Not only does Elizabeth prove true the figural promise of the pagan type Astraea, but like Christ himself whose grace is the antitypal fulfillment of the law (John 1:17), Elizabeth images forth in her session the ruling Christ whose greater mercy breeds awe. It is in this poetry--and in many more poems like it--that one continually senses a joysome new appreciation and happy delight for the integrity and reputation of the English court whose central Figura encourages and in fact releases

a full complement of typological idiom by which one may praise God and laud his empress in a rhetorical and poetical tradition that is Biblical, catholic, and humanistic in the best sense of the word.

Elizabeth thus epitomizes the favorable application of royal typology and in many ways becomes the standard by which one may measure the success or failure of typical approbation with regard to other English monarchs. In severe contrast to her own figural significance, for example, any English king, when generally recognized a tyrant, immediately disallows himself any traditional Christ-oriented typological identification. Indeed, in such an instance, the tyrant (if not said to be God's ministering "scourge") images forth the Prince of the Dark Kingdom. John of Salisbury (1115-80) is quite clear about the matter in his Policraticus:

> The prince bears the stamp of divinity, while the tyrant's image is that of a perverted strength and satanic wickedness, in that he copies Lucifer who forsook virtue and strove to place his seat in the north part of heaven and become like unto the most High . . .
>
> As the image of the Deity the prince is worthy of love, reverence and worship; the tyrant, being the image of wickedness, for the most part merits assassination.[46]

Five centuries later the poet Philip Sidney, according to his biographer, Fulke Greville, held tyrants to "be not nursing fathers but stepfathers, and so anointed deputied of God but rather lively images of the Dark Prince, and sole author of dis-creation and disorder."[47]

Yet even with the obvious exclusion of tyrants, few English enjoyed the hearty approbation of a rich and fulsome royal figuralism. Quite understandably, when the king's political claim to the throne is gained by usurpation, few, if any, are willing to call such a one typus Christi. Thus in Shakespeare's Richard II, while the legitimate

Richard ("the figure of God's majesty," IV.i.125) is repeatedly haloed with sun imagery, the typical sign of divine glory, conspicuous silence declines any suggestion that Henry Bolingbroke as the new king typifies the Deity. Although Bolingbroke is certainly a superb politician, his politics are the product of a body natural, and his ascent to the throne necessarily damages the traditional sanction of monarchial figuralism.[48] Or again, when the throne repeatedly changes hands in prolonged civil strife, even the most ambitious supporters of the leading contender rarely presume to aggrandize their political maneuverings with typological endorsements. No one to my knowledge, for example, urges a typological role for the Yorkist Edward IV, who for a time claimed victory in the murderous melee of the War of Roses.[49] Finally, even when a king is self-consciously Christian, if his national policies are notably ineffectual, his political ineptitude usually precludes any expected complement of figural attention. Thus although the sixteenth-century Tudors encouraged a cultic reverence for the unhappy, other-worldly, and politically inept Henry VI (d. 1461),[50] in his lifetime Henry's own sanctity was clearly not strong enough to warrant an noticeable figural accolade. Generally speaking, a rigorous, enthusiastic, and consistent application of monarchial typology is reserved for those kings who not only exhibit an accepted claim to the throne, but who also demonstrate themselves to be worthy of the nation's trust. Thus while a venerable typological tradition stood ready at all times to invest any king with exalted figural importance, the majority of English monarchs--either for reasons of political failure, personal impiety or absence of legitimate tenure--did not noticeably adorn their person and office with a truly expansive and memorable royal figuralism. Among England's rulers

only a select few stand out as warmly endorsed and genuinely cherished typoi Christi: Henry V (whom Shakespeare describes as "twin-borne with greatness"),[51] Henry VIII,[52] and preeminently Queen Elizabeth as notable fifteenth- and sixteenth-century examples. Indeed, when Ben Jonson in his "Panegyre," celebrating the arrival of James I to his first high session in Parliament in 1603, reminds him "that kings / Are her on Earth the most Conspicuous things: / That they, by Heaven, are plac'd upon his throne, / to Rule like Heaven,"[53] the poet writes precisely at that time in the history of royal figuralism when the expression of such a typological idiom was at its height. After 1603 the Stuarts, basking in the reflection of Tudor glory, deliberately sought to enhance their royal position by publicly exhibiting as exemplary types of the divine munificence. In fact, however, James and the later Stuarts were but standing in a borrowed light--a light which seemed more and more to be of their own making and device. As the Stuart kings in particular attempted to reinforce their figural importance with a doctrine of absolutism, they eventually conceived of themselves as beyond the purview of conventional morality and accounted themselves answerable only to God. Traditional, Biblical, orthodox figuralism, of course, maintains no such glorifications of the earthly type. Figures are but intimations, adumbrations, shadows, signs, and anticipations of a more splendrous future in Christ and earthly patterns of heaven's or hell's present reality.

When medieval and Renaissance artists understood, appreciated, and knew the Christian figural tradition intimately, often their use of typology proved to be a valuable contribution toward the design of exceptional literature and art. Monarchial typology, however, as an

especially important species of Christian figuralism, underwent in the late Renaissance such a momentous examination of its purpose in theology and politics that by the end of the seventeenth century its usefulness in the figural idiom was severely diminished. Thus although fourth-century Christians were agreed that King David was an Old Testament historical type of the royal Christ, and while twelfth-century scholastics concurred that their king was in fact rex imago Dei, in the seventeenth century not all Christians could agree in what sense, if any, Charles I was a figure of the Divine Majesty.

While this study does not pretend to be a genetic study in the many vicissitudes of monarchial typology, it will examine both the heights and the depths to which royal figuralism rose and fell between the compass of approximately sixty years, from 1590 to the time of the regicide of Charles I in 1649. In particular I propose that by examining the figural expression of Renaissance kingship in selected writings of three major poets--Edmund Spenser, William Shakespeare, and John Milton--we may trace not only the rise and decline of a venerable figural tradition, but we may also observe how politics and theology so often interact in such an intimate manner as to qualify the direction of doctrine and the pursuit of God's will as Christians believe it requisite for their lives.

For Edmund Spenser at the close of the sixteenth century, the figural vision still holds; indeed, with special regard to royal figuralism, Spenser brings it to a last great flowering. In The Faerie Queene, for example, Spenser so suffuses his empress with such typological significance that in her awesome terrestrial majesty she becomes the penultimate sign of the Church's eschatological glory in Christ.

Although she is clearly the nexus of a highly elaborate romance "clowdily enwrapped in Allegorical devices" whose general end is "to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline,"[54] the Virgin Queen, at a level more profoundly Christian than allegoria ever permits, is the utterly historical--and hence figural--promise of an uncomparably greater romance--the ultimate rescue--which, to Spenser's mind, the Queen so rightly typifies.

After Elizabeth's death in 1603, the figural aura emanating from the imperial crown diminishes. With the accession of the Stuarts and their subsequent insistence on royal prerogatives, absolutism, and the divine right of kings, England's early seventeenth-century monarchs, actively promoted themselves as indispensable to God's providential plan regarding England's destiny. The royal types, in brief, appear to outfigure their antitype. In the midst of this growing presumption, it is Shakespeare, I suggest, who in Cymbeline manages delicately to remind his audience that although James I may well be a type of the Divine, nevertheless his typical importance is exclusively the gift of God and ought to be recognized as such. Notably it is in Cymbeline that Shakespeare (whose works are otherwise not remarkable for this employment of typology) rehearses the figural assurances which God once gave to England at the time of the Incarnation. With subtle discretion Shakespeare "refigures," as it were, the typical guarantees which God once made for England under the successfully peaceful reign of Cunobeline. Thus while never denying (indeed complimenting) James I's figural importance as a monarch for England's present success, in 1610 Shakespeare urges a larger and necessarily more historically inclusive

vision of God's providential care of the island so obviously favored among the nations of the world.

By the middle of the seventeenth century, after the disruption of the Civil War, the vision of the monarch typifying God's rule is thoroughly shattered with the regicide of Charles I. Only the most ardent royalists manage somehow--often desperately--to discern in Charles' execution the figurae significance of the king's death. Thus while figuralism as a Christian vision of history continues well into the next several centuries,[55] the notion of the king as an express type of God, while revived briefly in the early Restoration, retains in effect only a pale semblance of his once historic role in Christian figural thought. As spokesman for the legal, theological, and political justifications of Cromwellian policies, John Milton, of course, proved critically instrumental in the defiguralization of the king's office and person. Intimately acquainted with the whole typological tradition from its Biblical and patristic sources, Milton in effect so qualifies and redefines royal figuralism as to be the one person most responsible for its eventual demise.

NOTES

[1]The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius Pamphilus, trans. C. F. Cruse (London: George Bell, 1892), p. 10.

[2]A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, ed. Philip Schaff (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1969), XIV, 40. Hereafter cited as Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers.

[3]IX, 487.

[4]XL, 512.

[5]X, 10.

[6]For a thorough discussion, see Cecil John Cadoux, The Early Church and the World: A History of the Christian Attitude to Pagan Society and State down to the Time of Constantius (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1925), passim.

[7]Tradition and Authority in the Western Church: 300-1140 (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1969), p. 54.

[8]A History of Political Thought: The Middle Ages (Baltimore: Penguin, 1965), pp. 33-35.

[9]Byzantine East and Latin West: Two Worlds of Christendom in Middle Ages and Renaissance: Studies in Ecclesiastical and Cultural History (New York: Harper, 1966), p. 63.

[10]p. 59.

[11]Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, I, 586.

[12]584.

[13]583.

[14](Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1970).

[15]p. 15.

[16]p. 24.

[17]p. 49.

[18]Laws of King Ethelred, ix, 2.

[19](Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1957).

[20]pp. 46-47. It is to be noted that when Kantorowicz speaks of "the Anointed in Eternity and his terrestrial antitype," his use of the word "antitype" is not consistent with either the Biblical or patristic employment of the wrod; frequently Kantorowicz is satisfied to use the word in its largest lexical sense: "that which corresponds to something."

[21]p. 94.

[22]p. 94.

[23]p. 127.

[24]p. 446.

[25]My discussion on the importance of the king's anointing during the coronation service largely reflects Leopold C. Wickham Legg, English Coronation Records (Westminster: Archibald Constable, 1901), and hereafter page references to this work are indicated by parenthetical inclusion within my text. Other helpful studies include Percy Ernst Schramm, A History of the English Coronation, trans. Leopold C. Wickham Legg (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), passim; and Margaret Alice Murray, The Divine King in England: A Study in Anthropology (London: Faber and Faber, 1954), pp. 164-85.

[26]Shakespeare and the Homilies (New York: Octagon, 1970), p. 25.

[27]p. 72.

[28]ed. Lily B. Campbell (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1938), p. 65.

[29]pp. 176-77.

[30]The Early Tudor Theory of Kingship (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1940), pp. 94-95.

[31]Quoted by Christopher Morris, Political Thought in England: Tyndale to Hooker (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1953), p. 32.

[32]The Education of a Christian Prince, trans. Lester K. Born (New York: Octagon, 1965), p. 159.

[33]p. 167.

[34]p. 177.

[35](rpt. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1937), p. 3.

[36]pp. 8-9.

[37]p. 197. Van Baumer's discussion on the cult of authority promoted by Henry VIII is especially valuable; see pp. 85-119.

[38]Quoted by Van Baumer, p. 85.

[39]"English Treason Trials and Confessions in the Sixteenth Century," in The Elizabethan Age, ed. David L. Stevenson (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett, 1966), p. 79.

[40]pp. 132-33.

[41]Quoted by Herbert R. Coursen, Jr., "Sacramental Elements in Shakespearean Tragedy," Christianity and Literature, 23 (Summer 1974), p. 10.

[42]"Queen Elizabeth as Astraea," Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 10 (1947), 27-82.

[43]p. 74.

[44]The Complete Poems of Sir John Davies (London: Chatto and Windus, 1876), I, 290.

[45]p. 151.

[46]Quoted in English Historical Documents: 1042-1189, ed. David C. Douglas (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1953), II, 787.

[47]Morris, pp. 87-88.

[48]For an excellent discussion, see Maynard Mack, Jr., Killing the King: Three Studies in Shakespeare's Tragic Structure (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1973), esp. pp. 15-74.

[49]Edward IV's accession was, of course, considered by some a legitimist restoration from Richard II, the three Henrys (1399-1461) being held intruders; and numerous ballads commemorating his death such as "Wher is this Prynce that conquered his right" (Historical Poems of the XIV and XV Centuries, ed. Rossell Hope Robbins [New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1959], No. 42) do express in elegiac fashion a fondness for the king. None, however, use express typological idiom to honor his memory.

[50]See especially John W. McKenna, "Pietry and Propaganda: The Cult of King Henry VI," in Chaucer and Middle English Studies in Honor of Rossell Hope Robbins, ed. Beryl Rowland (Kent, Ohio: Kent State Univ. Press, 1974), pp. 72-88.

[51]Henry V (IV,i,220).

[52]Historians have long noted Henry VIII's enormous popularity with Englishmen of both his own and later times. J. J. Scarisbrick, for example, in his recent study, Henry VIII (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1970) concludes in part: "Henry was a huge consequential and majestic figure. At least for some, he was everything that a people could wish him to be--a bluff, confident patriotic king who was master of his kingdom and feared no one. By the end of his long reign, despite everything, he was indisputedly revered, indeed, in some strange way, loved. He had raised monarchy to near-idolatry. He had become the quintessence of Englishry and the focus of swelling national pride. Nothing would ever be quite the same after he had gone" (p. 506). As an example of the "near-idolatry" to which Scarisbrick refers, Alfred Hart notes that after Henry's breach with Rome, "scenes of lavish adulation were exhibited at the opening of Parliament; the lords used to rise and bow to Henry whenever the words 'most sacred Majesty' were used" (p. 19).

[53]Ben Jonson, ed. C. H. Hereford and P. Simpson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), VII, 112.

[54]"A Letter to the Authors. . . ," in The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition, ed. Edwin Greenlaw and others (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1961), I, 167.

[55]For evidence of the continuing importance of typology, see SacVan Bercovitch, "Selective Check-List on Typology," Early American Literature, 5 (1970), pp. 30-51.

CHAPTER III

SPENSER'S FIGURAL VISION OF ELIZABETH TUDOR

Throughout her long forty-four year reign, Elizabeth I did not lack for praise. As Elkin Calhoun Wilson in his large representative gathering of laudatory verse written for the Queen has shown,[1] Elizabeth was praised in a seemingly endless manner for her consummate beauty, power, talents, prudence, mercy, and wisdom. In broadsides, masques, progresses, popular and court drama, chronicles, and all varieties of lyric poetry, she was variously acclaimed a "Debora Christianissima"; Cynthia, the Lady of the Sea; Urania, the heavenly Muse; Flora, the Lady of May; Diana, goddess of Arcadia; Laura of the sonnets and romances, among a host of other anciently wonderful titles.[2] Frances A. Yates, for example, in an especially fine study, "Queen Elizabeth as Astraea,"[3] amply demonstrates how extensively Elizabeth was identified with the classical goddess of justice whose return to earth from the heavens as Virgo was said to herald the reprise of the Golden Age. Elizabeth's person and reign symbolized an imperial renovatio: she was, among other figurae, a second Augustus whose Tudor pax reestablished "the concept of the Holy Roman Empire, reaching out in ever-widening influence to include the whole globe, both the old and new worlds, under the rule of the One Monarch";[4] as the imperial and just virgin she was acclaimed a second Constantine whose sacred Protestant empire replaced the decadent papal kingdom.[5] Of the importance of these and other such convictions, Yates

summarizes:

> The symbol of the Virgin Queen--in whatever way understood, and all the more intensely because of the conflicts inherent in it--touched tremendous spiritual and historical issues. The destiny of all mankind is at stake in the idea for which the virgin of the golden age stands, and above both papacy and empire is Christ, praying in the words of St. John's Gospel "that they may all be one; even as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee." This is the sacred imperialism of the Prince of Peace, the Christian blend of Hebrew and Virgilian prophecy, uttered by the Messiah in the universal peace of the Roman Empire, that time of which Dante says that there will never be another like it for then "the ship of the Human Family be a sweet pathway was hastening to its rightful heaven."[6]

The spectrum of praise, compliment, and laud which Elizabeth received is wide indeed; Thomas Dekker in his Old Fortunatus (1599) says it well: "Some call her Pandora: some Gloriana: some Cynthia, some Astraea; all by several names to express several loves."[7] Charmingly, the empress is fair Oriana "with angel's face and brightness";[8] pastorally, "the shepherd of her people's souls";[9] and majestically--awesomely (even terribly, or to use Spenser's epithet "dredfully")--the representative of the Most High God, the Prince in the stead of Christ, the Prime Mover of the world.[10]

Although no one verse may be said to demonstrate the broad range of compliments given to Elizabeth, these stanzas from "a famous dittie of the joyful receaving of the Queens most excellent maiestie by the worthy citizens of London, the xii. day of November, 1584 [the Queen's Accession Day], at her Graces coming to Saint James," provide at least one example of the happy sentiment found in the more usual laudatory verse:

> The daughter of a noble king,
> Descending of a royall race
> Whose fame through all the world doth ring,

Whose vertues shine in every place:
The diamond of delight and joy,
Which guides her countrie from anoy;
A moste renowned virgin queen,
Whose like on earth was never seen.

The peerless pearle of princes all,
So ful of pitty, peace, and love,
Whose mercy is not proved small,
When foule offendors doo her moove.
A phenix of moste noble minde,
Unto her subjects good and kinde;
A moste renowned virgin queen,
Whose like on earth was never seen.[11]

Spenser, of course, shares all these and many more such sentiments. Thus in one sense his own life-long devotion to the Queen by means of a poetic offering is but one more effort among many which sought to praise the sovereign. Yet with Spenser there is more. Not only does he share England's enormous adulation for Elizabeth, but he--more than any other poet--sums up and transcends his countrymen's vision. Thus while Spenser recapitulates his nation's more conventional glorification of Elizabeth, he additionally served as her faithful apologist and counselor, and above all, provides a theological vision of his Queen and her country that surpasses all other attempts which were made in Renaissance England.

