Athens Journal of Philology - Volume 11, Issue 2, June 2024 – Pages 153-186

Allegorical Representations of Tudor Princes

By Natalya Davidko[*]

The problem of studying various types of allegorical discourses is topical. The current research devoted to allegories as a special device in the literary and pictorial art of sixteenth-century England is concerned with three different types of figurative mode of representation, their cognitive content, and their pragmatic effect. The poets, playwrights, and artists developed iconic representations of the Tudor monarchs by means of three forms of allegories: comparisons, impersonations, and personifications whose public aim was the consolidation of the dynastic power and hermeneutic interpretation of abstract concepts which made up the core of Tudor cosmology. The study provides an integrated approach to the allegorical paradigm as the totality of all means (textual and visual) expressing the same conceptual theme. The analysis has a strictly historical character and is put in the context of contemporary events and prevailing philosophical views. The corpus of literary material is discussed in rhetorical and ideological terms,

Keywords: *allegorical comparisons, impersonations, personifications, Moon culture.*

> This ornament we speake of is giuen by figures and figurative speeches, which be the flowers as it were and coulors that a Poet setteth upon his language of arte, as the embroderer doth his stone and perle, or passements of gold vpon the stuffe of a Princely garment, or as th'excellent painter bestoweth the rich Orient coulors upon his table of portrait; so our Poet is in the discreet using of his figures, by all measure and just proportion, and in places most aptly to be bestowed (Puttenham 1869, p. 150).

Introduction

Many scholars of medieval culture consider that the Middle Ages were the "Age of Allegory." In this article I want to make a case that the Tudor age was the "Age of Allegory," in which it became an intrinsic property not only of literature and art, but of courtly and political life, too. Far from being diminished or altogether extinct, allegory acquired new functions and extended to new cultural areas such as drama, pageants, and pictorial art. "Ancient, medieval, and Renaissance writers distinguished between theological allegory and literary allegory, between allegory as a description of the cosmos and allegory as a rhetorical mode or product of human invention" (Kahn 2017, p.33). Morton Bloomfield considers allegory "the most significant mode of expression" in the early-modern period and the greatest treasure of world literature (Bloomfield 1987). Allegory is a multifaceted device that performs several semiotic functions among which a *propagandist* and *hermeneutic* functions which provide for cult creation and the dissemination of easily understood ideas (be it politics, ideology, or religion) are,

[*]Assistant Professor, Moscow Institute TOURO, Russia.

https://doi.org/10.30958/ajp.11-2-3 doi=10.30958/ajp.11-2-3

probably, the most important[1]. However, there are few works analyzing various forms of literary allegories of the period in question, as a result, many aspects of allegories have so far been overlooked as many literary works (material for analysis) have been neglected or remained unread. The current article proposes to fill in this gap and answer the following questions: what is the artist's intention in employing allegories; how the use of allegories increases the effectiveness of literary works; what textual paradigms are formed; what are social and political practices in art and literature.

Allegory as Analogy

Our understanding of allegory proceeds from the assumption that allegory is grounded in analogical reasoning as a fundamental instrument of human thought. Analogy (from Greek *analogia*, "proportion") is a cognitive process of transferring information or meaning from a particular object to another. The underlying theory postulates that a nexus is established in representation between two objects. The properties typical of one are ascribed to the other, so they become common for both. Allegories make it possible to look at an object from multiple angles and allow multiple ways of interpreting it.

A comprehensive treatment of the mental process of analogy is given in the works of philosophers, psychologists, and writers. Analogy is viewed as a basic formal mechanism that transposes one category onto another and "apprehends metaphysical relations of identity and difference. It is by analogy that one conceives the likeness of the unlike" (Blanton 2015, p.750). Epistemologically, analogy is a means of cognition; phenomenologically, analogies provide the ways to compare objects and events and establish relationships between them. Baudelaire identified imagination as the governing faculty in the creation of analogies and metaphors and therefore in the creation of new forms (Babuts 1992, p. 26).