Spenser wrote the first of his many panegyrics for Elizabeth Tudor in the "April" eclogue of The Shepheardes Calendar, "the finest and most elaborate blazon in all English pastoral poetry,"[12] according to Hallett Smith. Within this eclogue which Spenser in the argument admits to be "purposely intended to the honor or prayse of our most gracious sovereigne, Queene Elizabeth,"[13] Hobbinol, rehearsing Colin's lay, celebrates the Queen by singing fo bathing nymphs, virginal muses, graces three, and shepherds' daughters, who offer homage with garlands and dance for "fayre Eliza, Queen of shepheardes all" (l. 34). Even,

Hobbinol declares, the gods themselves blush to look upon the beauty of the Queen:

> I sawe Phoebus thrust out his golden hedde,
> upon her to gaze:
> But when he sawe, how broade her beames did spredde,
> it did him amaze.
> He blusht to see another Sunne below,
> Ne durst againe his fyrye face out showe:
> Let him, if he dare,
> His brightnesse compare
> With hers, to have the overthrowe. (ll. 73-81)

Indeed, if Thomas H. Cain is correct to suggest that in this eclogue's description of Eliza as "that blessed wight: / the flowre of Virgins" (ll. 48-49) who "in her sexe doth all excell" (l. 45), Spenser "seems to be following the daring convention of the literary Eliza-cult whereby qualities traditionally associated with the Virgin were transferred to Elizabeth,"[14] then even in Spenser's earliest poetry hints of a later and more explicit figuralism are already evident. Certainly, as Yates herself observes, Elizabeth's Marian associations are not without possibility:

> To emphasize the worship of "diva Elizabetta," the imperial virgin, in place of that of the Queen of Heaven, to carry her gorgeously arrayed through street and countryside that she might show her divine Justice and Clemency to the people, was a way by which the virgin of the imperial reform might draw ancient allegiances to herself. The bejewelled and painted images of the Virgin Mary had been cast out of churches and monasteries, but another bejewelled and painted image was set up at court, and went in progress through the land for her worshippers to adore.[15]

Perhaps, however, it is best to conclude such a Marian reading of the eclogue delicate, inferential, and tempting at best: it may be that in the "April" eclogue the virginal Elizabeth--the shepheardess, mother, and nurse of England's true church--is presumed a worthy figural

complement (or substitute) to the Mother of Christ. Whatever one's opinion, of this one can be sure: in this "Botticellian idyll," as Peter Bayley so aptly describes it,[16] we have the first sure intimation of what will eventually become for Spenser a life devoted entirely to Elizabeth's service, not only by the administration of her policy in Ireland, but especially and most memorably by the offering of poetry dedicated to her sovereign person. As E. K. suggests in his gloss to the "October" eclogue, no one but the Queen herself serves best for the poet's "display": ". . . if the Poet list showe his skill in matter of more dignitie, then is the homely AEglogue, good occasion is him offered of higher veyne and more Heroicall argument, in the person of our most gratious soveraign, whom (as before) he calleth Eliza" (pp. 100-01). From at least 1579, the year in which The Shepheardes Calendar was published, on to 1596, the year in which Books IV through VI of The Faerie Queene were published, Spenser never relinquished this vision of Elizabeth the Queen; indeed, at or near the heart of all his poetry one is able to discern always the image and presence of Elizabeth before whom Spenser continually writes without embarrassment.

Many of the minor poems throughout his career reflect Spenser's strong commendatory impulse. Thus even though "The Tears of the Muses" (1580) ostensibly laments the state of English art and letters, the case for sacred verse under the tutelage of Polyhymnia is somewhat excepted largely because Elizabeth herself inclines toward the muse's inspiration:

> One onelie lives, her ages ornament,
> And myrrour of her Makers maiestie;
> That with rich bountie and deare cherishment,
> Supports the praise of noble Poësie:

> Ne onelie favours them which it professe,
> But is her selfe a peereles Poëtresse.
> Most peereless Prince, most peereless Poëtresse,
> The true Pandora of all heavenly graces,
> Divine Elisa, sacred Emperesse:
> Live she for ever, and her royall P'laces
> Be fild with praises of divinest wits,
> That her eternize with their heavenlie writs. (ll. 571-82)

Although undeniably excessive in his praise for Elizabeth's literary achievement,[17] Spenser appreciatively shares with his Queen a common love for "noble Poësie." More significant, however, than this common observation of Spenser's disproportionate praise for Elizabeth's slight verse is our notice of his unobtrusive turn to an explicit figural idiom for his gratuitous aside. After lamenting the profanement of "goodly Poesie," by "the base vulgar, that with hands uncleane / Dares to pollute her hidden mysteries / . . . Which was the care of Kesars and Kings" (ll. 567 ff.), Spenser, within the space of two lines, announces a double frame within which his "peereles Poëtresse" may be pictured as both type and antitype. First, as the "Divine Eliza, sacred Emperesse," she is the "myrrour of her Makers maiestie." In context such a declaration echoes Philip Sidney's conviction that all poets are makers, shapers of reality who imitate and mirror the creative activity of God as he majestically sustains the world by the power of his Word "when with the force of a divine breath he bringest things forth far surpassing her [poetry's] dooings. . . ."[18] In short, by her verse the poetess Elizabeth, "the myrrour of her Makers maiestie," typifies God's far greater poetry, the making of the universe itself. Second, as "the true Pandora"--and now the antitype (the epithet "true" being the figural indication)--Elizabeth completes and brings to perfection all which mythology's first woman was meant to be, the gift of the gods to men.

Perhaps one is to infer that Elizabeth, as Pandora's antitype, redresses her namesake's mistake by maintaining policies which effectively keep vices and troubles from spreading abroad. No femme fatale, Elizabeth "is her selfe a peereles Poëtresse," a woman whom men may trust without hesitation or fear of embarrassment. Thus in her Christian setting the Queen as verse-maker reflects and images forth God, the great Maker; by pagan reference, moreover, she is said to restore the true meaning of woman's presence in this world. In such fashion, Spenser, calling the figural tradition to the service of poetry, adroitly frames his expansive compliment from two perspectives, indeed, from two worlds--pagan and Christian. More than Pandora but less than God, she becomes in fact both the restoration and anticipation of all that monarchs and women ought surely to be.

More notable, however, for its sustained enthusiastic praise of Elizabeth is "Colin Clouts Come Home Againe" (1595) in which Colin exalts the Queen as Cynthia in spite of his obvious disappointment with court life. For Colin (and Spenser) her glorious presence is almost beyond description; her spiritual virtues are clearly indescribable; only those who somehow know God intimately are able fully to find words sufficient for the Queen's praise:

> But vaine it is to thinke by paragone
> Of earthly things, to judge of things divine:
> Her power, her mercy, and her wisdome, none
> Can deeme, but who the Godhead can define. (ll. 344-47)

In spite of such difficulty, however, the Queen is lauded in Colin's report, notably in ll. 590-615, as Bayley summarizes, "in lavishing hyperbole full of Old Testament evocation--honey, ripe grapes, the

fruitful vine, beams of morning sun, frankincense, sweet odours--and under the name of Cynthia (the name Raleigh had chosen for his poetic celebrations of the Queen)."[19] Indeed, precisely because Elizabeth is "the image of the heavens in shape humane" (l. 351), a large portion of Colin's report in this passage is pointedly figural and not merely, as the editors of the Variorum would suggest, "a graded necklace of sensuous Hebraic images rising to a Platonic jewel."[20] Thus, for example, when Colin replies that "her lookes were like beames of the morning Sun, / Forth looking through the windows of the East" (ll. 604-05), his orientation of the Queen in such fashion tacitly assumes typological reference. By describing Elizabeth as one whose appearance is as morning light shining through apsidal glass, Colin immediately allies his encomium with a major strand in the figural tradition which marked the East and its associations of light, time, and color as prominent ontological types of Christ. As David S. Berkeley has observed, the orientation of worship in Christian communities reflects a typological conviction that the "east imports rising, life, happiness, and resurrection."[21] The Geneva Bible, for example, reflecting usual figural exegesis, glosses Malachi 4:2 ("But unto you that feare my Name, shal the Sunne of righteousness arise, and health shalbe under his wings"):

> Meaning Christ, who with his wings or beames of his grace shulde lighten, & comfort his Church, Ephe. 5.14, and he is called the sunne of righteousness, because in him self he hath all perfection, and also the justice of the father dwelleth in him: whereby he regenerateth us into righteousnes, clenseth us from the filth of this worlde, & reformeth us to the image of God.

Because the New Testament in John's Gospel records Jesus' appropriation of the title "Light" to himself, and inasmuch as St. Paul in Second

Corinthians 4.6 and Ephesians 5.14, along with the writer of the Apocalypse in 21:23, describe Christ as the light who dispels darkness, Christians ever since have looked upon the East both as a perpetual type of Christ's continued presence in the world and as a daily figure of his Second Coming. Traditionally therefore Christians stand and face the East in prayer; architecturally the positioning of a church's longitudinal axis is from west to east so that its main altar may be placed at the eastern end and so be the focal point of the liturgical celebrations; as an expression of eschatological hope, Christians in various countries have buried their dead with faces toward the East.[22] When, consequently, Izaak Walton reports that Donne caused his shroud-wrapped face to be painted while it "was purposely turned toward the East,"[23] one may assume that Donne was searching for some formula--in this instance a typological one--by which he might dramatize the intensity of his eschatological expectations. Certainly the words Donne appointed for his epitaph make this otherwise strangely eccentric gesture at least more understandable: hic licet in occiduo cinere aspicit eum cujus nomen est Oriens [Here in the decline and decay of ashes, he watches for him whose name is the Rising Sun.][24] When Colin, therefore, urges that his Cynthia's "lookes were like beames of the morning Sun," he figures Elizabeth a queen who, like the dawn itself, heralds the present and coming activity of Christ, true Light of the world. Moreover, with rich figural imagery of honey, "ripe grapes," "windows of the East," and "the fume of Frankincence, / Which from a golden Censer forth doth rise: / . . . throwing forth sweet odours," Colin's portrait of the Queen scarcely veils some high and solemn cathedral Eucharist in which a celebrant queen, bathed in light and incense--recalling, as it were,

the Justinian mosaics--speaks with words that "melt the hearers heart unweeting" (l. 603). Indeed, an apotheosized Cynthia-Elizabeth, now the Pantokrator's figure, looks down from the high vaults of the apse to behold "the cradle of her own creation" (l. 613) until Colin's encomium transfigures Elizabeth to "an Angell in all forme and fashion" (l. 615). It is as though the ecstatic Colin has momentarily forgotten that his Cynthia, for all her figural possibility, cannot in person and office, according to general sixteenth-century Anglican theology, type Christ as the High Priest of Hebrews 8 and 9. Indeed, as E. T. Davis in his examination of the implications of royal supremacy in the Tudor era makes evident,[25] any sacerdotal functions of the prince were explicitly denied in the Anglican formularies. Although the Supreme Head of the church authorized the appointment and consecration of bishops, he or she as rex or regina is not therefore sacerdos. The XXXIX Articles of 1571 make the distinction explicit:

> Where we attribute to the King's Majesty the chief government, by which Titles we understand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended; we give not to our Princes the ministering either of God's Word, or of the Sacraments, the which thing the Injunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth our Queen do most plainly testify; but that only prerogative, which we see to have been given always to all godly Princes in Holy Scriptures by God himself; that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evildoers.[26]

Yet in Colin's burst of rapturous hyperbole which he "so feelingly . . . spake" (l. 649), Elizabeth is made sacerdos in spite of her obvious typological limitations as monarch and woman. It is in fact a daring, but muted, suggestion that the figural Queen is Christ's own priestess--

and Cuddy, uncomfortable with the implications, quickly interrupts Colin to remind thim that "thou hast forgot Thy self, me seemes, too much, to mount so hie" (ll. 616-17).

But it is to such a Queen that Spenser through Colin unhesitatingly dedicates the whole of his being:

> I do professe to be
> Vassall to one, whom all my dayes I serve;
> The beam of beautie sparkled from above,
> The floure of vertue and pure chastitie,
> The blossom of sweet joy and perfect love,
> The pearle of peerlesse grace and modestie:
> To her my thoughts I daily dedicate,
> To her my heart I nightly martyrize:
> To her my love I lowly do prostrate,
> To her my life I wholly sacrifice:
> My thought, my heart, my love, my life is shee,
> And I her ever onely, ever one:
> One ever I all vowed hers to be,
> And ever I, and others never none. (ll. 466-79)

Couched in the rhetoric both of the lover prostrate before his mistress and of the religious oblate offering himself to God, Spenser's but slightly veiled commitment to his Queen is surely exceptionally unreserved expression of monarchial devotion. Only the generic conventions of the laus tradition save it from idolatry. More than mere pretentious flattery, it is rather the sentiment of a man who sees in his Queen something which sanctifies life itself in his highest calling and duty.

Inasmuch as Spenser dedicated the whole of The Faerie Queene to Elizabeth I, explicit references of a panegyric nature are expectedly numerous in the poem. In the dedication itself, an imitation of Virgil's proffer of the Aeneid to Augustus, Spenser immediately establishes himself as an epicist writing within the patriotic Virgilian tradition in service to his own "Most High, Mightie and Magnificent Empresse Renowned for Pietie, Vertue, and All Gratious Government." Thereafter his praise

seemingly knows no bounds. Typically stanza four of the Proem from Book IV rehearses his enthralled adulation:

> But to that sacred Saint my soveraigne Queene,
> In whose chast breast all bountie naturall,
> And treasures of true love enlocked beene,
> Above all her sexe that ever yet was seene;
> To here I sing of love, that loveth best,
> And best is lov'd of all alive I weene:
> To her this song most fitly is addrest,
> The Queene of love, and Prince of peace from heaven blest.

And not only does each Proem to each Book so laud the Queen, but her rare accomplishments and peerless beauty are continually extolled. Indeed, as he does alsewhere, the Proem to Book VI decries the total absence of any models worthy enough to blazon forth his Queen's virtues:

> But where shall I in al Antiquity
> So faire a patterne finde, where may be seene
> The goodly praise of Princely curtesie,
> As in your selfe, O Soveraigne Lady Queene,
> In whose pure minde, as in a mirrour seene,
> It showes, and with her brightnesse doth inflame
> The eyes of all, which thereon fixed beene;
> But meriteth indeede in higher name:
> Yet so from low to high uplifted is your name.

Precisely because no single "patterne" sufficiently mirrors Elizabeth's royal person, her monarchial office and feminine virtues, Spenser, as he indicates in his letter to Raleigh, chose to create a constellation of figures which individually and in consort image forth his vision of the Queen:

> In that Faery Queene I meane glory in my general intention, but in my particular I conceive the most excellent and glorious person of our soveraigne the Queene, and her kingdoms in Faery land. And yet in some places els, I doe shadow her. For considering she beareth two persons, the one of a most royal Queene and Empresse, the other of a most vertuous and beautiful Lady, this latter part in some places, I do

> expresse in Belphoebe, fashioning her name according to your own excellent conceipt of Cynthis (Phoebe and Cynthia being both names of Diana).[27]

In addition, however, to Spenser's specific identification of Belphoebe as that private aspect of the Queen's person, a whole matrix of other figures work together to define the totality of the Queen's personal, political, moral, and theological significances. Thus Elizabeth, while always mirrored as Gloriana and Tanaquill, is variously (though not consistently) Una, Britomartis, Venus, and Mercella, among others. Una, for example, while more explicitly identified with the neo-Platonic notion of Truth in the argument of Cantos ii and iii of Book I, is also, as Lawrence Rosinger ably argues, nothing less than a veiled epithet for the Queen herself:

> When Spenser chose Una as the name of the heroine of Book I, he was paying a high personal compliment to Elizabeth and was making it clear to readers who knew the Queen's motto [SEMPER EADEN], i.e., "Always One" that he was indeed writing about her. The oneness of the religious truth Elizabeth espoused was being represented as inseparable from the oneness of her own life and conduct.[28]

Certainly for those who knew of the Queen's personal motto, Una's name must have sounded like another name for the Queen.

Yet for all that which Una may shadow forth, Britomartis is more certainly a stronger figure for the Queen. As the lady knight of Chastity in Books III through V, Britomartis in her various trials, combats, and encounters with such as Malecaste, Braggadocchio, Argante, Blandamour, and Ragimund, among others, clearly adumbrates the glorious progeny of Brute which culminates in the "royal Virgin" who shall "stretch her white rod over the Belgicke shore" (III.iii.49.6). In the chaste courage of this ancestress of Elizabeth, we see in figural

promise--sealed with Merlin's revelation--that Spenser's Queen must by providence be admitted to subdue with impeccable integrity the forces of discord, hatred, perverseness, fear, and cowardice. Impelled always by her desire for the nuptual consummation of a marriage with Artegall, the exemplar of Justice, Britomartis is the type, the expectation, and the rehearsal of Queen Elizabeth's manifest destiny.

Some critics, of course--notably those of the earlier twentieth century--have described The Faerie Queene to be most assuredly an elaborate historical allegory depicting either ever so much veiled Tudor history or the ups and downs of the Protestant reformation.[29] C. Bowie Millican has summed up much of that general critical awareness: "Spenser scholarship of recent years, despite occasional vagaries, has come increasingly to see The Faerie Queene as an integral part of an intensely nationalistic age."[30] Certainly that estimate is true. Yet precisely because the historical is now so apparent within The Faerie Queene, is it necessary to be reminded of C. S. Lewis's gentle admonition about the limitations of explicating so-called "historical allegory":

> The movement of the interpreting mind is from the real people into the work of art, not out of the work to them. For, after all, the end of the process is supposed to be the recovered work of art. In short, for the reader of The Faerie Queene the historical is a point of departure, and no more than that. . . . Certainly Belphoebe "is" Queen Elizabeth. But we must remember the principle established earlier for the interpretation of historical allegory: the meaning of Belphoebe cannot be discovered by thinking about Elizabeth, since Spenser was complimenting Elizabeth by saying that she was like Belphoebe. Indeed, far from having a topical significance, Belphoebe is an archetype. She is a type of the chaste and somewhat terrible Huntress. Behind her lies Artemis, the dread Artemis of the Hippolytus.[31]

One does not, therefore, read Spenser as cryptic history, nor does Spenser provide instructive footnotes to the study of Elizabethan intrigues. In general it is well to remember, as M. Pauline Parker suggests, that "the only logical conclusion [to the question of Spenser's use of history] is that Spenser treats history as he treats romance, simply as a source of material for his moral allegory and his romance epic."[32]

With this caution in mind, however, it is requisite for several reasons to say that upon occasion Spenser does demand that his poetry be read within a more usual historical context, even as Parker herself suggests, that "in Book V, by general agreement the most 'historical' of all, Spenser takes care to leave no doubt about the chief persons and events concerned, even though the details may remain obscure."[33] First, it is apparent that at times Spenser clearly fashioned himself as an apologist for Elizabethan policy. In this role he not only sought overtly to buttress, for example, Elizabeth's claim to the throne by providing an elaborate genealogical support for her title in Canto III of Book III, but he also attempted to defend Elizabeth's domestic and foreign policies. René Graziana, for example, reflecting the critical consensus, indicates that it "is fairly generally held that the trial of Duessa at Mercilla's court . . . allegorizes Mary's trial."[34] He himself argues well that Britomart's night at Isis Church (V.vii) concerns Elizabeth's handling of Mary, Queen of Scots, and demonstrates how Elizabeth's dilemma was eventually resolved through Parliament represented as Isis Church.[35] Elsewhere Douglas A. Northrop also suggests that Spenser's allegorical treatment of Queen Elizabeth's justice and mercy in Book V is not idle adulation but a deliberate attempt to answer

specific charges of her critics.[36] In particular Northrop sees Book V as Spenser's attempt to defend Elizabeth's claim to the throne, her treatment of subjects, and her foreign relations:

> If the episodes are reviewed in the order of their appearance in Book V, it is seen that Spenser has shown that Elizabeth is just in her claim to the throne because she is the divine exception to the rule of men (Ragimund episode), that she is just and merciful in her treatment of subjects protecting them abroad from insult and injury (Aamient and Souldan episode) and at home from seditious influences (Malengin, Malfront, and Duessa episodes), and that she is just in her dealings with other sovereigns and other people by waging only just wars (Belge, Burbon, and Irena episodes).[37]

In such a manner Spenser attempts to rescue the Queen from those who would vilify her good name and character.

Second, although Spenser gave himself unreservedly to his Queen, he nonetheless felt compelled upon occasion to inject both his frustrations and his unsought advice to the Queen into his poetry. In the Mother Hubberbs Tale, published in 1591 but probably written earlier, while not all critics are convinced that Spenser sought in part to warn Leicester of the dangers of Elizabeth's proposed marriage with the Duc d'Alencon,[38] it is generally agreed that Spenser does in fact give vent in this poem to his private antagonism against William Cecil, Lord Burghley, who apparently effectively interfered with Spenser's expected preferment.[39] Later, in 1596, with less rancor and considerably more good will, Spenser in The Faerie Queene offered his conciliatory advice to the Queen on behalf of his friend, Sir Walter Raleigh. Though it has been noted by others,[40] H. M. English has persuasively reinforced a reading of Cantos vii and viii of Book III (the Belphoebe, Timias, and Amoret episodes) which convincingly encourages us to see these passages

as Spenser's attempt to achieve a reconcilation between Queen Elizabeth and Raleigh when the latter fell out of her favor during his affair with Lady Throckmorton.[41]

Such topical asides, however, whether motivated by rage against Burghley or a friendship for Raleigh, are relatively minor literary events in Spenser's poetry. More critical to our preception of the poem's fundamental preoccupation with history (requisite, of course, for any typological reading) is the validity of Edwin Greenlaw's thesis which he developed in his famous article of 1918, "Spenser's Fairy Mythology."[42] Greenlaw states his central proposition clearly:

> Spenser conceives the Tudor rule as a return of the old British line: he conceives Elizabeth Tudor as the particular sovereign, coming out of Faerie, whose return fulfills the old prophecy. That is to say, the poem is at once a glorification of Elizabeth's ancestry and a glorification of the Queen as an individual. Had England's greatness in the last two decades of the sixteenth century, Spenser's time, an era which the poet recognized as not only putting the realm on a new footing of prosperity and power but also as marking the beginning of a far-reaching imperial policy,--had this greatness come during the rule of a Tudor king, Spenser would have figured that king under the name of Prince Arthur. But his sovereign was a woman. The prophecy,then, is fulfilled through personifying, in Arthur, the spirit of Great Britain, now united to the Faerie Queene herself.[43]

By emphasizing the importance of the British and Elfin Chronicles (II,x) and Merlin's prophecy concerning Britomart's offspring, Greenlaw calls attention to the poem's large historical vision as central to its theme and structure. Anchoring his romance to the moorings of a well-defined national history of epic proportions, Spenser's Faerie Queene, according to Greenlaw, is the celebration of both promise and fulfillment of England's manifest destiny focused in Elizabeth Tudor.

A number of more recent studies confirm the importance of Greenlaw's observations. Isabel E. Rathborne in The Meaning of Spenser's Fairyland (1937),[44] for example, urges that "Spenser aspired to do for England what Vergil had done for Rome: to write an epic which should vindicate the excellency of the English tongue and celebrate the glorious destiny of the British Empire as heir of all ages."[45] Indeed, comparing The Faerie Queene to Augustine's De Civitate Dei, Rathborne suggests that Spenser's preoccupation with the redemption of history reveals his conviction that a third city (Cleopolis/London) stands midway between the corrupt Babylon (Rome) and the heavenly City of God to bear figural witness to the true Jerusalem.[46] Whereas, however, Rathborne's thesis tends to suggest that the Tudor period adumbrates the ideal in stasis, Harry Berger Jr. in the Allegorical Temper[47] underscores the idea of movement and dynamic process inherent in the poem's sense of history as an ongoing phenomenon. Thus while it is true that the two chronicles--Arthur's "Briton Moniments" and Guyon's "Antiquitie"--constitute a deliberate juxtaposition of two levels of reality in the poem (i.e., England herself as she has been in the past and England as the nuptual consummation of Fairyland), in the act of reading we are moved by the poem toward an utterly eschatological ending. In Berger's view, the poem is not so much incomplete as it is open-ended--and necessarily so for expressly Christian reasons:

> The presentation of history in Canto x [of Book II] further embodies the traditional Christian attitudes toward the meaning of earthly existence, and it is only in this context that the problems of British history assume a poetic, rather than a merely political or didactic, function.
>
> We find not only the individual memory of Arthur, or of Guyon, in the third chamber, but also the corporate memory synedochically represented. The poet, that is, describes

> English history to the English reader; in Canto x English history comes to represent universal history, for it is informed with the meaning of man's sojourn on earth, and of God's intervention in human affairs.[48]

Convinced that neither commentary on the poem's "historical allegory" nor reference to Tudor historiography satisfactorily explains the dynamic of The Faerie Queene, Berger contends that more adequate description of the poem's vitality requires a greater emphasis on the futuristic (anagogical) impulse animating the entire narrative line. From Berger's point of view it is imperative that the reader fully perceive the interaction (and tension) between the human and the Faery--between dynamic striver and the static goal. For Berger, therefore, Gloriana as the Queen of Faeryland is the ideal, "the suspended image,"[49] toward which Arthur strives, and Faeryland is the ideal toward which a turbulent and imperfect Britain must strive. As Frushell and Vondersmith make clear, the importance of Berger's contribution to our understanding of The Faerie Queene can hardly be overestimated:

> Berger's remarkable essay, in spite of its difficult style and its obvious alignment with the snook-cocking New Critics, crystallizes the poetic of Spenser's poem which is implicit in Greenlaw's and Rathborne's studies. This is a new poetic, not exactly typological, though akin to it; for in the relationship between Faeries and human beings, between the Elvish royal line and the British, we have something quite different from the relationship between primary and secondary term in metaphor, or between literal and tropological significance in allegory as traditionally conceived.[50]

While Berger's "new poetic" may not be "exactly typological" one may, however, suggest that typology does in fact inform The Faerie Queene in several significant ways.

Certainly, as recent studies indicate, Spenser is thoroughly acquainted with the figural tradition and makes frequent inclusion of

its idiom throughout his poetry. In their review of twentieth-century criticism, for example, Frushnell and Vondersmith observe generally that the identification of typological parallels is widespread in Spenserian criticism and specifically note that "Spenser shows his awareness of the [figural] device when he calls Gloriana the 'true glorious type' of Elizabeth (F.Q. I, Proem, iv. 7); Gloriana, living at some indefinite time in the past, foreshadows the glory of Elizabeth I."[51] Indeed, the degree to which typological commentary is now commonplace can easily be seen in the critical notation which Robert Kellog and Oliver Steele provide in their recent edition of Books I and II of The Faerie Queene. In the "Introduction," for example, Kellog and Steele consider it important to distinguish between allegorical and typological perspectives:

> The tradition of Greek allegoresis thus took on an unmistakable Christian character during the Middle Ages when such heroes of pagan literature as Aeneas and Hercules came to be understood as types of Christ. Corresponding to the renaissance synthesis of Christian and pagan philosophy, and intimately related to it, the renaissance synthesis of traditions by which significance was attached to poetic images produced in Spenser's allegorical poetry an extraordinary richness of meaning. In both Books I and II of The Faerie Queene Prince Arthur is at times a recognizable type of Christ. The hero of Book I, the Red Cross Knight, is also represented as a human being who must conform himself to the image of Christ and whose career, therefore, follows roughly the spiritual plot line of the Bible. Sir Guyon, however, the hero of Book II, is not a type of Christ, his career does not follow the same line as Red Cross's, and he is not represented as a human being. He can probably best be understood as the representation of a classical ideal, of man as he was conceived in classical ethics. He may at one point represent temperance and at another point the temperate man, but he does not represent the Christian for whom temperance is only a means toward the ultimate end of spiritual perfection. For his two heroes, Red Cross and Sir Guyon, Spenser draws in Book I upon the modes of thought represented in Christian typology and in Book II upon the modes of thought represented in Greek allegoresis.[52]

While, however, it must be said that Kellogg and Steele sometimes use the concept of type and antitype in a very loose sense (e.g., "Arthur's attack on Orgoglio is a type of Christ's crucifixion" [I,x,10.8-9] and the cup of Circe is "the antitype of the cup of the Eucharist" [II,xii, 49.3]), by and large their commentary on Spenser's typological intention is judicious and balanced. Certainly their work indicates that Spenserian criticism as a whole has become notably conscious of the pervasive figuralism found throughout Spenser's poetry. More recently, for example, Suraiya Farukhi has demonstrated the existence of pagan-Christian typology in The Faerie Queene by "interpreting the myths that form 'the allegorical cores' [the phrase is C. S. Lewis's] of the various books from a humanist typological point of view."[53] Specifically Farukhi observes that "the Bower of Bliss and Acrasia are types of Hell and Satan, [and] the Garden of Adonis, Venus and Cupid [serve] as types of the heavenly paradise, the Virgin Mary and Christ, respectively."[54]

In addition, moreover, to the profuse figuralism found throughout The Faerie Queene, one must remember always that the poem in its entirety is dedicated to an utterly typical Queene. Again, a reminder from C. S. Lewis is appropriate:

> We must not, of course, forget that Gloriana is also Queene Elizabeth. This was much less chilling and shocking to the sixteenth century than it is to us. Quite apart from any prudent desire to flatter his prince (in an age when flattery had a ceremonial element in it) or from any romantic loyalty which he may have felt and probably did feel as an individual, Spenser knew that even outisde poetry all reigning monarchs were ex officio viceregents and images of God. No orthodox person doubted that in this sense Elizabeth was "an idole" of the divine magnificence.[55]

For Spenser therefore to speak of Elizabeth as Gloriana is ultimately to express that antitypal and eschatological vision which his Queen,

typus Christi, affords, for she is the "Dread Soverayne Goddesse, that doest highest sit / In seate of judgement, in th' Almighties stead" (F. Q. V. Proem. 11, 1-2). Throughout The Faerie Queene Spenser so suffuses his empress with such typological significance that in her "most excellent and glorious" person she becomes the penultimate sign of every Christian's final glory in Christ. As M. Pauline Parker rightly notes, "historically, the service of the Virgin Queen is a type of that higher service, and her capital city of Jerusalem above."[56] Indeed, when concluding the long rehearsal of British history which for the moment culminates in the reign of the "royal virgin" (III.iii.49. 6), Merlin is emphatic to remind us that "the end is not yet" (50. 1). The implications are clear: although Elizabeth's lineage is ancient and glorious, nevertheless her coming provides but a vision of a greater kingdom reserved for those who quest in Christ.

Spenser, of course, knew this world to be disappointingly transient, mutable, and fallen. And yet, as Catherine R. Myers observes in her fine study, "Time in the Narrative of The Faerie Queene," Spenser holds us by means of the narrative to "an image of the limits placed upon our achievements in our own time as he reminds us of the promises made concerning the great events that will come to pass in the unfolding of all time."[57] As knight and lady enter their quests to attain but partially the precious objects of their search, so Spenser himself in the end of the poem, recalling for the last time the whole figural tradition surrounding the Sabbaoth as a type of the final Reality, concludes his aborted canto viii with this poignant supplication: "O that great Sabbaoth God, graunt me that Sabbaoths sight" (VII.viii. 2. 9). In the meantime Spenser looked to his earthly sovereign to provide him with

those figural assurances which "proud change" can never guarantee. Mediating between earth and heaven, Gloriana dwelt in England in the person of Elizabeth Tudor, a great queen for whom service was the road to present advancement and enduring glory. Certainly as a panegyrist, apologist, and advisor to his Queen, Spenser served his Elizabeth well. But as she was to him the image of his ultimate romance, he served his God even better.

NOTES

[1]England's Eliza (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1939; rpt. New York: Octagon Books, 1966).

[2]In addition to Wilson's compilation, The Queen's Garland: Verses Made by Her Subjects for Elizabeth I, Queen of England, Now Collected in Honour of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, ed. M. C. Bradbrook (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1953) also provides an excellent sampling of the best laudatory verse.

[3]Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 10 (1947), 27-82.

[4]p. 52.

[5]p. 41.

[6]p. 82.

[7]The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker, ed. Fredson Bowers (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1953), I, 113.

[8]John Holmes, "The Triumphs of Oriana," in The Queen's Garland, p. 54.

[9]The phrase is Yates' (p. 58) and summarizes her discussion of George Peele's portrayal of Elizabeth in his Descensus Astraeae (1591).

[10]In J. Case, Sphaera Civitatis (London, 1588), Elizabeth is depicted in a woodcut as the Virgo-Astraea who holds the entire universe in her hands; typologically she is thus Iustitia immobilis who reigns over all things. Yates provides a reproduction of this illustration, p. 19, Plate c.

[11]Wilson, pp. 32-33.

[12]Elizabethan Poetry: A Study in Convention, Meaning, and Expression (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1968), p. 26.

[13]The Works of Edmund Spenser: A Variorum Edition, ed. Edwin Greenlaw and others (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1932-1949; rpt. 1958), VII, 39. All quotations from Spenser's poetry are taken from this edition and will hereafter be indicated with page or line reference inserted parenthetically in the text.

[14]"The Strategy of Praise in Spenser's 'April'," Studies in English, 8 (1968), 47.

[15]p. 75.

[16]Edmund Spenser: Prince of Poets (London: Hutchinson Univ. Library, 1971), p. 37.

[17]Although George Puttenham in The Art of English Poesy (1589) alludes to a perhaps substantial number of poems including the "ode, elegy, epigram, or another kind of poem heroic of lyric wherein it shall please her Majesty to employ her pen," we have in fact only a few specimens of Elizabeth's verse, and those, as J. William Hebel and Hoyt H. Hudson indicate, are imperfectly authenticated (Poetry of the English Renaissance, 1509-1600 [New York: F. S. Crofts, 1934], p. 922); these include "When I was fair and young," "The doubt of future foes," and "I grive and dare not show my discontent." C. S. Lewis's comment on the quality of her verse is no doubt correct: "The Queen herself had been a minor (or minimal) Drab poetess" (English Literature of the Sixteenth Century [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954], p. 467).

[18]An Apology for Poetry (1595), p. 10.

[19]p. 80.

[20]Works, I, 417.

[21]Inwrought with Figures Dim: A Reading of Milton's "Lycidas" (The Hague: Mouton, 1974), p. 91.

[22]For a discussion on patristic, medieval, and Renaissance commentary on Christian thought and ceremonial associated with the East, see Berkeley, pp. 90-98; and Alfred C. Rush, Death and Burial in Christian Antiquity (Washington, D. C.: Catholic Univ. of America Press, 1940), pp. 77-84.

[23]The Lives of John Donne, Sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Richard Hooker, Mr. George Herbert (London, 1670; rpt. London, J. M. Dent, 1898), p. 95.

[24]p. 96. The translation is mine.

[25]Episcopacy and the Royal Supremacy in the Church of England in the XVI Century (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1950), esp. pp. 94-137; see also J. W. Allen, A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century (London: Methuen, 1957), pp. 169-83; and Franklin Le Van Baumer, The Early Tudor Theory of Kingship (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1940), pp. 77-84.

[26]Quoted by Davies, pp. 108-9.

[27]"A Letter of the Authors to Sir Walter Raleigh," Works, I, 168.

[28]"Spenser's Una and Queen Elizabeth," ELN, 6 (1968), 17.

[29]For a review of the general history of scholarship dealing with the historical element in The Faerie Queene, see esp. Contemporary Thought on Edmund Spenser: With a Bibliography of Criticism of "The Faerie Queene," 1900-1970, ed. Richard C. Frushell and Bernard J. Vondersmith (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1975), pp. 1-40; and M. Pauline Parker, "A Note on Spenser's Treatment of History" in The Allegory of "The Faerie Queene" (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), pp. 313-22.

[30]"Spenser's and Drant's Poetic Names for Elizabeth: Tanaquil, Gloria, and Una," HLQ, 2 (1939), 259.

[31]Spenser's Images of Life (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1967), pp. 17, 47.

[32]p. 320.

[33]p. 315.

[34]"Elizabeth at Isis Church," PMLA, 79 (1964), 377.

[35]376-89.

[36]"Spenser's Defense of Elizabeth," UTQ, 38 (1969), 277-94.

[37]28.

[38]While H. S. V. Jones in his Spenser Handbook (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1930), p. 101, says that "the interpretation of the allegory of Mother Hubberds Tale offered some time by Professor Greenlaw has been generally accepted," more recent critics are not as easily convinced. William Nelson, for example, in The Poetry of Edmund Spenser (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1963), p. 23, suggests that "arguments of this kind have only the virtue of self-consistency."

[39]Nelson, pp. 12-16.

[40]Both Parker, p. 195, and Walter Oakenshott, The Queen and the Poet (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1961), pp. 91-99, speak confidently of the usual topical reading.

[41]"Spenser's Accommodation of Allegory to History in the Story of Timias and Belphoebe," JEGP, 59 (1960), 417-29.

[42]SP, 15 (1918), 105-22.

[43]116.

[44](New York: Russell and Russell).

[45]p. 128.

[46]See pp. 75ff. and especially the chart depicting the "Genealogy of the Elfin Emperors" as they relate to the ages of the world, the heavenly city, and the earthly city.

[47](New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press, 1957; rpt. Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1967).

[48]p. 90.

[49]p. 172.

[50]p. 31.

[51]p. 29.

[52]Books I and II of "The Faerie Queene, The Mutability Cantos and Selections from The Minor Poetry (New York: Odyssey Press, 1965), p. 10.

[53]"Pagan-Christian Typology in Spenser's Faerie Queene," Diss. Oklahoma State University, 1975, p. 2.

[54]p. 62.

[55]English Literature in the Sixteenth Century (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1954), p. 383.

[56]pp. 54-55.

[57]Salzburg Studies in English Literature (Salzburg: Institut für Englishche Sprache und Literatur, 1973), p. 121.