In the discussion of analogy, the philosophers are indebted to Aristotle, who draws an analogy between a mode of representation and what it represents. Properties of the representation provide grounds for inferring corresponding properties in the object represented. He also suggested "the doctrine of analogical predication," which illumines many deferent kinds of relationships: "To affirm or deny one thing of many, or many of one, is not one affirmation or negation unless the many things together make up some one thing. I do not call them one if there exists one name but there is not some one thing they make up" (Aristotle 1984, p. 32). Analogical predication illustrates how new properties are added to the subject borrowed from an entirely separate identity. As a result, it creates a new, still-unknown identity.

[1]Other functions are: 1) a heuristic function that helps to visualize some phenomenon (person, event or situation); 2) a catachrestic function filling gaps in the system of meanings, which is originally incomplete; 3) an exegetical function explaining complicated or abstract concepts; 4) a propagatory function transmitting knowledge down to new generations.

The Moon Culture

The theoretical basis and aesthetic orientation of the 16th century poetical allegories was the Moon culture that permeated Renaissance England's worldview and became the cultural context of the contemporary writings and paintings.

Veneration of the Moon began early in human societies both in primitive hunting cultures and in sedentary agricultural communities dependent on the cyclical vegetative processes. Though a less common esoteric tradition, the Moon cult is present in many faiths and religions, both old and young. In the *Book of Ecclesiasticus*[2] written about two hundred years before Christ but considered canonical by the Catholic Church by virtue of being directed by the spirit of God, the Moon is treated as the armament of Heaven, a sign of contemplative life, and a sign of the world. The writer refers to the Moon as an "instrument of the armies above. Stars accompany and wait on the Moon as a reward for her giving light during the darkness in a long night" (Bayley 2000, p. 104). The Moon is

> An instrument of the hosts on high,
> Shining forth in the firmament of heaven,
> The beauty of heaven, the glory of the stars,
> An ornament giving light in the highest places of the Lord,
> At the word of the Holy One they will stand in due order,
> And they will not faint in their watches (Ecclesiasticus 1896, 43:6–9, p 150).

Viewed in terms of the rhythmic life of the cosmos, the Moon is regarded as a deity that controls life cycles. Being a celestial body that disperses night darkness, the Moon is considered a Luminary that sheds the light of God's knowledge on people. This divine enlightenment invites to contemplation, the highest activity of the mind, to penetrate "the realm of eternal truth and beauty" (Battenhouse 1941, p. 588), which results in the purification of the soul.

In the Egyptian culture, the Moon deity was masculine and identified with Thoth[3], the pathfinder and the awakener of sleeping minds. In ancient Indian beliefs, the path of the pious and virtuous led to the Moon, a kind of paradise filled with tranquility and bliss (Bayley 2000, p. 107). The most impressive and exhaustive description of the Moon is given by Plutarch (46–119 AD) in his treatise *The Face In The Moon* also called *De Facie*. Composed as a dialogue between real persons living in Plutarch's lifetime and great minds of the past, *De Facie* reflects contemporary views on the celestial body, its mystical allure and powers. One of the participants, Apollonides, offers an extraordinary idea that "the face, as we call it, is made up of images of the great ocean mirrored in the Moon; and the full moon is of all mirrors the most beautiful and the purest in uniformity

[2]*Ecclesiasticus* is a work written by the scribe Ben Sira of Jerusalem, originally written in Hebrew on the inspiration of his father Joshua (sometimes called Jesus), son of Sirach,. It consists of ethical teachings and contains advice and instruction as to the duties of man toward himself, the poor, society and the state, and most important toward God.

[3]The god of the moon, wisdom, knowledge, writing, hieroglyphs, science, magic, art and judgment.

and luster. The outer Ocean[4] is seen in the moon, not where it really is" (Plutarch 1911, p. 18).