CHAPTER IV

THE ROYAL TYPOLOGY OF SHAKESPEARE'S CYMBELINE

In view of our more recent appreciation of the pervasive nature of typological reference in medieval and Renaissance literature, it is remarkable that Shakespeare himself has remained, for the most part, immune to any extensive consideration of typological investigation. In recent criticism, for example, only three studies[1] to my knowledge have dealt explicitly with figuralism in Shakespeare. Certainly, of course, it is reasonable to surmise that Shakespeare, as in other matters, would reflect and would upon occasion (perhaps frequently) incorporate into his drama the typological Weltanschauung which permeates so much Elizabethan and Jacobean thought. I should like to suggest, therefore, that typological patterns so native to the Renaissance mind in its apprehension of historical reality are also present in Cymbeline, one of the last plays which Shakespeare wrote. Indeed, as a historical romance, Cymbeline is delicately imbued with an express royal and national figuralism which has yet to be fully appreciated.

While twentieth-century criticism has always maintained a large interest in Shakespeare's romances as a group, nonetheless as recently as 1958 Philip Edwards found it necessary to conclude that "a retrospect of this century's work on the last plays has little progress to report."[2] Of Cymbeline in particular, J. M. Nosworthy, in his introduction to the New Arden edition (1955), observes that "Cymbeline has evoked relatively

little critical comment, and no completely satisfactory account of the play's quality and significance can be said to exist."[3] Since the 1950s, however, a number of important studies have increased our perception, understanding, and appreciation of the play. Thus within the past twenty years Cymbeline has been described in one or more ways as a biographical catharsis,[4] the embodiment of some mythic truth,[5] a Christian allegory,[6] a Jacobean coterie-piece,[7] and a relatively successful experiment in romantic dramaturgy.[8] While such studies are often valuable in their own right, on the whole they remain refinements and expansions of older suggestions. Importantly, however, since Edward's survey and Nosworthy's edition, new perceptions of Cymbeline have also arisen which do in fact provide fresh insights into the meaning and themes of the play. These studies, although often diverse and at times inconclusive, share a firm conviction that Cymbeline is somehow more than a well-mannered romance or a reasonably successful experiment in tragi-comedy. Moreover, while these new critical directions in no way mitigate the acknowledged artifice of the play, they also indicate that reading Cymbeline from a typological perspective may well add significant dimensions to an already highly complex work of art.

In a valuable essay published in 1958, J. P. Brockbank[9] provides nascent intimations of a typological reading by emphasizing the large historical moorings to be found in Cymbeline. Remarking Shakespeare's eclectic choice of dramatic material from the Brut tradition in Holinshed's Chronicles, Brockbank urges us to think of Cymbeline's historical concerns as genuine in that the play seeks "to express certain truths about the processes which have shaped the past of Britain" (p. 42). Agreeing with G. Wilson Knight's earlier estimate that Cymbeline is to

be regarded "mainly as an historical play" (p. 42), Brockbank argues that an examination of Shakespeare's chronicle sources provides us with perhaps the best clues about the play's creation and purposes. Accordingly, the chronicle histories are said to be sources in the sense that they provided occasions for Shakespeare to demonstrate his preoccupation with "the ancestral virtue and destiny of Britain" (p. 44). Thus, for example, the time of the play is set in Cymbeline's reign because "Holinshed's (or Fabyan's) brevities noticing the birth of Christ and the rule of Augustus may have stimulated in Shakespeare's imagination a comparable range of thought" (p. 46). Preferring, however, to comment on various aspects of "the prevailing transparency of artifice" (p. 47) in the play which, in his opinion, tend to mitigate its historical significance, Brockbank concludes that Cymbeline is unsuccessful in its attempt to fuse the chronicle tradition with that of the pastoral-romance.

But the historical concerns of Cymbeline are more compelling than Brockbank allows. In 1961, for example, Robin Moffet in a fine contribution, "Cymbeline and the Nativity,"[10] notes that Brockbank "is content to suggest rather than try to state or explain" (p. 207). Precisely because Moffet can find no reason for Shakespeare's choice of Cymbeline other than the fact that this king is said to have ruled Britain at the time of Christ's birth, Moffet concludes that "there is quite a strong presumption that we may expect to find in this detail his [Shakespeare's] principal reason for wishing to set a play in the reign of Cymbeline" (p. 207).[11] Inasmuch as the play is "much concerned to show the insufficency of Britain and Britons without divine aid" (p. 209), Moffet sees the Cymbelinian setting as Shakespeare's attempt to suggest a theological resolution to dramatic conflicts which reflect national problems:

> The reign of Cymbeline is of unique importance because it is to see the birth of the saviour of mankind, thus the central idea will be the need of mankind for a saviour; the content of the play--"holding up a mirror" to reflect in little the essential truths of the theater of the world--will show the straits into which men have fallen as a result of sin, error, and misfortune, followed by a supernaturally effected restoration and reconciliation which will be both an imperfect analogue of the full restoration to come and a fitting preparation and greeting for the divine child soon to be born--"peace upon earth, good-will towards men" (as with those mediaeval chroniclers who saw Cymbeline as preeminently a man of peace) (p. 208).

The value of Moffet's suggestion is twofold. First, he makes abundantly clear that Cymbeline as the play's title figure is dramatically important only insofar as he is historically the British counterpart of the Roman Caesar Augustus in order that Britain may have her own just role in the fullness of time. Second, as the Incarnation is the implicit center of the play, so the implications of the Nativity permeate its entire structure. The careful selection and reconstruction of source material, the strained rhetoric, the near-abstract characterization of Posthumus and Imogen, the thoroughly pagan undercurrent, the pervasive bondage imagery, the revelatory devices, the vision of Jupiter, and the closing prophecy all cohere most fully in relation to the birth of Christ. When the miracle of the Nativity is fully recognized as the central event of Cymbeline's life and this drama, then the unity of Cymbeline becomes significantly less problematical. Occurring within the time of Cymbeline's reign, the Incarnation, which according to Christian theology is the preeminent fact of history, lies hidden but fully present (though necessarily unreported and offstage) as the silent event controlling the redemptive progress of the play. In short: "the end of Cymbeline is a unique world supernaturally altered for the Incarnation" (p. 210).

Other studies published in the 1960s confirm the importance of Moffet's observations. In an article ostensibly reviewing J. C. Maxwell's Cambridge edition of the play, Emrys Jones[12] suggests an intimate relationship between Shakespeare's choice of Cymbeline as the nominal protagonist of the play and King James I who styled himself as the peacemaker of his world and time. Because Cymbeline's only pretense to historical importance lies in the fact that he ruled Britain at the time of Christ's birth during the great pax Romana of Augustus, Jones concludes that "the peace-tableau with which Cymbeline ends must have a dual reference: it presents dramatically the stillness of the world awaiting the appearance of the Christ-child, but it also pays tribute to James's strenuous peace-making policy" (p. 89).

Although Bernard Harris believes that recent criticism on Cymbeline has not sufficiently given "proper regard for its Stuart mode, as a dernier effort,"[13] he does in fact concur with Brockbank, Moffet, and Jones that royal eulogy coupled with topical historical and patriotic reference is vitally important to the play's interpretation. Indeed, while Harris is concerned to emphasize the play's aesthetic relationship to the Arcadian world of Giovanni Battista Guarini's Il pastor fido, he nevertheless underscores the play's topical allusions both to James I and to the sacred destiny of Britain. For Harris, the Jacobean references are unequivocal: "It seems certain that the Stuart audience would be capable of reading into that final peace and pardon a testimonial to King James's larger desires, even if those have scarcely been directly represented in the play's conduct: and it is possible that the early audience was able to move beyond the temporal framework of the play's

references to the event of promise [Christ's birth] which glorified Cymbeline's reign" (pp. 227-28).

The work of Brockbank, Moffet, Jones, and Harris provides new perspectives from which we may assess Cymbeline's meaning. By investigating the dramatic potential of the chronicle source material, by examining the strong topical allusion to James I, and by probing those correspondences which Cymbeline effects between past and present, this new critical direction restores many of the possible preconceptions of the dramatist and the expectations of the audience.

Certainly it is now necessary to think of Cymbeline as more than a "mosaic of romance motifs [with] little political purpose," as Irving Ribner[14] once described it. Indeed, recent criticism not only urges a consideration of the play's political implications, but also suggests necessary attention to its pervasive theological idiom and ethical vision. In contrast to Richard Noble, for example, who in Shakespeare's Biblical Knowledge (London: SPCK, 1935) has contended that "the play's Scriptural interest is not large" (p. 244), Naseeb Shaheen argues that "there are upwards of forty allusions to the Bible in Cymbeline, besides a large number of religious terms and images."[15] More importantly, however, as both H. H. Furness in the Variorum[16] and Nosworthy in the Arden edition note, Cymbeline contains numerous allusions to matters of Christian doctrine. Thus, for example, Imogen clearly alludes to the Calvinistic doctrine of election in her heated exchange with Cymbeline over Posthumus's banishment (1.ii.67-68).[17] Later when Posthumus openly confesses his guilt (5.iv.3-29), he pointedly employs the language of Catholic theology inasmuch as he carefully distinguishes the three stages of true repentance: contrition, penance, and satisfaction.[18] During

the dramatic vision of the descending and eagle-mounted Jupiter (5.iv.93 ff.), the same Posthumus hears the god's message which is much like that of the Biblical Jehovah's in that it comforts the repentant lover with assurances paraphrasing Proverbs 3.12 and Hebrews 12.6. Indeed, as Howard B. White notes, it would appear that "Shakespeare is here evoking the mystery of the relationship between free will and predestination, time and eternity, natural virtue and grace."[19] Finally--whatever one thinks of the denouement--the play is, as Swander observes, a "religious drama of atonement [which] resolves itself . . . into a revelation of the tranquility of the state of grace."[20]

What then do we make of this dramatic commingling of romance, politics, theology, history, and national vision? Certainly it is remarkable that Nosworthy himself, perhaps the most able apologist for a romance reading of the play, demonstrates the fragile nature of his own argument by evoking visions of transcendence which surely exceed the generic expectations of tragi-comedy:

> It is not extravagant to claim that Cymbeline, in its end, acquires a significance that extends beyond any last curtain or final Exeunt. There is, quite simply, something in this play which goes "beyond beyond," and that which ultimately counts for more than the traffic of the stage is the Shakespearean vision--of unity certainly, perhaps of the Earthly Paradise, perhaps of the Elysian Fields, perhaps, even, the vision of the saints. But whatever else, it is assuredly a vision of perfect tranquillity, a partial comprehension of that Peace which passeth all understanding, and a contemplation of the indestructible essence in which Imogen, Iachimo, atonement, the national ideal have all ceased to have separate identity or individual meaning.[21]

Nosworthy, of course, is perfectly right. There is something numinously haunting about the play; its intimations are of larger realms, expansive, and supernatural. Indeed, of Cymbeline and the other plays Philip

Edwards in his 1957 survey notes that "by far the biggest and most influential school of criticism" is united in its conviction that all are "written in a form of other-speaking, and must be translated before their significance can be understood."[22] In a more recent examination of the critical direction, Hallett Smith confirms Edwards' observations by reporting a continued strong emphasis on the plays' mythic, symbolic, and allegorical possibilities. Influenced largely by G. Wilson Knight, the leader of allegorical criticism, many see the romances as "myths of immortality" or "myths of reconciliation and regeneration." Thus, according to Shaheed, "myth[s] haunt the reader with suggestions that there is a hidden meaning to be found."[23] For Derick Marsh, who in The Recurring Miracle is tempted "to say that these last plays have a directly allegorical structure,"[24] Cymbeline's central theme is the announcement that "life is established as the greatest gift of all":

> More particularly still, since this is the story of Imogen and Posthumus and their love, love is seen as one of the great forces which liberate the individual from the bonds of self. To care more about someone or something than one does about oneself is a way to freedom, perhaps the great way. From there, the next step is an easy one, for the value of life lies in the joy it can give, and if that joy lies in service to something outside oneself, death is less likely to be regarded as a great tragedy. This is the most difficult of all the themes to define, for this acceptance does not imply an apathetic resignation, which would mean a death of soul before physical death. It means rather a sort of courage, which will not allow the realization that everything passes away to cloud the enjoyment of being alive.[25]

For Marsh the allegorical significance of the play lies in its hopeful affirmation that "life, with all its pitfalls and all its suffering, and even with death at the end of it, is worth living."[26] Bonamy Dobrée, believing that the final plays are, at least in some degree, symbolic,

agrees: "In all of them life has been horribly broken up, made negative and sterile, but now it moves on, renewed, healthy, fecund."[27] Of the religious significance of the last plays, Robert Speaight is convinced that "a Christian theophany work[s] on the materials of myth"[28] and suggests that "what Dante had achieved by an allegory in which the Christian reference was explicit, Shakespeare, working in a different and coarser medium, achieved more obliquely but with a refinement of art no less astonishing."[29]

And yet a number of sensitive critics--even those working under the rubrics of historical allegory--remain unconvinced that Cymbeline maintains a satisfactory thematic cohesion. Derek Traversi, for example, contends that the play is only provisionally successful, an unequal piece--"a strangely incoherent and incomplete performance":

> Once more . . . we are faced with a discrepancy, frequent in Cymbeline and perhaps the fundamental problem of the play, between expression and effectiveness. The language, concise and compact, is that of the mature tragedies, and the sentiments are related, by means of it, to that exploration of moral realities which is characteristic of Shakespeare at his best; but the themes stated are not adequately defined [and] fail to make themselves felt in the course of an action that remains basically conventional. Nowhere is the provisional quality of the inspiration of Cymbeline more clearly apparent.[30]

Others also are unsure about the play's success. For Moffet, who remarks the thematic importance of the Nativity along with its "allegorical paganism,"[31] the play is nevertheless less than complete: ". . . we find in it a striving after union, disparate pieces artificially yoked, rather than unity itself."[32] J. P. Brockbank, while acknowledging that "Cymbeline is about a golden world delivered from a brazen by the agency of a miriculous providence," nonetheless agrees with F. R. Leavis that

the play is not "organized from 'a deep centre' like The Winter's Tale."[33] And Emrys Jones concedes that "the play remains obscure in places; largely because one is uncertain how far an allegorical reading is pertinent."[34]

Certainly problems remain. As a complement to recent advances in Cymbeline studies, I should like to suggest, however, that a close examination of the play's royal figuralism will enhance our perceptions of Cymbeline's intent and themes. As drama presumably produced at the Stuart court before His Sacred Majesty, Shakespeare's Cymbeline performs two services. First and most importantly, the play artfully compliments King James I by acknowledging him as a true and recognizable monarchial type of the heavenly Prince of Peace. The play encourages its audience to understand and celebrate James as a "second Cymbeline," the king whose rule in the seventeenth century of Britain's Christian history continues the figural promise of Christ's peace-filled coming among men and nations. And second, the play gently encourages the king not to incline himself toward an undue enlargement of his own figural importance. By characterizing King Cymbeline as one who is absolutely dependent upon the good favour of the gods, the play reminds James (and all kings) that even as figurae they too are recipients of grace. In short, Cymbeline, along with all its complexities and artifice, is both figural accolade and a word of caution to James I, England's imago Dei in the early seventeenth century.

Although the reigns of Cymbeline and James I are separated by some sixteen hundred years, there are good reasons to believe that James would have found the chronicle reports--and especially Shakespeare's reworkings--unusually interesting and attractive. Emrys Jones,[35] for example,

arguing that Cymbeline alludes to the character and foreign policy of James I, posits a number of important links between the Stuart king and Shakespeare's portrait of Cymbeline. By rehearsing James's need to identify himself with previous monarchs and personages memorable to British history, Jones first demonstrates the king's almost megalomanic fondness for grandiose claims: as "the second Brute"[36] James I reunites the whole island under his rule, the first to do so after the death of Brute, the legendary eponymous founder of Britain; as "the second Arthur"[37] he appears in the West to restore the nation's fortunes; as "the second Augustus"[38] he signifies an even greater reign of universal peace than that of the pax Romana in which Christ was born. The implications are clear: James I might well be disposed to think of himself as a "second Cymbeline," the one who enlarges, expands, and perhaps brings to completion the earlier vision of Britain's first monarch. Moreover, because King James I was repeatedly addressed in court masques as the "Great Monarch of the West,"[39] Jones contends that the play's emphasis on Cymbeline's status in 5.v as a western king reinforces Cymbeline's strong topical direction. Furthermore, inasmuch as James I prided himself in the fact that Henry VII was his great-grandfather, Jones believes the play's emphasis on Milford Haven to have clear dynastic significance: "at the time Cymbeline was written Milford Haven was chiefly associated with the landing there in 1485 of Henry Earl of Richmond; with, that is, the accession of Henry VII to the throne."[40] Because Milford Haven as a place-name does not occur in any of Shakespeare's known sources for Cymbeline, one can only conclude, Jones suggests, that Shakespeare here makes gratuitous reference to this Welsh harbor only because it was important to King James and his personal

appreciation of history. Finally, Jones concludes with several pertinent observations on the pervasive theme of peace in the last scene:

> It seems to me that the character of Cymbeline--at any rate, in the final scene, with its powerful peace-tableau--has a direct reference to James I, before whom it was, presumably, acted. . . . it is perhaps of interest that 1610 [the probable year of the play's first performance] was the only year . . . in which all the European states were at peace. . . . Cymbeline's final submission to Rome, even after he has won the war against the Romans . . . might have had some topical value in view of James's efforts to enter into friendly negotiations with Papal Rome. When, towards the end of the play, therefore, Cymbeline emphatically announces: "Well, my peace we will begin . . .," the audience must have made a complex identification: the peace is both the peace of the world at the time of Christ's birth, in which Britain participates, and also its attempted re-creation at the very time of the play's performance, with Jacobus Pacificus--who was a "figure" of Augustus--on the throne.[41]

Although Jones later concludes that artistically Cymbeline suffers precisely because the play's allusions to Shakespeare's royal patron are so close as to present dramatic problems not easily resolved (we must not be allowed to infer, for example, that Cymbeline's Queen is in any way to be identified with James's consort, Anne of Denmark), nevertheless Jones correctly remarks Cymbeline's concern with the monarchy of James I.

Several critics not only confirm Jones's conclusions but also extend his thesis. Bernard Harris, for example, recognizes that "Jones is surely right to demonstrate our lost understanding of those elements in Cymbeline which assumed familiarity with Jacobean panegyric, pageant, and masque occasions"[42] and proceeds further to note that Imogen's praise of Britain in 3.iv.139 ff. bears close resemblance to Giles Fletcher's patriotic blazon in stanza 21 of Christ's Triumph after Death (1610) which is marginally noted as "shadowed by the peace we enjoy under our Soveraigne."[43] Furthermore, in Cloten's "Britain's a world

by itself" (3.i.13), a phrase properly traced by editors to Virgil's et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos (Eclogues I, 66), Harris notes the clear echoes of "a Stuart conceit which Wind [Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1968), p. 226] pursues as far as the seal of Charles II, which showed the British king as ruler of the seas with the 'altered legend': Et penitus toto regnantes orbe Britannos."[44] Additionally, Glynne Wickham documents a reawakened interest during Jacobean times in the New Troy epic--in which King Cymbeline plays an early and important role--and suggests an oblique tribute to James's three children:

> Cymbeline [is a play which] one might well describe as dedicated to the royal children. With Imogen and the two boys out of Wales [Guiderius and Arviragus], audiences are expected to associate the Princess Elizabeth, Prince Henry, and Prince Charles: Shakespeare signposts this message clearly in his repeated references to Milford Haven, "blessed" because Henry VII, "the first Uniter," landed there as Henry Tudor, Duke of Richmond, and [because] James and his children's claim to rule England was derived from the marriage of Henry's daughter Margaret to James IV of Scotland.
> . . . . . .
>
> If Imogen and her marriage to Leonatus Posthumus are placed at the centre of Cymbeline, it is because Whitehall was at this very time buzzing with speculation about who the Princess might marry, and aware of James's intentions to supplement the "inward peace" of domestic union with "outward peace" that could be secured by the reunion of Britain with the continent of Europe through appropriate marriages for Elizabeth and her brothers.[45]

While it may be difficult to describe exactly the degree to which the play necessarily implies a relationship between the court of Cymbeline and that of James, it may be safely concluded that King James I as the "British Augustus" did in fact seek to promote a peace resembling that of the celebrated pax Cymbelini. D. Harris Willson makes it quite clear that James's dedication to international peace was of paramount concern:

> "Peace be to you in the land of peace under the King of peace." So begins a tract of 1619, The Peace-Maker, or Great Britaines Blessing, of which the King probably wrote small portions and Lancelot Andrewes the rest. "Peace hath conceived and smiling Isaac hath left us Jacob, a new Israel, a Prince of God, a man that hath prevailed with God to plant His peace among us." Peace, the tract continues, was born with the King in Scotland where he nursed it for many years and brought it with him to England. He has now lived a full half-century in peace. "O blessed jubilee! Let it be celebrated with all joy and cheerfulness, and all sing Beati Pacifici! Let England (the seat of our Solomon) rejoice in her happy government, yea, her government of governments; and she that can set peace with others, let her enjoy it herself. We live in Beth-salem, the house of peace, then let us sing this song of peace, Beati Pacifici![46]

Filled with the passion and sentiments of a man consciously imitating the irenic virtues of recognized Old Testament types, The Peace Maker reveals James I to be a sovereign intensely aware of his providential role in Christian history. As the Christian king who sought to banish devilish discord from Britain's realm, James I is no doubt remembered as he wished to be in the twenty-sixth stanza of Phineas Fletcher's The Apollyonists (1627):

> Now there (next th' Oath of God) that Wrastler raignes,
> Who fills the land and world with peace, his speare
> Is but a pen, with which he downe doth beare
> Blind Ignorance, false gods, and superstitious feare.
> (11. 6-9)

Certainly, as Izaak Walton thought of him fifteen years after his death, "King James, whose motto beati pacifici did truly speak the very thoughts of his heart, endeavored first to prevent and after to compose the discords of that discomposed state. . . ."[47]

Precisely because Cymbeline ends so dramatically with the theme and realization of international peace--a program of first importance to James I--one concludes that Shakespeare intends to establish a relation

between the two monarchs. In fact, the established relationship is threefold: as the British pax Cymbelini extends the pax Augusta to anticipate the coming of the greater peace of Christ Himself, so by way of figural imitation the later British pax Jacobi as a correlative type in effect reaffirms and provides sovereign witness to that eternal and transcendent peace which, according to St. Paul, "passeth all understanding." That such a notion might well be appreciated by James I can be seen from his own commentary on St. Matthew 17 when he observes that

> [it had] not beene fitting that the Saviour of the World . . . should have beene borne but under a King of peace, as was Augustus, and in a time of peace, when the Temple of Janus was shut, and whenas all the World did pay him an universall contribution, as is said in the second of Saint Lukes Gospel. Of which happy and peaceful time the Sibyls (though Ethnickes) made notable predictions, painting forth very viuely the blessed Child that then was to bee borne.[48]

Here James I reiterates what had become a typological commonplace ever since the early fourth century when Eusebius in his Demonstratio Evangelica proposed the pax Augusta a necessary prelude to the Incarnation.[49] Moreover, accepted sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century historiography (including that of Robert Fabyan, John Hardyng, and Raphael Holinshed)[50] interpreted Cymbeline's reign--contemporary with that of Augustus Caesar--to provide the British complement to Rome's establishment of an international peace which readied the world for the coming of God's peace in Christ. John Speed, for example, writes this summary in The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain (1611):

> [Cunobeline] lived at Rome, and in great favour with Augustus Cesar the Emperor, by whome he was made Knight, and by his meanes the peace of Britain was continued without the paiment of their Tribute, as Fabian out of Guido de Columna

> hath gathered. In the foureteenth yeere of his raigne the Day-star of Iacob appeared, and the rod out of Ishai did flourish from the wombe of a Virgin, when the wonderfull Counsellor, the mighty God and the Prince of Peace, the Emmanuel with us was borne at Beth-lehem of his maiden-mother the blessed Virgin Mary, and was made man like unto us in all things, sinne only excepted. These were the times that great Kings and Prophets desired to see, but saw them not, when the Wolfe and the Lambe, the Leopard and the Kid, the Calfe and the Lyon fed together; for war was not heard of then in the world, but rather their swords were made into mattocks, and speares turned into sithes, as the Prophets, Sibyls, and Poets from them have affirmed.[51]

Here Speed, in a passage representative of other chronicle citations, brings together the antitypal rule of "the Prince of Peace" with two typical pagan reigns--the pax Augustus and the pax Cymbelini--so that all coalesce to fulfill the promise of Isaiah 9 and 11.

But for Shakespeare to have chosen Cymbeline as the titular protagonist for a play undoubtedly presented at the Stuart court[52] is not only to remind the king of Roman and British history largely informed by typology; it is also to reinforce whatever figural self-identity James I may have maintained about his own person and office. Conventionally, of course, James I argued from the philosophy of Order that monarchial rule was in fact superior to all others because it was the most "natural" form of government.[53] Thus, for example, in 1609, James I presents his understanding of the monarchy quite clearly as a series of multiplane correspondences between four primaries--God, king, father, and head:

> The State of MONARCHIE is the supremest thing upon earth: For Kings are not only GODS Lieutenants upon earth, and sit upon GODS throne, but even by GOD himselfe they are called Gods. There bee three principall similitudes that illustrates the state of MONARCHIE: One taken out of the word of GOD; and the other out of the grounds of Policie and Philosophie. In the Scriptures Kings are called Gods, and so their power after a certaine relation compared to the Divine power. Kings are also compared to Fathers of families: for a King is trewly

> Parens patriae, the politique father of his people. And lastly, Kings are compared to the head of this Microcosme of the body of man.[54]

Of the four correspondences, the first is plainly figural, and argument informed by ontological typology:

> Kings are justly called Gods, for that they exercise a manner or resemblance of Divine power upon earth: For if you will consider the Attributes to God, you shall see how they agree in the person of a King. God hath power to create, or destroy, make, or unmake at his pleasure, to give life, or send death, to judge all, and to be judged nor accomptable to none: To raise low things, and to make high things low at his pleasure, and to God are both soule and body due. And the like power have Kings: they make and unmake their subjects: they have power of raising, and casting downe: of life, and of death: Judges over all their subjects, and in all causes, and yet accomptable to none but God onely.[55]

James expresses such an understanding of his own person and prerogatives throughout his writings. For example, in the first section of the Basilikon Doron (written in 1599; published in 1604), James urges his young son, Prince Henry, to know and love God for two reasons: "first, for that he made you a man; and next, for that he made you a little GOD to sit on his Throne, and rule over all men."[56] "Kings," James declares in his Remonstrance for the Right of Kings (1615), are "the breathing Images of God upon earth."[57] Indeed, as C. J. Sisson notes in a fine reassessment of James's literary abilities,[58] James thought his monarchial relationship with Christ so intense and felt the burdens of his own kingly office so deeply that in his Meditations on 27 Matthew of 1619 he described himself as one ruler who shares the bitter crown of thorns borne by the King of Kings. Furthermore, as both a patron of literary endeavors and a poet himself, James also, according to Lily B. Campbell, "fancied himself in the role of successor to both David

and Solomon as a king on whom God had bestowed his special grace and wisdom, and as penman to the Holy Ghost."[59] Or as Willson describes him:

> [As a Christian poet] he was, he believed, the elect of heaven, chosen not only to rule the State and to be a nursing father of the Church, but also to publish, to elucidate and to defend the Scriptures. Even as David and Solomon had written of the works of God, so the young King of Scots, their sixteenth-century equivalent, would write in his own day. This conception, merging with his vanity, became deeply embedded in his character and remained with him through life. He was to fancy himself a David as he rewrote the Psalms in doggerel English verse; a Solomon as he set forth golden sentences and pious precepts in the Basilikon Doron. He was to think of himself as St. Paul as he composed "An Epistle to the Whole Church Militant in whatever part of the Earth"; and as one of the early Fathers as he defended the Church of England against the errors of Rome and the heresies of the Dutch Arminians.[60]

Whatever one may think of the literary and intellectual quality of his poetry and prose, it is apparent that in his own estimation James I was thoroughly convinced that in politics, theology, and the literary arts he was singularly and fortuitously blessed by God to serve as an agent of Providence in the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

Moreover, many in and around the Stuart court shared such sentiments. A large number of court masques,[61] important royalist defenses,[62] and numerous occasional verses[63] honored the king as the visible stamp of God's invisible presence and power. It would therefore be neither unusual nor unexpected that Shakespeare might add his compliment by way of Cymbeline to that of his fellow dramatists and poets. Certainly he had done as much in Macbeth with its many royalist allusions to the house of Stuart and to James personally.[64] And three years after Cymbeline, in 1613, Shakespeare again provides in Henry VIII, with Cranmer's prophecy, a vision--already realized, of course--of national concord and security under Elizabeth I's successor:

> but as when
> The bird of wonder dies, the maiden phoenix,
> Her ashes new create another heir
> As great in admiration as herself,
> So shall she leave her blessedness to one
> (When heaven shall call her from this cloud of darkness)
> Who from the sacred ashes of her honour
> Shall star-like rise, as great in fame as she was,
> And so stand fix'd. Peace, plenty, love, truth, terror,
> That were the servants to this chosen infant,
> Shall then be his, and like a vine grow to him;
> Wherever the bright sun of heaven shall shine,
> His honour and the greatness of his name
> Shall be, and make new nations. He shall flourish,
> And like a mountain cedar, reach his branches
> To all the plains about him: our children's children
> Shall see this, and bless heaven.
> (5.iv.39-54)

That Cranmer's final speech and the closing lines of Cymbeline share common themes has been noted.[65]

What, however, has not been remarked is the diffuse royal figuralism which informs both passages--especially that of Cymbeline. In his second interpretation of a pre-battle dream, the Soothsayer in 5.v.467-77 revises his earlier explanation of 4.ii.346-52 in light of Cymbeline's victory over Lucius' Roman army:

> For the Roman eagle,
> From south to west on wing soaring aloft,
> Lessen'd herself and in the beams o' the sun
> So vanish'd; which foreshadow'd our princely eagle,
> Th' imperial Caesar, should again unite
> His favour with the radiant Cymbeline,
> Which shines here in the west.

Commenting on the passage, Nosworthy thinks the flight of the eagle "symbolizes the return and rehabilitation of Posthumus,"[66] and Hartwig suggests "the eagle's disappearance into the sunbeams signifies [political harmony] as well [as] the return of Posthumus to the truth of Imogen's goodness."[67] Moffet, after noting "we are probably right to

see in the image further ideas of the transference of Roman virtues to Britain (as Wilson Knight) and the 'lessening' of the political power (Rome) when subsumed in the more spiritual (Britain), with possibly a hint also of the familiar sun/Sun pun," concludes that "the eagle's flight into the sun becomes an augury . . . of general rejuvenation and renewal of life and vision, applicable to all the surviving persons of the play and to the whole world in which its action takes place."[68] In that Moffet's suggestions are multiple, precise, and expansive, they are worthy of further comment.

First, it is apparent that in the revised interpretation of his dream, the Soothsayer announces nothing less than the transfer of true dominion and power from Rome to Britain. Indeed, in the lessening and diminishment of the Roman eagle in her westerly flight, the Soothsayer perceives in figural vision the "foreshadowing" of what Greater Britain --the audience of Cymbeline--knew to be true: the genius of Christianity has fled from east to west, from Rome to Canterbury. Certainly, as Yates notes,[69] this conviction and sentiment was integral to Britain's own understanding of her role in Christian history; she was in fact the second Rome, the second Constantinople. George Herbert, in an early poem, "The Church Militant" (written perhaps in the early 1620's) says it well:

> The course was westward, that the sunne might light
> As well our understanding as our sight.
> . . . . . .
> Religion went to Rome, subduing those,
> Who, that they might subdue, made all their foes.
> . . . . . .
> But England in the higher victorie:
> Giving the Church a crown to keep her state,
> And not go lesse then she had done of late.
> Constantines British line meant this of old
> And did this mysterie wrap up and fold

> Within a sheet of paper, which was rent
> From times great Chronicle, and hither sent.
> Thus both the Church and Sunne together ran
> Unto the farthest old meridian.
> (ll. 18-19, 61-62, 90-98)

Second, the Roman eagle's westerly flight is directly into the sun. As the strongest and most prevalent of all royal images, the sun and its beams are easily interpreted, of course, by the Soothsayer as signifying "the radiant Cymbeline, / Which shines here in the west" (ll. 476-77). But the sun is a symbol of all kings; and, as Orgel reminds us, "the idea of the king as sun would not have seemed farfetched to a Jacobean --le roi soleil was a commonplace even to the seventeenth century."[70] In "The Epistle Dedicatory" of the Authorized Version (1611), for example, the translators express their debt of gratitude to King James I for his accession to the throne by declaring that "the appearance of your MAIESTIE, as of the Sunne is his strength, instantly dispelled those supposed and surmised mists; especially when we beheld the government established in your HIGHNESSE." In Jonson's Vision of Delight, a masque presented at court in 1617, the dramatist capitalizes on the sun as a monarchial symbol when in response to Wonder's question,

> Whence is it that the ayre so sudden cleares,
> And all things in a moment turne so mild?

Pant'sie replies, gesturing, no doubt as Orgel suggests,[71] for the first time in the masque directly toward the royal James,

> Behold a King
> Whose presence maketh this perpetuall Spring,
> The glories of which Spring grow in that Bower,
> And are the marks and beauties of his power.

Certainly in Cymbeline, a play already wonderfully anachronistic for its mingling of first-century Britons and Romans with Renaissance Italians, the sun as the greatest of all monarchial symbols is entirely capable of holding both Cymbeline and James I, two kings who in one shared image magnanimously radiate Peace to their world. Precisely because the Soothsayer's announcement ends emphatically on the locative "west" and inasmuch as James I was acclaimed "Great Monarch of the West,"[72] the Soothsayer implies a double allusion.

Lastly, it must also be said that Cymbeline's ending points to one final and remarkably dramatic reference to James and his quest for peace. Although the Soothsayer openly acknowledges that Rome will no longer continue as the political and spiritual center of the world (the Roman eagle "lessen'd herself and in the beams o' the sun / So vanish'd"), nevertheless the future portends a peaceful reunion between the world's two great powers so that "a Roman, and a British ensign wave / Friendly together" (ll. 481-82). One dare not mitigate the force of King Cymbeline's radical assertion; it is a firm declaration that Rome (and everything she represents, Papacy included) and Britain will some day enjoy an awesome peace, a peace previously and totally unknown in Christian history. Such a promise--figural indeed of "the peace which passeth all understanding"--could only have been uttered in the years 1609/1610, the time of Cymbeline's writing and first production. Two events urge this consideration: first, in 1609/1610 there were in fact no major wars being fought between or among the great European nations; and second, in 1609 James himself maintained particularly high hopes for the realization of true international concord, especially between the sees of

Rome and Canterbury. C. J. Sisson describes both the king and his notably irenic attitudes:

> As a controversialist, King James has qualities which are rare in his day, the fruits of high-mindedness. There is dignity and good temper in his debating as in his exposition. He is as reasonable and measured as Hooker, seeking to arrive at the truth of the matter rather than to bear down opposition. "I am not unwilling to be persuaded," he will write, and we are apt to believe. Throughout his grievous quarrel with Rome, though it were a matter of his own Crown, and of his personal safety, as he saw it, he is never stampeded into violence, and held firmly to a more tolerant position than was natural in his time. There is food for much thought in considering the possible implication of his comments upon the Hierarchy of the Western Church and the Patriarchate:
>
> > And for my selfe (if that were yet the question) I would with all my heart give my consent that the Bishop of Rome should have left the first Seat: I being a Western King would go with the Patriarch of the West ["A Premonition" (written 1609; published 1616), PWJ, p. 127].
>
> For [James] is haunted by thoughts of the unity of the Christian world under one faith.[73]

Emrys Jones is quite right to observe that "Cymbeline's final submission to Rome, even after he has won the war, . . . might have some topical value in view of James's effort to enter into friendly negotiations with Papal Rome."[74] Furthermore, Jones' notice that Cymbeline's peaceful conclusion "is both the peace of the world at the time of Christ's birth, in which Britain participates, and also its attempted re-creation at the very time of the play's performance with Jacobus Pacificus"[75] rightly implies that James's program for Christian concord and international peace is intrinsically typological and entirely apposite to the requirements of figural drama. Moreover, although we do not know precisely at what time of the year Cymbeline was first presented at court, nevertheless it would not be gratuitous to suggest that the play was probably

produced sometime during James I's Christmas revels--as indeed it was later performed in 1634 "on Wensday night the first of January, 1633(4) . . . by the Kings players [and] well likte by the kinge,"[76] Charles I. Such a Christmastide performance would, of course, marvelously exploit all the figural possibilities which the halcyon peace of Cymbeline reveals. As Christ's birth is celebrated throughout the Christian world, the Stuart court is privileged, under Shakespeare's guidance, to celebrate not only Britain's first intimations of grace in King Cymbeline's reign but also her present enjoyment of that continuing peace which the notably pacific role of King James I provides in anticipation of that transcendent and consummate peace which passes all understanding.