The range of ideas about the Moon in Plutarch's treatise is extensive. An important part is his views on the nature and fate of the soul, and the Moon's role in the creation of man: "the earth contributes body to the birth of man, the moon soul, the sun reason, just as he contributes light to the moon" (Plutarch 1911, p.44-45). The distinction between mind (reason) and soul is in their derivation from the Sun and the Moon respectively. In the eschatology of Plutarch, death takes two steps. When man dies, on the earth Demeter parts soul from body; on the Moon, Persephone parts mind from soul. Being freed from mind, souls embrace a life of quiet and philosophical contemplation. Every soul, when it has quit the body, should wander in the region between earth and moon to pay penalties for their wrong doings. (Plutarch 1911, p. 47). The question of the habitability of the moon is solved by Plutarch making it a dwelling place of purged souls; impure souls are rejected by the Moon by scaring them off with her ominous face. Both the separation of Intellect from the soul and the combination of Intellect with the soul happen on the moon. The function of the moon is to receive the soul into itself (by making it a part of itself) and to generate it anew out of itself.

The cult of the Moon flourished in Tudor England and had a bearing on many aspects of English life taking hold of the minds of the contemporary poetical elite and intellectuals. It was during this time that many of the influential thinkers, such as Sir Walter Raleigh, Christopher Marlowe, and George Chapman founded a group of scholars called the 'School of Night.' The doctrine of the School of Night was based on Platonic mysticism whose main postulate was the "pre-existence of a celestial chaos – a divine realm not yet illuminated by the light of the Sun" (Battenhouse 1941, p. 585).

Since the general intellectual life of the Tudor age was closely connected with poetry as a venue of spreading ideology and philosophy, we shall analyze the Moon culture and its main conventions as they were presented in the most illuminating poem by George Chapman (1559–1634) *The Shadow of Night* published in 1594. It was his first extant published poem which articulated in a poetic form the prime ideas of this esoteric and transcendental culture. Roy Battenhouse considers that Chapman formulated a "systematic philosophy of Night" based on "a Platonic natural religion which employs the moon as symbol of spiritual illumination" (Battenhouse 1941, p. 587) in opposition to the orthodox Christian religion.

The first postulate of this occult idealism is that the primordial darkness is not evil but is the first creation of God, the "chaos of our first descent," the time of honor and virtue. Darkness is regarded as a godsend for the purification of human soul: "Chaos had soul without a body then./ Now bodies live without the souls of men" (Chapman 1874, p. 4). It is to be noted that in Chapman's interpretation darkness brings spiritual illumination to people, which the Sun that the poet considers a "false beacon" does not. Night signifies a soul in its prime state, that is

[4]In ancient cosmology, the outer Ocean is a level, flowing ocean stream surrounding the earth and separating the abode of the supreme god/gods and men from the abode of disembodied spirits and rulers of the dIsukha and idakho of Western Kenya (Fairfield 1882, p. 7-10).

in a state of peace and divine bliss "when unlightsome, vast, and indigest/ The formless matter of this world did lie, /Fill'd'st every place with divinity" (Chapman 1874, p. 4). The second postulate proclaims Night the "most sacred mother both of gods and men" because "Night fosters the inward wisdom, the knowledge of divine things / Night purifies the mind, acts as a purge for pure spirits" (Chapman 1874, p. 6). He addresses Night in a most respectful way: "thou dear Night, O goddess of most worth; great mistress of heaven's gloomy rack" (Chapman 1874. p. 6). Night pours forth "sweet seas of golden humor," i.e., Moonlight that symbolizes divine life and reason and starlight that symbolizes the spirits of virtuous men. The poet distinguishes Mother Night from shadow-Night, the former representing "things eternal, dignified above" (Chapman 1874, p. 6), which people should aspire, the latter the mutable material world in which they live. The Moon is a bright heart of true Night.