Shakespeare's compliment is graciously extended and generous indeed. But it is, however, not without qualification. Cymbeline, after all, is neither an attractive nor a particularly memorable king in his own right. As a British monarch he possesses few, if any, of those "king-becoming graces" which Duncan's son, Malcolm, in Macbeth deemed requisite for an ideal king: "justice, verity, temp'rance, stableness, / Bounty, perseverance, mercy, lowliness, / Devotion, patience, courage, fortitude" (4.iii.92-4). Deceived by the Queen, untrusting, and arbitrary, Cymbeline is but an earlier (though far less tragic) Lear, a misguided King of Britain fostering evil and folly near the throne. Though not quite a despot, Cymbeline, as Howard B. White remarks, is nonetheless a near-tyrant:

> Britain pretends to have an orderly and fixed succession, a rule of law, and advisors to the king. True, the counsel which Cymbeline accepts is chiefly that of his queen. While his power is not absolute, it comes close enough to being arbitrary. He himself, through caprice, determines the alignment of the most important party in the play: the party of the exiles. Unjust in war, merciless in victory,

> ill-counselled in peace, and untrusting of the true, Cymbeline has many of the characteristics of the tyrant. As far as this play, taken by itself, is concerned, the Caesars and their legions, emerge as models of propriety by comparison.[77]

Pointedly, it is not until the very end of the play that King Cymbeline manifests any royal prudence which serves the very best interests of his family and nation. King Cymbeline, in brief, is remembered only because divine Providence intervened to rescue him from folly, stupidity, and arrogance; as a monarchial type of Christ's advent and peace, he owes everything to activities other than his own. Shakespeare's figural identification of James I with Cymbeline mitigates therefore any undue suggestion that the monarchy is somehow immune to all the limitations traditionally associated with types. At best, all figures of Christ, even the most kingly and virtuous, and themselves unprofitable servants of the heavenly Monarch who guides even the destiny of kings so great as James.

In the early ninth-century Pontifical of Egbert, known today as the First English Coronation Order, there is a post-communion collect which, though no longer in use in Jacobean times, nonetheless reaches back in thought to the time of Cymbeline to ask that the pax Romana continue in the lives of all Britain's princes:

> DEUS qui ad predicandum eterni regis evangelium romanorum imperium preparasti. pretende famulo tuo regi nostro arma celestia. ut pax eclesie tue nulla turbetur tempestate bellorum. per Christum dominum nostrum.
>
> O God, who didst prepare the Roman empire that the gospel of the kingdom of heaven might be preached unto the world, give unto thy servant now our princes the heavenly armour of justice, that the peace of thy church may not be broken by any times of trouble, through Jesus Christ our Lord.[78]

It is nothing less than the spirit of this ancient prayer which Shakespeare has transmuted into the drama of Cymbeline.

NOTES

[1]William A. Armstrong, Shakespeare's Typology: Miracle and Morality Motifs in "Macbeth" (Watford: Watford Printers, 1970); Richard Knowles, "Myth and Type in As You Like It," ELH, 33 (1966), 1-22; and Ernst H. Kantorowicz, The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1957), pp. 24-41, an examination of monarchial typology in Richard II.

[2]"Shakespeare's Romances: 1900-1957," ShS, 11 (1958), 1.

[3](London: Methuen, 1955), p. xl. Hereafter all references to Cymbeline are from this edition, and act, scene, and line numbers will be given parenthetically in the text.

[4]Modern biographical criticism tends almost exclusively toward psychoanalytic literary criticism. Two recent studies argue, often less than persuasively, that Cymbeline on an artistic level reflects Shakespeare's unconscious attempts to work out deeply seated psychological conflicts. Charles K. Hofling, "Notes on Shakespeare's Cymbeline," Shakespeare's Studies, 1 (1965), 118-36, suggests that Cymbeline reflects the dramatist's subconscious acceptance of his mother's death in 1608, his eventual reconciliation to Anne Hathaway, and his hopeful prospects for a male heir in the marriage of Susanna, his daughter who married Dr. Hall. Murray M. Schwartz, "Between Fantasy and Imagination: A Psychological Exploration of Cymbeline," in Psychoanalysis and Literary Process, ed. Frederick Crews (Cambridge, Mass.: Winthrop Publishers, 1970), pp. 219-83, proposes that Cymbeline "indicates that Shakespeare is attempting to master his own unconscious incestuous desires" (p. 270). In Schwartz's estimate, Shakespeare in Cymbeline is less than successful in "patching over a deep split in his ego (and the dominant ego of his age) which leads to violent conceptions of genital sex" (p. 280).

[5]Northrop Frye, A Natural Perspective (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1965), holds that the last plays are explorations of comic laws which grow naturally out of earlier Shakespearean comedy.

[6]Most critics are agreed that the romances have in common a pattern of action profoundly concerned with rebirth, regeneration, and reconciliation through suffering in a manner made intelligible by the Christian idea of the paradox of the fortunate fall. Louis Henry Leiter, "Shakespeare's Cymbeline: A Christian Interpretation," Diss. Brown Univ. 1961; Derick R. Marsh, The Recurring Miracle: A Study of "Cymbeline" and the Last Plays (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, n.d.); and Robert G. Hunter, Shakespeare and the Comedy of Forgiveness (New York: Columbia

Univ. Press, 1965) provide extensive commentary on the Christian themes of the play. Their criticism, however, is at times diffuse and tends to be moralistic.

[7]See, for example, Barbara A. Mowat, "Cymbeline: Crude Dramaturgy and Aesthetic Distance," Renaissance Papers, Southeastern Renaissance Conference (1966), pp. 39-47; and Arthur C. Kirsch, "Cymbeline and Coterie Dramaturgy," ELH, 34 (1967), 285-306.

[8]J. M. Nosworthy, pp. xxx-lxxxiii, arguing for the frankly experimental nature of the play, concludes that "the distinctive feature of Cymbeline . . . is that it accommodates its comic, tragic, national, regenerative, and other patterns within the strict formula of romance, yet is able to resolve them into a unity in which their individual qualities no longer matter" (p. xlvi). Both F. D. Noeniger, "Irony and Romance in Cymbeline," Studies in English Literature, 2 (1962), 219-28, and Carol Gesner, "Cymbeline and Greek Romance," Studies in English Renaissance Literature, ed. Waldo F. McNeir (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1962), pp. 105-31, describe the play as a kind of dramatized Alexandrian romance, a seventeenth-century example of a post-Hellenic genre. Gesner in particular argues for the probable influence of Chariton's Chaereas and Callirhoe, Xenophon of Ephesus's Ephesiaca, Longus's Daphnis and Chloe, Achilles Tatius's Clitophon and Leucippe, and especially the AEtheopica of Heliodorus. In comparing the use of historical material in Lear with that of Cymbeline, Irving Ribner, "Shakespeare and Legendary History: Lear and Cymbeline," SQ, 7 (1956), 47-52, concludes that Cymbeline is a "mosaic of romance motifs" possessing "little political purpose" (p. 52).

[9]"History and Histrionics in Cymbeline," ShS, 11 (1958), 42-49. David L. Middleton, "Shakespeare's Cymbeline and British Myhtical History," Diss. Univ. of Wisconsin, 1969, also rehearses the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century attachment to "received British history" and argues that Shakespeare's audience would have appreciated Cymbeline precisely because it dealt with pre-Christian material that informed them of their national origins.

[10]SQ, 13 (1962), 207-18.

[11]Moffett credits Northrop Frye, "The Argument of Comedy," in EIS, 1948, and M. D. H. Parker, The Slave of Life (London: Chatto and Windus, 1955) as the two critics who first suggested the importance of Christ's birth for the interpretation of the play.

[12]"Stuart Cymbeline," Essays in Criticism, 11 (1961), 84-89.

[13]"'What's past is prologue': Cymbeline and Henry VIII," in Later Shakespeare, Stratford-upon-Avon Studies 8, ed. John Russell Brown and Barnard Harris (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1967), p. 213.

[14]"Shakespeare and Legendary History," p. 52.

[15]"The Use of Scripture in Cymbeline," ShakS, 4 (1968), 295.

[16]A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare: The Tragedy of Cymbeline (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincot, 1913), passim.

[17]See the Variorum, p. 28, note; and Nosworthy, Cymbeline, The Arden Shakespeare, p. 10, note.

[18]H. D. Swander, "Cymbeline: Religious Idea and Dramatic Design," in Pacific Coast Studies in Shakespeare, ed. Waldo F. McNeir and Thelma N. Greenfield (Eugene, Oregon: Univ. of Oregon Books, 1966), p. 255, rightly notes that "the religious language here is precise, Posthumus carefully moving through the three steps necessary for remission of sins --sorrow, repentance, and satisfaction--and Shakespeare emphasizes the orthodox structure and fullness of the contrition by anchoring those three alternate lines [ll. 11, 13, and 15] with the operative word[s] ["sorry," "repent," and "satisfy,"].

[19]Copp'd Hills Toward Heaven: Shakespeare and the Classical Polity, International Archives of the History of Ideas (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1970), p. 256.

[20]p. 256.

[21]"Introduction," Cymbeline, The Arden Shakespeare, p. lxxxiii.

[22]p. 6.

[23]"The Use of Scripture in Cymbeline," p. 294.

[24]p. 122.

[25]pp. 120-21.

[26]p. 122.

[27]"The Last Plays," in The Living Shakespeare, ed. Robert Gittings (London: Heinemann, 1960), p. 141.

[28]"Christian Significance of Shakespeare's Later Plays," Critic, 22 (1964), 15.

[29]p. 19.

[30]Shakespeare: The Last Phase (London: Hollis and Carter, 1954), p. 72.

[31]"Cymbeline and the Nativity," p. 213.

[32]p. 218.

[33]"History and Histrionics in Cymbeline," p. 48.

[34]"Stuart Cymbeline," p. 97.

[35]pp. 84-89.

[36]p. 90. See also Glynne Wickham, "From Tragedy to Tragi-Comedy: King Lear as Prologue," ShS, 26 (1973), 35, 39, for an excellent review of James I's identification as "our second Brute" by Samuel Daniel, Thomas Dekker, and Anthony Munday, among others.

[37]p. 90. Moreover, as D. Harris Willson summarizes: "Henry had believed himself a descendant of King Arthur, proclaimed by legend the ruler of all Britain; he had given the name of Arthur to his son. James also, before 1603, had called himself a new Arthur about to unite the kingdoms." King James VI and I (London: Jonathan Cape, 1956), p. 250.

[38]p. 90.

[39]p. 92. So Dekker in his Magnificent Entertainment (1603) addresses James:

> Great Monarch of the West, whose glorious Stem,
> Doth now support a triple diadem,
> Weying more than that of thy grandsire Brute. . . .
> (11. 849-851)

[40]p. 93.

[41]p. 96.

[42]"'What's past is prologue': Cymbeline and Henry VIII," p. 217.

[43]p. 218.

[44]p. 219.

[45]"From Tragedy to Tragi-Comedy: King Lear as Prologue," pp. 44-45.

[46]King James VI and I, p. 271.

[47]The Lives of John Donne, Sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Richard Hooker, Mr. George Herbert (London, 1670; rpt. London: J. M. Dent, 1898), p. 57.

[48]A Meditation upon the 27, 28, 29 Verses of the xxvii Chapter of S. Matthew. Or a Paterne for a Kings Inauguration (1620), pp. 17-19.

[49]Noted by Robert Hanning, The Vision of History in Early Britain: From Gildas to Geoffrey of Monmouth (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1966), pp. 26-27.

[50]For an excellent discussion, see David L. Middleton, "Shakespeare's Cymbeline and British Mythical History," Diss. Univ. of Wisconsin, 1970.

[51]p. 174.

[52]Arthur C. Kirsch, "Cymbeline and Coterie Dramaturgy," ELH, 34 (1967), 285-306, provides cogent arguments for assuming a court audience.

[53]Applying the work of A. O. Lovejoy, E. M. W. Tillyard, L. B. Campbell, and S. L. Bethell, W. H. Greenleaf, "James I and the Divine Right of Kings," Political Studies, 5 (1957), 36-48, describes the ideational context necessarily understood for a proper appreciation of the royalist arguments.

[54]The Political Works of James I, ed. Charles H. McIlwain (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1918), p. 307. Hereafter cited as PWJ.

[55]PWJ, pp. 307-08.

[56]PWJ, p. 12.

[57]PWJ, p. 248.

[58]"King James the First of England as Poet and Political Writer," in Seventeenth Century Studies Presented to Sir Herbert Grierson, ed. J. Dover Wilson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1938), pp. 47-63.

[59]Divine Poetry and Drama in Sixteenth-Century England (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1959), p. 82.

[60]King James VI and I, p. 63.

[61]Stephen Orgel, The Illusion of Power: Political Theater in the English Renaissance (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1975), makes clear the function of the court masque as a program designed to reveal the true meaning of kingship: "To the Renaissance, appearing in a masque was not merely playing a part. It was, in a profound sense, precisely the opposite. When Inigo Jones and Ben Jonson presented Queen Anne as Bal-Anna, Queen of the Ocean, or King James as Pan, the universal god, or Henry Prince of Wales as Oberon, Prince of Faery, a deep truth about the monarchy was realized and embodied in action, and the monarchs were revealed in roles that expressed the strongest Renaissance beliefs about the nature of kingship," p. 38. For thorough discussions, see Stephen Orgel, The Jonsonian Masque (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1965); Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court, 2 vols. (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1973), esp. pp. 49-75; and John C. Maegher, Method and Meaning in Jonson's Masques (Notre Dame: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1966), pp. 163-175, and passim.

[62]Regarding the content of royalist propaganda supporting the king's rights, see Francis D. Wormuth, The Royal Prerogative, 1603-1649 (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1939).

[63]See The Processes, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First, His Royal Consort, Family, and Court, 4 vols., collected by John Nichols (New York: Burt Franklin, 1828).

[64]The classic examination is Henry N. Paul, The Royal Play of Macbeth (New York: Macmillan, 1950); but see also Lily B. Campbell, "Political Ideas in Macbeth, IV.iii," SQ, 2 (1951), 281-86; and Irving Ribner, "Political Doctrine in Macbeth," SQ, 4 (1953), 202-05.

[65]Harris, "'What's past is prologue': Cymbeline and Henry VIII, pp. 229-33.

[66]Cymbeline, The Arden Shakespeare, p. 137, note.

[67]Shakespeare's Tragicomic Vision, p. 90.

[68]"Cymbeline and the Nativity," p. 217.

[69]"Queen Elizabeth as Astraea," pp. 38, 41.

[70]The Jonsonian Masque, p. 66.

[71]p. 66.

[72]See note 95. Jones also cites Jonson's Panegyre (1603) in which James is announced to be "the Glory of our Western World."

[73]"King James The First of England as Poet and Political Writer," pp. 59-60.

[74]"Stuart Cymbeline," p. 96.

[75]p. 96.

[76]Quoted in Nosworthy, Cymbeline, The Arden Shakespeare, p. 210. The quotation is from Sir Henry Herbert's account book records.

[77]Copp'd Hills Toward Heaven, p. 83.

[78]Legg, English Coronation Records, pp. 8 (Latin text), 12 (translation).

CHAPTER V

MILTON AND THE DEFIGURALIZATION OF THE MONARCHY

After relating an unsuccessful assassination attempt against the life of King Henry III, the culprit of which "was drawne in peeces with horses at Coventree," John Speed in his History of Great Britain (1611) pointedly remarks that such punishment was done "worthily: for . . .in wounding and killing a Prince, the Traitor is guilty of homicide, of parricide, of Christicide, nay of Deicide."[1] Thirty-eight years later, immediately after the execution of King Charles I on January 30, 1649, John Milton in his first regicide pamphlet, The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates, argues that in the instance of killing tyrannous kings "they may be as lawfully deposed and punished as they were at first elected."[2] In supporting such an action, Milton, of course, did not consider himself guilty of homicide, parricide, Christicide, or deicide. For Milton, the beheading of King Charles I was an act of righteous indignation and supreme justice; preeminently lawful, it was in fact sanctioned by divine approval. While this conclusion is thoroughly informed by extensive political, social, economic, and theological concerns,[3] its argument is also animated by Milton's denial of any typological significance regarding the king's person and office. Precisely because any such seventeenth-century refutation of the king's figural importance necessarily flouts the usual, traditional, and generally accepted figural understanding of the royal identity and because Milton himself is a

remarkably adept typologist whose writings are especially characterized by figuralism, this radical defiguralization of the monarchy deserves examination. In divesting Charles I of any figural pretension, it may be said that Milton not only frustrates much sentimentally inspired typological imagery frequently attached to the Stuart monarchs, but that he also proves himself instrumental in the subsequent secularization of royal power.

It is, of course, well to remember that Milton was not always so determinedly an anti-royalist. In both his early poetry and prose there are notable references to kings which reflect an acceptance (and upon occasion, commendation) of the monarchy. For example, at the age of seventeen, Milton, in the anti-papal "In Quintum Novembris" (1626), celebrates the deliverance of "pius extrema Jacobus,"[4] his own Protestant king whom God had favored by thwarting the outrages of diabolical papal assassins. Fifteen years later, in his first acknowledged prose work, the antiprelatical On Reformation Touching Church-Discipline in England (1641), Milton speaks of the royal dignity in the highest terms:

> There is no Civill Government that hath beene known, no not the Spartan, not the Roman, though both for this respect so much praised by the wise Polybius, more divinely and harmoniously tun'd, more equally ballanc'd as it were by the hand and scale of Justice, then is the Common-wealth of England: where under a free, and untutor'd Monarch, the noblest, worthiest, and most prudent men, with full approbation, and suffrage of the People have in their power the supreame, and finall determination of highest Affaires.[5]

Later in the same year, in his fourth antiprelatical tract, The Reason of Church-Government Urg'd against Prelaty, Milton not only acknowledges Charles I as "the Lord's Anointed," but urges the king to emulate Samson by rising up against those who would betray him:

> I cannot better liken the state and person of a King then to that mighty Nazarite Samson, who being disciplin'd from his birth in the precepts and the practice of Temperance and Sobriety, without the strong drink of injurious and excessive desires, grows up to a noble strength and perfection with those his illustrious and sunny locks the laws waving and curling about his god like shoulders. And while he keeps them about him undiminisht and unshorn, he may with the jawbone of an Asse, that is, with the word of his meanest officer suppresse and put to confusion thousands of those that rise against his just power.[6]

That Milton, eight years later, should become the great apologist for those regicides who rose up against Charles I's "just power" is obviously one of the many ironies of the century. Yet in 1641 Milton is satisfied to believe that a desirable harmony is possible and assures his readers that "we acknowledge that the civill magistrate weares an autority of Gods giving, and ought to be obey's as his vicegerent."[7] Concerning Milton's position before the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642, Mark Pattison summarizes it well: "When he wrote his Reason of Church Government (1641), Milton is still a royalist; not in the cavalier sense of a person attached to the reigning sovereign, or the Stuart family, but still retaining the belief of his age that monarchy in the abstract has somewhat of divine sanction."[8]

In the early years of the Civil War (after the ecclesiastical pamphlets but before the execution of Charles), there is little to infer about Milton's political thinking until the publication of his first regicide apology and his subsequent appointment as Secretary for Foreign Tongues to the Council of State. Indeed, as Arthur Barker reminds us, "it is only under the pressure of the events which culminated in the execution of Charles I in January, 1649, that Milton's political theory became explicit."[9] Douglas Bush describes the ecclesiastical and political tensions within which Milton decides against the monarchy:

> From the Middle Ages onward, the central question in political thought had been that of popular resistance to civil or royal authority, and this, like all political questions, had its religious as well as secular complications. . . . In England the general problem was exacerbated by the changing character and relations of the crown and parliament and by the personal character and principles of King James and King Charles. The Stuarts insisted on their divine right and their responsibility to none but God, in a way the chief Tudor sovereigns had been much too wise to do. On the other hand, parliament, while respectful to the last toward the Lord's Anointed, was increasingly determined to maintain what it regarded as its ancient rights against the new absolutism. Political conflict was complicated and intensified by the conflicts between Anglicans and Puritans and, from about 1645 onward, by the splitting of the Puritans into Presbyterian, Independent, and more or less antinomian sects. Further, the army, in which Independency was strong, had become a formidable political power, though it also had its internal divisions, notably between Cromwell and other "grandees" and the Levellers headed by John Lilburne.[10]

Because the crown adamantly refused to separate its interests from a prelatical form of church polity, by 1649 Milton, totally convinced that Charles's rule was anything but desirable, concludes that the king has become a "tyrant" in his refusal to accommodate himself sufficiently to the requisites of true Christian liberty.