A very beautiful description of the Moon is given by Giordano Bruno stressing hazy shimmering luminescence of lunar ambiance and misty outlines of all things:

> Next to her stand nocturnal Silence, starry Crown, silvery Gleam, rosy Calm, tawny Pallor, bronze Tawniness, pinkening Mist, divided Half-Shapefulness, shadowy Joy, murky Mutability, golden yellow Brightness, bright Gold yellowness (Bruno 1991, p. 194).

The third postulate hypothesizes that Day and daylight are "sources of corruption of the soul and of mistaken knowledge. The light imagery bears strikingly different connotations in Platonic mysticism and in the orthodox religion. Chapman associates Day with "the whoredom of this painted light" and calls on Night to beat the "haughty Day to the infernal deep" with her starry wings. Day is a refuge for sin. People sink into an abyss of lust, greed, avarice and become "no less than huge impolish'd heaps of filthiness," (Chapman, 1874, p. 6) their hearts are black. Frances Yates summarized Chapman's word picture as an antithesis between Day and Night, "in which the busy occupations of the Day are contrasted with the meditative Night of Melancholy, the former being empty and foolish, the latter profound and holy" (Yates 1979, p. 162).

> Her [Night's] trusty shadows succour men dismay'd,
> Whom Day's deceitful malice hath betray'd
> Come consecrate with me, to sacred Night
> Your whole endeavours, and detest the
> light (Chapman 1874, p.8).

Shadow-dark meaning ignorance and "blindness of mind" is opposed to Divine dark – intuitive knowledge which apperceives God's truth. The metaphysical significance of this distinction is that the Sun God and the Moon Goddess are an alternative way of expressing the same opposition between the Active and the Contemplative life, living in Time and living in Eternity (Bradbrook 1936, p. 71). The poet calls for a return to the state of the primordial darkness from the man's fallen state and degenerate mind through repentance or death. He appeals to the Moon to send her "chaste daughters, ministers of right,/ The dreadful and the just

Eumenides (Furies)" and let them cure the world of our disease, even if it takes "Drowning the world in blood, and stain the skies/ With their spilt souls" (Chapman 1874, p. 7). He implores Hercules to fall from heaven "and cleanse this beastly stable of the world./ Or bend thy brazen bow against the sun and his envious beams." He wishes the Sun "leave the world to Night and dreams" and retreat to "Somnus' thickets"[5] (Chapman 1874, p.7). He calls on mankind to "fall worm-like on the ground, round,/ Weep, weep your souls, into felicity/ Come to this house of mourning, serve the Night" (Chapman 1874, p. 8). For such unorthodox views and ideas the members of the school were denounced as atheists and their school was labeled the 'School of atheism'.

The Moon as a Symbol of Divine Power

It is common knowledge that the emperors of late antiquity were represented either as the Sun or the Moon, the astral symbols of power that make the emperor appear a *particeps siderum, frater Solis et Lunae* [partner of the stars, brother of the Sun and the Moon] (L'Orange 1953, p. 36). From Roman emperors the sun-moon symbol that emblematized the idea of cosmic kingship (the harmony and motion which the Creator gave to this Universe) was inherited by the medieval rulers of Europe (L'Orange 1953, p.38) and continued well into the 16th century. The crescent moon was associated with the symbol of the Creator because the Moon was held to be a sign of Heavenly host (Bayley 2000, p. 104).

Figures 1 &2. *Albrecht Dürer. The Virgin on the Crescent with a Starry Crown (1508). The Virgin on a Crescent. Frontispiece to The Life of the Virgin (1510)*

Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Religious art in its devotional imagery absorbed the star–moon symbols. From around 1500, Albrecht Dürer created numerous representations of the Virgin Mary depicting her standing on the crescent surrounded by radiant light around her body, wearing a crown of stars or with a starry aureole above her head (Figures 1 & 2). Juan Cirlot considers that there is a dual significance in the crescent: it is a symbolic image of paradise (the Land of Heaven) and was used with this import

[5]Somnus, the personification of sleep, residing in the underworld, brother to death.

by the early Christians living in catacombs (Cirlot 1971, p. 44); secondly, it stands for the passive, feminine principle, and for things aquatic as we shall see later.