No party, however, satisfies Milton for long. Throughout the 1650's he discovers to his dismay that each new and promising experiment in governmental policy becomes as oppressive as its predecessor. Already in 1646 Milton's famous "New Presbyter is but Old Priest writ Large"[11] expresses in the particular a conviction applicable to more institutions than that of the Presbyterian parliament. Thus while it may be difficult to determine whether or not Milton's reference to the "short but scandalous night of interruption" in Considerations Touching the Likeliest Means to Remove Hirelings Out of the Church (1659) alludes to the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell or to that of his son, Richard,[12] nevertheless this sharp expression of Milton's near-final disappointment

reflects his usual dissatisfaction with any political institution which fails to secure and promote true religious freedom--the most important good any state can guarantee. Indeed, from 1649 until the Restoration Milton had not only concentrated nearly all his literary energies on the defense of new forms of governmental structure and action; time and again he also calls upon his nation and its leaders to construct and realize an ever more perfect polity based on both classical and Biblical precedents.[13] In the end, however, one is not surprised to learn in the "Digression" to Milton's History of England, that the great apologist for Puritanism came to conclude that no one--not "Ruler, Priest, or People"--was able rightly to make full realization of "Liberty so long desired":

> For a Parliament being call'd, to Redress many things, as 'twas thought, the People with great Courage, and expectation to be eased of what Discontented them, chose to their behoof in Parliament, such as they thought best affected to the Publick Good, and some indeed Men of Wisdom and Integrity; the rest, to be sure the greater part, whom Wealth or ample Possessions, or bold and active Ambition (rather than Merit) had commended to the same place.
>
> But when once the superficial Zeal and Popular Fumes that acted their New Magistracy were cool'd, and spent in them, straight every one betook himself, setting the Commonwealth behind, his private Ends before, to do as his own profit or ambition led him. Then was Justice delayed, and soon after deny'd: Spight and Favour determined all: Hence Faction, thence Treachery, both at home and in the Field: Every where Wrong and Oppression: Foul and Horrid Deeds committed daily, or maintain'd, in secret, or in open.[14]

The monarchy, then, is only one form in which tyranny may take shape. But as it is privileged and hedged with divinity, it is also peculiarly (and in Milton's thinking, invariably) prone to idolatry and corruption. Moreover, as it is the least satisfactory of all possible contractual arrangements to be made between a free people and their leaders, the

monarchy is especially in need of constant scrutiny and examination.

Milton believed the monarchy of Charles to be wanting--and seriously so. As the chief apologist for the regicides, he was in fact utterly convinced that the execution was unmistakably justified and absolutely necessary. In his personal attacks on the king's integrity, piety, and ability to manage the kingdom, Milton castigates the king with a vehemence that has at times been not unjustly compared to our own abhorence for Adolf Hitler.[15] Thus even though it is true that in the argumentative development of the regicide tracts the unqualified guilt of Charles is supremely assumed and "the main intellectual content of the treatise [A Defense] is concerned not with Charles I himself, but with the moral justification of the rights of people to remove a tyrant,"[16] nevertheless Milton does upon occasion forcefully reiterate the nature of the king's despotic tyranny. In Eikonoklastes, for example, after detailing the despicable treatment of the parliament by the king, Milton demands answer to this question:

> And what signifies all this but that still his resolution was the same, to set up an arbitary Government of his own; and that all Britain was to be ty'd and chain'd to the conscience, judgement, and reason of one Man; as if those gifts had been only his peculiar and Prerogative, intal'd upon him with his fortune to be a King[?] When as doubtless no man so obstinate, or so much a Tyrant, but professes to be guided by that which he calls his Reason, and his Judgement, though never so corrupted; and pretends also his conscience. In the mean while, for any Parlament or the whole Nation to have either reason, judgement, or conscience, by this rule was altogether in vaine, if it thwarted the kings will; which was easie for him to call by any other more plausible name.[17]

Throughout Eikonoklastes, as Timothy J. O'Keeffe has demonstrated,[18] Milton continually demotes the king to the company of history's worst despots: Charles is but another tyrannical Caesar, a ruthless Pharaoh;

he takes his place among such Biblical oppressors as Nimrod, Herod, Agrippa, Ahab, Nebuchadnezzar, and Rehoboam.

Few assertions irritated Milton more than the royalist claim that King Charles I was not only a Christian saint and exemplar of martyrdom but also an honored, if not special and extraordinary, type of the King of Kings. Certainly it must be said that many Caroline regiphiles were not merely content to invest their sovereign with the usual medieval and Elizabethan sacramentalism generally associated with the monarchy. "There is," as Malcolm M. Ross rightly suggests, "in the Stuart period something rather like a debased Christology"[19] quite apparent in the amplification of Charles's figural role. As an indication, for example, of the astonishing veneration of the Carolines for their king, Horton Davies notes that "even before what they [the royalists] considered as his 'martyrdom' at the hands of the regicides, it should be observed that the east window of Lincoln College [in Oxford] shows Christ with a Vandyke beard, bearing a clear resemblance to the royal 'saint'."[20] Charles's close identification with the antitypal Christ of this window, remarkable for its panorama of typological personages, is hardly surprising. Milton himself complained about the outrageous suggestions implicit in the frontespiece of the Eikon Basilike, a "conceited portraiture" which paralleled the doomed Charles with the suffering Christ of Gethsemene:

> In one thing I must commend his op'nness who gave the title to this Book, Εικὼν βασιλικὴ, that is to say, the Kings Image; and by the Shrine he dresses out for him, certainly would have the people come and worship him. For which reason this answer also is intitl'd Iconoclastes, the famous Surname of many Greek Emperors, who in thir zeal to the command of God, after long tradition of Idolatry in the Church, took courage, and broke all superstitious Images to peeces. But the People, exorbitant and

> excessive in all thir motions, are prone ofttimes not to a religious onely, but to a civil kinde of Idolatry in idolizing thir Kings; though never more mistak'n in the object of thir worship.[21]

Especially after his death, Charles's identification with Christ tended at times to become to intense (and frequently sentimental) that, as Ross notes, "the royalist rhetoric of the age . . . sometimes exceeded and even contradicted the dictates of the faith and the demands of dogma."[22] Merritt Y. Hughes describes one aspect of the phenomena:

> The king's posthumous path to something like canonization was being paved by sermons seriously hailing him, like one by bishop Juxon, as "Britaines Josiah." More bolding and much more frequently Charles was being compared with Christ in sermons like that which was preached before Charles II by the bishop of Downe, Henry Leslie, at the Hague in 1649--its title: The Martyrdom of King Charles, or His Conformity with Christ in His Sufferings. Soon there were pamphlets like the anonymous The Life and Death of King Charles the Martyr, Parallel'd with Our Saviour in All His Sufferings. The vengeful corollary was explicit in a sermon by John Warner . . .: The Devilish Conspiracy, Hellish Treasons, which made Charles "by his death, your Martyr, your Sacrifice, and your Saviour."[23]

This blending of Charles and the Saviour in Bishop Warner's royalist sermon is further reinforced, as Helen W. Randall observes,[24] by his use of the deliberately ambiguous abbreviation "Ch" in the printed form of the sermon text:

> . . .for the Church inheritance, is enough to bring CH: the King to his death, that the Jew by the Devils help may have the inheritance of the Church; which rather than CH: the King would surrender up unto them, it being his rightfull inheritance, and committed to his trust by God himselfe, he would rather suffer this ignominious death; and for this he deserves to be everlastingly Chronicled as the Churches nursing Father, Patron, Protector, and Martyr, in that he was killed in defence of the Church.[25]

At this level of veneration King Charles I is no longer conventionally "God's sacred picture,"[26] "God's true image choicely wrought,"[27] or

even "our visible God";[28] he is in fact almost, if not entirely, indistinguishable from Christ.

And at times there are intimations that charles's apotheosis in royalist literature is even more daring. In particular, Ross calls attention to some of the elegaic verse of John Cleveland and Richard Lovelace in which he notes that the traditionally symbolic meaning of the crown "is destroyed by [a] preposterious identification of the king and Christ."[29] Thus, for example, in "AN ELEGIE Upon King CHARLES the First, murthered publikely by His Subjects," Cleveland, after admitting that his "faith, resting on the original [Christ], / Supports itself in this the copy's [Charles's] fall," concludes with this bold assertion concerning the meaning of his king's death and subsequent pasage into immortality:

> . . . how like a King of death He dies;
> We easily may the world and death despise:
> Death had no sting for him, and its sharp arm,
> Onely of all the troop, meant him no harm.
>
> In His great Name, then may His Subjects cry,
> Death thou art swallowed up in Victory
>
> And thus his Soul, of this her triumph proud,
> Broke, like a flash of lightning, through the cloud
> Of flesh and bloud; and from the highest line
> Of humane virtue, pass'd to be divine.[30]

Ross's comments on the theological implications of these verses are apropos: "If anything, Charles has more divinity in him than Christ. Death has no sting for him at all. Spared the real agony of Christ, he demonstrates on the scaffold a light-hearted indifference to the world, the flesh, and the devil. And his audience now may justly cry 'Death thou are swallowed up in victory.' What a pity that the Second Coming

of Charles was to be rather less than Christ-like in its epiphany."[31] Here, in other words, the copy (Charles) is made to transcend the pattern of the original (Christ) so that as a type the apotheosized king paradoxically (and illogically) "outfigures" his antitype. From any reasonably orthodox Christian point of view, Cleveland's poetry, long distinguished for its affectation and wrenched metaphors, may also be said in this instance to express bad theology.

But Cleveland is not the only royalist whose enthusiasm for the king sometimes produces a distortion of traditional Christian theology. Even the more conventional royalist poetry, like the elegaic verse collected in Monumentum Regale (1649), frequently strains to emphasize Charles's strong figural identity with the suffering and crucified Christ--although such an identification obviously does violence to the historicity and meaning of Jesus' passion and death.[32] In A Second Defense of the English People, Milton himself expresses his shock at Peter du Moulin's horrific suggestion in the Regii Sanguinis Clamor (1652) that somehow the execution of King Charles I was more lamentable than the crucifixion of Jesus Christ:

> The following assertion is . . . more shocking and blasphemous. In comparison with our crime, you say, "the crime of the Jews who crucified Christ was nothing, whether you compare the purpose of the Jews or the effects of their crime." Do you, a minister of Christ, make so light of the crime committed against Christ that, whatever the "purpose" or "effect," you dare to say that the murder of any king whatsoever is equally wicked? Certainly the Jews could by means of the clearest proofs have recognized the Son of God. We could in no way perceive that Charles was not a tyrant. Moreover, to mitigate the crime of the Jews you foolishly mention its "effect." But I always notice that the more enthusiastic a royalist a man is, the more he is inclined to bear any offence against Christ more easily than one against the king.[33]

Apparently the fears which Milton expressed in his "Preface" to the

Eikonolastes were not entirely unfounded, for many proved themselves "ready to fall flatt and give adoration to the Image and Memory of this Man [Charles], who hath offer'd at more cunning fetches to undermine our Liberties, and putt Tyranny into an Art, then any British King before him."[34]

Although it may not be difficult for a sympathetic observer to understand why, in the heat of conflict, men of the royalist persuasion were sometimes moved to extremes and excesses which would not usually occur in more tranquil times, nevertheless, as Douglas Bush rightly notes, the sacral Charles did become "a figure whom some royalists could look back upon as 'Christ the Second'."[35] For Milton, of course, any such suggestion or its approximation is worthy of immediate anathema and must be handily exposed as utterly false, presumptuous, and thoroughly offensive to sound doctrine. And inasmuch as figural exposition was extensively used to define the king's sacred character,[36] Milton necessarily refutes the typological argument. To this end, his anti-royalist program of defiguralization is simple and effective: he asserts, in brief, that no king--Christian or not--is ever an honored type of Christ after the historical fact of Christ's antitypal coming.

As a versatile typologist whose conscious employment of the figural idiom is second to none, Milton in his mature view reflects a thoroughly rigorous understanding of typology's proper function. Thus while it is true that in his early poetry, Milton employs typology in an extraordinarily sophisticated, complex, and generous manner,[37] nonetheless his early anti-prelatical tracts of the 1640's, his anti-monarchial treatises of the early and mid-1650's, and his later poetry reveal a deliberately controlled use of typology which is at once more reserved,

qualified, and conservative.[38] In the same way, then, that critics perceive a difference in style between his earlier and later prose--a difference characterized by an increased plainness and directness in the later works[39]--so we are able to discern a change in Milton's typological thinking and method. By the time of Paradise Lost, for example, Milton has ceased to see any true typology in the pagan myths which might have pointed to the truth of Christianity. Thus in contrast to his earlier use of figuralism in which, for instance, he allows Pan and Hercules to typify Christ,[40] the later Milton is observed rather often to qualify rigorously such possibilities as in his description of the pagan version of Satan's fall from heaven in Book I of Paradise Lost:

> Nor was his [Satan's] name unheard or unador'd
> In ancient Greece; and in Ausonian land
> Men call'd him Mulciber; and how he fell
> From Heav'n, they fabl'd, thrown by angry Jove
> Sheer o'er the Crystal Battlements: from Morn
> To Noon he fell, from Noon to dewy Eve,
> A Summer's day; and with the setting Sun
> Dropt from the Zenith like a falling Star,
> On Lemnos the AEgaean Isle: thus they relate,
> Erring. (738-747)

Throughout Paradise Lost and in Paradise Regained Milton customarily stigmatizes pagan myth (traditionally susceptible to typological interpretation after the manner of Clement of Alexandria) as "fabulous," "fabled," and "erring."[41]

The mature Milton is also opposed to any suggestion that monarchs living after Christ serve as types of God. Convinced that under the liberating power of the Christian Gospel men have acquired a new inner freedom which releases them from the need of images, external ceremony,

and lordly authority,[42] Milton saw no need whatsoever for the continuance of types now that Christ, the substance of all adumbrations, has come. This argument for the extraneous nature of post-Biblical royal types--that is, the baselessness of ontological royal typology--first appears in Of Reformation (1641), Milton's first anti-prelatical tract, in which he only obliquely refers to the dispute between the king and parliament. Writing as an undoubted Puritan, Milton declares that "Faith needs not the weak, and fallible office of the Senses, to be either the Ushers, or Interpreters, of heavenly Mysteries, save where our Lord himselfe in his Sacraments ordain'd" and immediately proceeds to upbraid the defenders of prelacy for their needless imitation of the Hebrew priesthood:

> They began to draw downe all the Divine intercours, betwixt God, and the Soule, yea, the very shape of God himselfe, into an exterior, and bodily forme, urgently pretending a necessity, and obligement of joyning the body in a formall reverence, and Worship circumscrib'd, they hallow'd it, they fum'd it, they princl'd it, they be deck't it, not in robes of pure innocency, but of pure Linnen, with other deformed, and fantastick dresses in Palls, and Miters, gold, and guegaw's fetcht from Arons old wardrope, or the Flamins vestry: then was the Priest set to con his motions, and his Postures his Liturgies, and his Lurries, till the Soule by this meanes of over-bodying her selfe, given up justly to fleshly delight, bated her wing apace downeward: and finding the ease she had from her visible, and sensuous collegue the body in performance of Religious duties, her pineons now broken, and flagging, shifted off from her selfe, the labour of soaring any more, forgot her heavenly flight, and left the dull, and droyling carcas to plod on in the old rode, and drudging Trade of outward conformity.[43]

Here Milton reproaches the prelates for justifying their heirarchy and polity by sharply rejecting the Anglican view that Old Teastament types continue to be fulfilled in the Church and that the visible church with its liturgical accouterments may reflect the inner life of the

Christian.[44] A year later, however, with the publication of Reason of Church Government, both the prelacy and the monarchy are together castigated for the manner in which they continue to usurp a figural prerogative which belonged exclusively to people and times antedating the coming of Christ. In the fifth chapter Milton adroitly refutes the arguments of a number of Anglican churchmen, who, in Certain Briefe Treatises, Written by Diverse Learned Men, Concerning the Ancient and Moderne Government of the Church (1641), had issued a compilation of essays defending the episcopacy. Milton in particular mentions Bishop Andrewes (for whom he had earlier written his "Elegia Tertia") as representative of the group and proceeds to demonstrate that the arguments favoring the episcopacy are impossibly circular. In developing his thesis that the "Apostolical traditions were taken out of the Old Testament,"[45] Andrewes had begun by observing that "the High Priest as a figure of Christ" and plainly admitted that since Christ "being now come in the flesh, the figure ceaseth."[46] With so much, of course, Milton agrees. But when Andrewes continues his argument by suggesting that because Christ is typed by kings both before and after his coming ("Christ [today] being as well King as Priest") so that by the logic of inclusion he must also be typed by his priests, then Milton can only stand in mocking awe of Andrewes' fallacious reasoning:

> Marvellous piece of divinity! . . . Here we have the type of the King sow'd to the type of the Bishop, suttly to cast a jealousie upon the Crowne, like Meleager in the Metamorphosis. . . . [But] the whole ceremoniall law and types . . . comprehends nothing but the propitiatory office of Christs Priesthood, which being in substance accomplisht, both law and Priesthood fades away of it selfe, and passes into aire like a transitory vision, and the right of King neither stands by any type nor falls.[47]

According to Milton, typology has nothing to say about the necessity or usefulness of the monarchy, and whether or not a free people wish to order their civil life under the pattern of monarchial rule is a decision uninformed by any typological considerations. In that all Old Testament priests and kings were types of the Messiah, this honor has long since been wholly engrossed by Christ whose advent makes any subsequent figures thoroughly unnecessary. Indeed, to suppose any continuation of post-Biblical types is to suggest that the antitypal Messiah is somehow less than the complete fulfillment of all promise and the substance of all hope.