The 16th Century Understanding of the Use of Allegory

Allegory as a Rhetoric Device

George Puttenham (1529–1590), an English writer and literary critic, whose major work is The *Arte of English Poesie* written a year before his death, calls 'Allegoria' "a long and perpetual metaphor" which alters the "whole and entire speach." He refers it to ornaments of speech which "allure as well the mynde as the eare of the hearers with a certaine noveltie and strange maner of conueyance, disguising it no little from the ordinary and accustomed" (Puttenham 1869, p. 149). Comparing a literal description of the queen "Elizabeth regent of the great Brittaine Ile/ Honour of all regents and of Queenes" with its allegorical representation "The English Diana, the great Britton mayde [maid]" (Puttenham 1869, p. 188), Puttenham comes to a conclusion that the latter has a richer significative meaning (which he calls 'duplicitie' of its sense) combining two personae – Elizabeth and the Greek goddess. Because of such duplicity he calls it a "figure of false semblant or dissimulation" but considers it "the captaine of all other figures" (Puttenham 1869, p. 197), which serves the "enlargement of language". He stresses its prevalence in the speech of Elizabethan courtiers:

> The use of this figure is so large, and his vertue of so great efficacie as is supposed no man can pleasantly utter and perswade without it. ... not only every common Courtier, but also the gravest Counsellour, yea and the most noble and wisest Prince are many times enforced to use it (Puttenham 1869, p. 196).

According to Puttenham, a public speech without figures of speech is like an "alehouse tale" told at a tavern table. "The principall vertue of Allegoria is when we do speak in sense transitive and wrested from the own signification, nevertheless applied to another [object] not altogether contrary, but having much conveniencie with it" (Puttenham 1869, p. 197).

Henry Peacham (1546-1634), another well-known rhetorician of the 16th century, in his book *The Garden of Eloquence* published in 1593 analyzed various stylistic devices including 'Allegoria' defining it as a sustained metaphor continued through whole sentences or even through a whole discourse. According to Peacham, "Allegoria is a sentence which means one thing in words and another in sense" (Peacham 1593, p. 26). Allegories attach lively images to things or people; he compares them to cosmic constellations "in respect of beautie, brightnesse and direction", but warns against their excessive use because "unlikenesse of the comparisons do make the Allegorie absurd" (Peacham, p. 27).

A similar understanding is expounded by John Harington (1561–1612), a poet and translator, in his *Apology of Poetry.* He proceeds from Plutarch's definition that the allegory is “when one thing is told, and by that another is understood” (Harrington 1591, p. iiij). Harington distinguishes at least three layers [rines] in the

allegorical construct: the literal sense [meaning] set forth as an history of notable exploits of some persons (cognitive content); the moral sense approving virtuous actions and condemning the contrary; and finally, some abstract sense of true understanding of “natural Philosophy, or politick government, or of divinity” (Harrington 1591). Allegories are polysemous and display a great richness of meanings and hence interpretations involving many diverse and deep concepts.

Allegory in Tudor England

The sixteenth century saw a new development in the formation of "collective representations" of the Tudor monarchs understood by Durkheim as "ways in which the thought of the collectivity is epitomized" (Durkheim 1915, p. 5). The Tudors created a permanent national consciousness through collective representations which are the result of social cooperation backed by some authority that is selective about ideas and tropes conveying them. Artists and poets began to draw on biblical and classical mythology looking for possible correspondences (factual or factitious) between a sovereign and respective heroes/ heroines of the past, whose virtues or vices, in the perception of an artist, a Tudor prince might have embodied. As a result, verbal and visual arts of the period became highly allegorical. Allegories were not just fragments or "leftovers" of the preceding periods, but a new figurative system based on allegorical thinking because sixteenth century writers "knew what the ancients knew, because they tried to write as the ancients wrote, because they began to think, and soon to feel, as the ancients thought and felt." (Burckhardt 1878, p. 105). The allegorical tradition passed into early modern literature and pictorial art as "allegorical figures served as free and independent elements" (Burckhardt 1878, p. 132). Goethe also noticed it: "Shakespeare is rich in wonderful figures of speech, which arise from personified concepts, which are entirely in place in his work because in his day all art was dominated by allegory" (Walter 2003, p. 228).