It would be inappropriate to conclude, however, that Milton's disdain for the English throne--and for Charles in particular--stems only or largely from his displeasure over the king's vaunted figural pretensions or from Milton's own insistence on a point of theology. Nor do Milton's anti-royalist sentiments necessarily create subtle and unresolvable tensions in tone in the later poetry because the very God whose ways with men Milton seeks to justify is himself but another monarch whose heavenly rule must perforce be inevitably associated with the autocratic reign of Charles I.[48] Milton had more reasons for defending the overthrow of the Stuart regime than simply a passionate dislike for Charles's typological presumption, and in context Milton's insistence on a defiguralized king plays an important but relatively minor role in the overall development of his argument on behalf of the regicide and its supporters. As Z. S. Fink and others[49] have shown, Milton's more positive schedule for the realization of England's political structure derives primarily from his theory of natural law, his Puritan dislike of most Old Testament kings, his study of history, his

appreciation for classical models of the mixed state, his regard for English common law, and his firm conviction that the final sovereignty of a nation resides in its people who both retain and delegate political authority to those who are the noblest, worthiest, and most prudent men of the nation. Because the Gospel abrogates all Old Testament patterns of civil government, Christians may freely determine what form of government best suits the needs of their nation and time. In principle, then, a king might in fact qualify as one who may in stewardship receive delegated authority to govern. In such a situation the king would, of course, be responsible to the people. In practice, however, the almost universal experience of men and nations conspired to convince Milton otherwise. Fink summarizes:

> [For Milton] Polybius had shown clearly that the monarchic element might be present without there being any king. Rome not only proved the possibility but suggested that kings were best dispensed with. Such an exponent of the mixed state as Machiavelli told Milton that a republic was superior to a monarchy. Plato and Aristotle taught him that monarchy was prone to degenerate into tyranny. The course of Charles I seemed to offer concrete proof of the assertion. Presently we find [Milton] saying that of all forms of government monarchy was the one which turned most easily into tyranny. But tyranny was by very definition inconsistent with, and destructive of, mixed government. Holding this principle, Milton was led inevitably to reject monarchy, that is, to reject kingship as a satisfactory representative of the monarchial or magisterial element in the state.[50]

Simply stated, Milton's theological and political program seeks to reduce the possibility of tyranny as much as possible and, conversely, to enlarge the scope of personal freedom for Christian men as far as possible.

To this end Milton calls upon an enormous battery of logic, historical analysis, Biblical and patristic learning, humanistic conviction,

and rhetorical persuasion to dismantle the royal prerogative that England might be free from tyranny. Admittedly Milton's political hopes were never fully realized in his lifetime. But after only a brief resurgence of the king's "christic identity"[51] during the exuberant early years of the Restoration, the once-brilliant and previously much observed royal numen which marked the king's figural importance is reduced to a penumbral existence. Certainly it would be difficult to assess to what degree Milton's refutation of the king as typus Christi is directly or ultimately responsible for the eventual demise of royal figuralism at the end of the seventeenth century. But as he was the chief apologist for revolution, regicide, and the Puritan vision of a new world, Milton was also noticeably instrumental in, if not preeminently responsible for, the final and total eclipse of monarchial typology in our western world.

NOTES

[1]IX.ix. Par. 59. Speed cites Holinshed, p. 123, as the source and and marginally supports the statement by noting that "kings are anointed" and "in holy Scriptures they are called Gods."

[2](1649), p. 198, in the Complete Prose Works of John Milton, III, ed. Don M. Wolfe and others (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1953-). All references to the prose works of Milton are from this seven volume edition, hereafter cited as CPW.

[3]Materials on the historical and cultural background are extensive. The standard history of the period is Godfrey Davies, The Early Stuarts, 1603-1660 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937; rev. 1959); Samuel Rawson Gardiner, History of England from the Accession of James I. to the Outbreak of the Civil War: 1603-1642, 10 vols. (London: Longmans, Green, 1884-1889) is still the authoritative work on which later accounts are largely based. The fullest single interpretation is Arthur Barker, Milton and the Puritan Dilemma, 1641-1660 (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1942). "Introductions" in CPW are, of course, invaluable. John T. Shawcross, "A Survey of Milton's Prose Works," in Achievements of the Left Hand: Essays on the Prose of John Milton, ed. Michael Lieb and John T. Shawcross (Amherst: Univ. of Massachusetts Press, 1974) attempts to gather up all known information about editions, dates of composition, public reaction to and knowledge of the prose works, and general scholarly discussions of them.

[4]John Milton: Complete Poems and Major Prose, ed. Merritt Y. Hughes (New York: Odyssey Press, 1957), p. 15. All references to Milton's poetry are from this edition.

[5]CPW, I, 599.

[6]pp. 858-59.

[7]p. 771.

[8]Milton, English Men of Letters Series (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1901), p. 116.

[9]Milton and the Puritan Dilemma, p. 134.

[10]John Milton: A Sketch of His Life and Writings (New York: Collier, 1964), p. 107.

[11]"On the New Forces of Conscience under the Long Parliament," l. 20.

[12]To what span of time Milton refers is a matter of critical debate. I am inclined to agree with Austin Woolrych, "Milton and Cromwell: 'A Short but Scandalous Night of Interruption'?" in Achievements of the Left Hand, pp. 185-12, that the reference must be taken to mean the six-year term of Cromwellian rule. For other considerations, however, see the summary arguments of William B. Hunter, John S. Smart, Don M. Wolfe, Barbara K. Lewalski, and Michael Fixler in CPW, VII, 85 ff.

[13]From 1649 to 1660 Milton published six major political treatises. In The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates (February, 1649) he sets down the philosophical argument which leads to the conclusion that deposition and punishment of a tyrant is legal by delineating how kings came into being, their responsibilities toward the people, the nature of tyranny, and the duty of the people when the tyranny exists. Throughout Milton contends that the power of kings and magistrates has been conferred upon them by the people in covenant for common peace and benefit; when this power is abused, it is the people's right and duty to reassume that power or to alter it in whatever way is most condusive to the general good. With the publication of Eikonoklastes (October, 1649) Milton provides a lengthy rejoinder to Eikon Basilike, ostensibly written by Charles I as his "passion meditations" prior to the execution. In his Defensio pro Populo Anglicano February, 1651; a reply to the royalist argument of Claude de Saumaise (Salmasius) and in the Defensio Secunda (May, 1654; an answer to Peter du Moulin's Regii Sanguinis Clamor ad Coelum adversus Parricidas Anglicanos), Milton, reiterating and expanding many of the arguments of The Tenure, justifies the regicide by appealing to the authority and precedent of many previous peoples, by citing English law and practice, by rehearsing the character of Charles I, and by addressing himself to the public need. In A Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes (February, 1659), Milton argues "from the Scripture only" the inalienable right of the individual Christian to be guided by his understanding of the Bible and the illumination of the Holy Spirit, without any interference from civil or ecclesiastical authority. Finally, in The Readie and Easie Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth (February, 1660), in something of a last attempt to rescue the Puritan cause, Milton, denouncing the sentiment for rule by either king or protector, calls for the rule of the "worthy" minority and the perpetuation of a "council of ablest men" in hopes that such a governing body would preclude the establishment of a new and probably Royalist parliament. For thorough discussions on the strategies of these tracts and treatises, see not only the "Introductions" in CPW, but also Z. S. Fink, "The Theory of the Mixed State and the Development of Milton's Political Thought," PMLA, 57 (1942), 705-36; Arthur Barker, Milton and the Puritan Dilemma, passim; but especially Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, "Milton: Political Beliefs and Polemical Methods, 1659-1660," PMLA, 74 (1959), 191-202.

[14]CPW, V, Part 1, 442-43. This "Digression," written in 1670, was deleted from the History until the 1681 edition.

[15]"As for Charles, he was to Milton precisely what Hitler seems to us." Merritt Y. Hughes, "Satan and the 'Myth" of the Tyrant," p. 131, attributes the comparison to G. Wilson Knight, Chariot of Wrath (London, n.d.), p. 170.

[16]William J. Grace, "Preface to A Defense," in CPW, IV, Part 1, 287. For a more complete summary of the charges of tyranny, see CPW, III, 88-100. Milton himself rehearses the charges in A Defense (CPW, IV, Part 1, 519 ff.)

[17]CPW, III, 359.

[18]"The Imaginal Strategy of John Milton's Eikonoklastes," BSUF, 11 (1970), 33-45.

[19]Poetry and Dogma: The Transformation of Eucharistic Symbols in Seventeenth Century English Poetry (New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1954), p. 127.

[20]Worship and Theology in England from Andrewes to Baxter and Fox, 1603-1660 (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1975), p. 12.

[21]Eikonoklastes, CPW, III, 343.

[22]Poetry and Dogma, p. 131, note 14.

[23]"Date, Occasion, and Method of Eikonoklastes," in CPW, III, 160.

[24]"The Rise and Fall of a Martyrology: Sermons on Charles I," HLQ, 10 (1946), 135-67.

[25]This passage from The Devilish Conspiracy (London, 1649), p. 23, is quoted by Randall, p. 142. For other discussions of the sermon, see Florence Sandler, "Icon and Iconoclast," in Achievements of the Left Hand, pp. 178 ff. and Steven N. Zwicker, Dryden's Political Poetry: The Typology of King and Nation (Providence: Brown Univ. Press, 1972), p. 51. Randall also notes that in the Autobiography of Thomas Raymond and Memoirs of the Family of Guise of Elmore, Gloucestershire, ed. Godfrey Davies (Camden Third Series, Vol. XXVIII; London, 1917), it is recorded that a minister, preaching soon after the execution of King Charles I, is reputed to have said, "Nay, we have put to death our King, our most gracious and good King"--at which he made a little pause (the people amazed and gazing aboute expecting the preacher should be pulled out of the pulpit) but he added--"the Lord Jesus Christ by our sinnes and transgression" (p. 141).

[26]William Drummund, "Speeches to the High and Excellent Prince Charles . . . at his entering his City of Edinburgh. Delivered from the Pageants the 15th of June, 1633," in The Works of the English Poets from Chaucer to Cowper, ed. Alexander Chalmers (C. Whittingham, 1810; rpt. New York: Greenwood, 1969), V, 683.

[27]Sir John Beaumont, "A Panegyric at the Coronation of King Charles," in The Works of the English Poets, VI, 32.

[28]Henry Valentine, God Save the King (London, 1629), p. 6.

[29]Poetry and Dogma, p. 132.

[30]Poems (London, 1653; rpt. Menston, Yorkshire, 1971), pp. 84-5. Ross cites these lines in Poetry and Dogma, p. 130.

[31]p. 130.

[32]For examples of typological distortion regarding the monarchy which were prevalent in the mid-seventeenth century, see Steven Zwicker, Dryden's Political Poetry, pp. 16-23 and 36-55, in which he provides instances of a so-called correlative and political typology between Charles and Christ. It should be noted that Zwicker does not sufficiently emphasize that such formulations are often deviations from historic royal figuralism which in its ontological mode recognizes a clear distinction between type and antitype. The earlier discussions of Ross in Poetry and Dogma provide the necessary understanding of the historical context which Zwicker's analysis lacks. Zwicker's presentation is helpful, however, in that it provides numerous examples of typological aberration which are common to seventeenth-century royal figuralism.

[33]CPW, IV, Part 1, 599-600.

[34]CPW, III, 344.

[35]John Milton, p. 109.

[36]See, for example, Robert Weldon, Doctrine of the Scriptures Concerning the Originall of Dominion (1648) in which it is argued that the title of anointed ones, or Christs, or--in the idiom of the Old Testament--Elohim, or gods, belongs rightfully to all Christian kings and guaranteed their "Perpetuity and Intangibility" (p. 66). James I uses the same argument in his Trew Law of Free Monarchie (see The Political Works of James I, ed. Charles H. McIlwain Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1918 , p. 61) as does his son, Charles I in the Eikon Basilike (1649), pp. 118-19, where he asserts that kings are "shadows of God" who has "graven upon kings such Characters of divine Autoritie, and Sacred Power . . . as none may without sin seek to blot them out."

[37]For discussions of Milton's use of typology prior to the publication of his anti-episcopal tracts, see H. R. MacCallum, "Milton and the Figurative Interpretation of the Bible," UTQ, 31 (1962), 397-415; John C. Ulreich, Jr., "The Typological Structure of Milton's Imagery," Milton Studies, 5 (1973), 67-85; J. Auffret, "Pagano-Christian Syncretism in Lycidas," Anglia, 86 (1969), 26-38; and especially David Shelley Berkeley, Inwrought with Figures Dim: A Reading of Milton's "Lycidas" (The Hague: Mouton, 1974).

[38]This is not to suggest, of course, that Milton's use of figurae is less complex in his later poetry. For discussions, see the following: Northrop Frye, "The Typology of Paradise Regained," MP, 53 (1956), 227-38; Joseph Galdon, "Typology and Seventeenth-Century Literature," Diss. Columbia Univ. 1965; William G. Madsen, "Earth the Shadow of Heaven: Typological Symbolism in Paradise Lost," PMLA, 75 (1960), 518-26, and From Shadowy Types to Truth: Studies in Milton's Symbolism

(New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1968); C. A. Patrides, Milton and the Christian Tradition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), passim; Robert Reiter, "In Adam's Room: A Study of the Adamic Typology of Christ in Paradise Regained," Diss. Univ. of Michigan, 1964; Lynn V. Sadler, "Regeneration and Typology: Samson Agonistes in Its Relationship to De Doctrina Christiana, Paradise Lost, and Paradise Regained," SEL, 12 (1972), 141-56, and "Typological Imagery in Samson Agonistes: Noon and the Dragon," ELH, 37 (1970), 195-210; Barbara K. Lewalski, Milton's Brief Epic: The Genre, Meaning, and Art of Paradise Regained (Providence: Brown Univ. Press, 1966), esp. pp. 164 ff.; Frederick Plotkin, "Milton's Hell and the Typology of Anonymity," Greyfriar, 11 (1970), 21-30; and John C. Ulreich, Jr., "Typological Symbolism in Milton's Sonnet XXIII," Milton Quarterly, 8 (1974), 7-10.

[39]See Harry Smallenburg, "Government of the Spirit: Style, Structure, and Theme in Treatise of Civil Power," in Achievements of the Left Hand, pp. 219-38.

[40]"On the Morning of Christ's Nativity," ll. 89, 225 ff.

[41]See, for example, P.L. I, 197; IX, 30; X, 580; and P.R. 2.358.

[42]On Milton's concept of genuine Christian liberty, see Douglas Bush's fine commentary in English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century, 1600-1660 (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1962), pp. 394-98.

[43]Of Reformation in England, CPW, I, 519-20.

[44]See my forthcoming "George Herbert's 'Aaron': The Aesthetics of Shaped Typology" in ELN for a discussion of Herbert's appreciation of the Aaronic priesthood as its culminates in Christ and his church.

[45]Of Episcopacy (1641), p. 58. Unable to examine the text of Certain Briefe Treatises, I have had to rely on the introduction and notation in CPW, I, 736-744, for a summary presentation of its argument. Because, however, Of Episcopacy employs the same typological arguments as used in Certain Briefe Treatises and inasmuch as Milton refers to "a little treatise lately printed among others [italics mine] of like sort at Oxford" (CPW, I, 768), I have used this text to examine the Anglican argument for the episcopacy.

[46]CPW, I, 769, note 4.

[47]769-70.

[48]In Milton's Royalism: A Study of the Conflict of Symbol and Idea in the Poems (Ithica: Cornell Univ. Press, 1943) Malcolm M. Ross argues that "by making use of the only idiom which could convey the sense of might and vengeance, the anti-royalist Milton had to employ tricks of the contortionist in order not to identify the Almighty (and himself) with the royalist tradition and with royalist sympathies" (pp. 111-12). A problem with this Shelleyean attack on Milton and his God is that, as Arthur Barker notes in his review article Canadian Forum, 24 (1944), 189 , Ross's argument does not provide "any detailed account of the

distinction between kingship and tyranny which Milton developed in his revolutionary prose and made fundamental in the contract between God's royal Son and his tyrannous Satan." Barker has in mind, no doubt, passages such this from A Second Defense: "If I attacks tyrants, what is this to kings, whom I am very far from classing as tyrants? As a good man differs from a bad, so much, I hold, does a king differ from a tyrant. Hence it happens that a tyrant not only is not a king but is always an especially dangerous threat to kings. . . . He who asserts, therefore, that tyrants must be abolished asserts, not that kings should be abolished, but the worst enemies of kings, the most dangerous, in fact, of all their foes" (CPW, IV, Part 1, 561-62).

[49]Fink's "The Theory of the Mixed State and the Development of Milton's Political Thought," PMLA, 57 (1942), 705-36, is a valuable presentation regarding Milton's views on creating a permanent governmental structure based on both classical and contemporary models. See also Barbara K. Lewalski, "Milton: Political Beliefs and Polemical Methods, 1659-60," PMLA, 74 (1959), 191-202; and relevant introductions in CPW.

[50]"The Theory of the Mixed State and the Development of Milton's Political Thought," p. 719.

[51]Zwicker, Dryden's Political Poetry, p. 119.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Within the span of some seventy years, from approximately 1590 to 1660, the employment of monarchial typology in Renaissance literature reaches not only its fullest expression but also rapidly, and perhaps inevitably, undergoes its most severe criticism. In the very late sixteenth century, after a general eclipsing of the artistic expression of figural thought in both the visual and literary arts, Edmund Spenser, drawing upon a vast tradition of royal figuralism long considered thoroughly catholic and orthodox by Christians everywhere, creates a vision of Queen Elizabeth I which so suffuses her Sacred Majesty with such rich typological significance that in her terrestrial rule she becomes nothing less than the great penultimate sign of the Church's eschatological redemption in Christ. Within less than a decade after her death, however, the once expansive and utterly vibrant figuralism of Elizabethan times begins noticeably to diminish in the intensity of its artisitic expression. Thus although as a theologian and self-confessed _typus Dei_ James I is, no doubt, equally (or perhaps more so) aware of his figural significance in the keeping of England's realm, nevertheless in a play such as Shakespeare's _Cymbeline_, one finds the expression of monarchial typology more qualified, delicate, and subdued than ever its expression in the times of Elizabeth. Even though the inherently figural element in _Cymbeline_ acknowledges the necessary

importance of the pax Jacobi as complementing the earlier pax Cymbelini, nevertheless both the muted tone and a careful hesitancy not to exaggerate the monarch's figural importance signals an awareness of those temptations which kings encounter when as typoi Christi they are inclined to forget their dependence on Him whom they represent in the economy of history's redemption. Hence in Cymbeline one finds the figural expression of monarchial typology delicate in compliment and qualified by gentle admonition. It is, however, within the reign of Charles I, despite all the royalist propaganda to the contrary, that one locates--especially in Milton's program of defiguralizing the king of his christic identity--the sure premonitions of the monarchy's eventual desacralization. In his deep-seated antipathy to the tyrant whoever and wherever he may be, Milton did much more than simply justify the way of the regicides; by exposing how a king may in fact become a tyrant because and in spite of his supposed typological significance, Milton challenges his countrymen to appropriate for themselves, individually and collectively, a new and redirected christic identity which will enable them to be truly free.

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