Allegory as a literary technique in the description of the Tudor rulers in which two unrelated objects/ personae are compared for their shared qualities became highly inferential. Such analogies establish associations between the two beings (Latin *ens*) to highlight a certain characteristic; there is obvious intent on the part of the author to add depth to a created image by ascribing specific qualities to the sovereign's identity with the aim either to exalt or disparage him/her.

The allegory's meaning is not immediately given, it is based on some cognitive content, the sum of accumulated knowledge, beliefs, or ideas gained through tradition and passed down in history through myths and legends – narratives, which encode previous experience and pool inherited patterns of thought for intellectual conception of an object, event, or person. Allegories orient the perceiver in a particular direction and are used to express concepts in the form of artistic, tangible, and visual images. There is historical evidence that the early Henrician court was obsessed by games, chivalric role-playing, and light allegory. As Scarisbrick puts it, Henry VIII "was a prodigy, a sun-king, a *stupor mundi* [the wonder of the world]. He lived in, and crowned, a world of lavish allegory,

mythology and romance" (Scarisbrick 1968, p. 20). So he was very knowledgeable about Allegory and could appreciate its usefulness as an ideological vehicle.

Type I: Allegories by Comparison

The Allegory becomes a figurative construction of social reality. Since the focal point of our research is the Tudor monarchs, the analysis of allegories is necessarily concerned with power, ideologies, values and cult creation. Allegories are built on several constructive models. The first is a model involving comparison: a certain analogy is drawn between a monarch and a respective mythological or biblical character accompanied with the transfer of cognitive content associated with the latter to the former illuminating some shared property. It imbues a literary text with a symbolic code.

John Skelton (1460-1529) was probably the first poet, who eulogized the Tudors making ample and successful use of allegories as a figurative mode of expression. In his celebration poem of Henry VIII's accession in 1509 *A Laud and Praise Made for Our Sovereign Lord and King*, he uses a device of comparison of young Henry to the heroes of the past. In order to understand the choice of allegorical figures, the context in which the poem was composed has to be examined.

The historical context of Henry's accession directly points to a change in England's policy. Thus, it makes sense to situate allegorical verses within the immediate historical circumstances and see how they affect the employment of allegories and their cognitive content. The young, high-spirited king plunged headlong in military campaigns and personally led the army in many battles. His father, Henry VII, had preferred diplomacy to war. But from time to time he had hinted to young Henry that a moment might come favorable for an English attack on France. In 1513, Henry VIII saw this moment: on June 30, 1513, he invaded France, and his troops defeated the French army and seized Terouenne and later Tournai. Meanwhile, trouble was cropping up on the Scottish boarder, with France bidding Scotland to strike on England. James, King of Scotland, invaded England at the head of a great army. "On the afternoon of September 9th was fought the bloody and decisive battle-of-Flodden. Of the two armies, the Scottish was probably the larger; but the English captains had their troops better in hand" (Innes 1911, p. 67). King James was slain in the field. Other battles were no less successful. .The sea-fight off Brest, the successes at Terouenne and Tournai, and, finally, the great victory of Flodden, "proved beyond dispute that Englishmen only needed to be well led to show themselves as indomitable as ever they had been in the past" (Innes 1911, p. 67).

And the leader desirous of military glory was the young king. Thus, it becomes clear why Skelton chooses Alexander the Great (Alexis), one of the greatest military personalities of all time, and Adrastus, a Mythical king of Argos, who figures in the *Iliad,* in Pindar's[6] poems, Aeschylus'[7] play *Seven Against Thebes* and Euripides'[8] tragedy *The Suppliants*. Skelton uses extended comparison:

[6]Pindar (518 - 438 BC) was an Ancient Greek lyric poet from Thebes.

Noble Henry the Eight,
Thy loving sovereign lord,
In whom doth well accord
Alexis young of age,
Adrastus wise and sage (Skelton 1879, p. 340).

The name of Alexander the Great whose military exploits are well known does not need any comments; the personality of Adrastus, the king of Argos (one of the oldest cities in the world) and leader of the Seven against Thebes (another large ancient city, often called 'Seven-Gated Thebes') requires some illumination. Adrastus trying to help his son-in-law to be restored to the Theban throne, gathered a sizable army and started an expedition to conquer Thebes; he appointed seven bravest warriors to serve as champions to assault each of the seven gates in the wall of Thebes. The initial attack drove the Thebans back into city, but an attack on the walls failed and the battle proceeded outside the city. At each of the gates, champions fought valiantly with besieged defenders but all perished in the fight except for Adrastus[9], who was saved by the fabulously fast horse Arion, a gift from Heracles. Ten years later, the sons of the defeated champions headed by Adrastus marched again on Thebes; the war was won this time, but Adrastus paid a high price for the victory – the only one killed in battle was his son.

Allegorical comparisons present a deeper and more particular portrayal of the Prince. The poems written in Henry VIII's lifetime are flattering to the monarch, even more so are poetic pieces written in Elizabeth's reign, which contain only laudatory descriptions of her father. Ulpian Fulwell published in 1575 a tract, half prose, half verse, called *The Flower of Fame*, which he starts with the description of Henry's virtues and his regal prowess.

> Among the most fortunate kynges & Princes that euer raigned: let the Fortunes of king Henrie the eyght have a speciall place. There were in his tyme raigning more puissant Princes together, than euer were lyuing in any age before, and yet among them all, not one of them equall to the Kyng of Englande in prowes (Fulwell 2022, p. 2).

When comparisons claimed authority the best way was to resort to biblical characters and iconic figures of the Greek and Roman antiquity, among whom we find "The myghtie *Ceasar* [who] would geve place" to Henry VIII, and Alexander, whom Henry matched "in valianties." The choice and combination of allegorical figures created individual characteristics for the Tudor prince ensuring multiple points of view. Thus, Henry is described as:

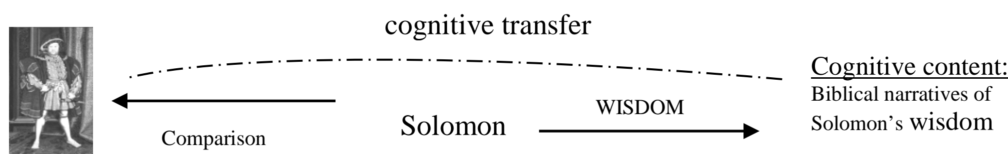
A Solomon for godly wit,
A Solon for his constant mind;
A Samson when he list to hit
The fury of his foes unkind (Fulwell 2011, p.1).

---

[7]Aeschylus (525/524 –456/455 BC) was considered the father of tragedy and the first dramatist to present plays as a trilogy.
[8]Euripides (480 – c. 406 BC), a tragedian of classical Athens.
[9]For a detailed description of the war and its consequences see Robin Hard (2004).

The demonstrative proposition "Henry is Solomon" understood as "Henry is as wise as Solomon " creates a new identity for the monarch accumulating across a lengthy historical period in the process of propagation the salient features – 'wisdom' and 'royal prowess'. Solomon was a fabulously wealthy and wise king of Old Testament, whose wisdom is described in the Bible. Other objects of comparison were: Solon, an Athenian law maker, who was a person of unwavering moral principles; and Samson, a man of superhuman strength. The device of cognitive transfer invests all perfections of several well-known personalities in one person. These comparisons blend together masculinity and political authority, which was later successfully incarnated in the famous mural by Hans Holbein. Henry's virtues were imparted to his daughter, Elizabeth, who her "fathers steppes treades so ryght and beautifies his fame". Allegory as a mode of signification based on comparison combines analogical thinking with cognitive transfer of any sort of property attributed to historical/ mythological characters (Figure 3). Such analogical allegories gather many comparisons into the image of one unifying figure – the Prince – combining salient pieces of the ideological mythology.

Figure 3. *Cognitive Grounds for Allegories Based on Comparison*



Edward VI's life and reign were so short that he left a tiny trace in poetry and ballads. Nevertheless, in the coronation speech pronounced by Thomas Cranmer, an architect of the English Reformation, we find a very pertinent comparison of the boy-king to Josias, the sixteenth king of Judah (640–609 BCE), who also became king at the age of eight after the assassination of his father and, like Edward, instituted major religious reforms. Cranmer calls Edward "a second Josiah", and Josiah his "predecessor". *Tertium comparationis* is the age of the kings and their devotion to the reformation of the Church.

> "Your majesty is Christ's vicar within your own dominions, with your predecessor Josiah, God truly worshiped, and idolatry destroyed, the tyranny of the bishops of Rome banished from your subjects, and images removed.... Like unto him, there was no king before him that turned to the Lord with all his heart, neither after him arose there any like him. This was to that prince a perpetual fame of dignity, to remain to the end of days" (Cranmer 1846, p. 127).

In the case of Mary I, politics and religion were intermixed and this fusion became cognitive ground for comparison. In ballads written by Catholic priests, Mary's allegorical analogies are based on understanding her as a defender of the True faith, so parallels are drawn with such heroines of the past as Judith or Hester:

Marie, the mirrour of mercifulnesse,
God of his goodnesse hath lent to this lande;
Our iewell, our ioye, our Judeth, doutlesse,
The great Holofernes of hell to withstande.
Full well I may liken and boldly compare
Her highnesse to Hester, that vertuous Quene;
The enuious Hamon to kyll is her care.
And all wicked workers to wede them out clene (Rollins 1920, p.14).

Judith was a beautiful vengeful widow, who beheaded Holofernes, an Assyrian general intent on destroying her home town. She penetrated his tent, put him to sleep, and decapitated him with a sword. Queen Hester (Esther) is another Biblical person, the wife of the Persian King, whose vizier killed all the Jews. Esther, being a Jew herself, accused him and had him hanged on the highest gallows in the country.

Ballads composed by Protestants, on the contrary, draw comparison between Mary and Jezebel, who was the wife of the King of Israel, worshiped false prophets and expulsed true prophets from Israel. In the end, the dynasty was annihilated and Jezebel was defenestrated (thrown out the window). Throughout history the name *Jezebel* had been associated with false prophets. The ballad *A Warning to Queen Mary,* written on Oct. 10, 1553 by a Protestant priest is an admonition to the queen against "that myserable maskyng masse which all good men doth hatte [hate]" and false idolatry. At the beginning, he calls her "O lovesome Rose most Redelente [redolent], of Vadynge flowres most ffresch," but then compares her to "wycked Iessabell" and accuses her of listening to "four hundred prophettes falce" (Furnivall 1872, p. 434).

A more detailed description of Jezebel's sin of pride and her tragic end is presented in another ballad *A Godly and good example to avoid all inconveniencies as hereafter followeth*:

Proud Iesabell [Jezebel], whose sinne so great did move the lorde to Ire,
Was headlonge from her tower so neat cast in the filthy myre ;
The raveninge dogges, in open streates, devored her wicked corpse ;
Her fleshe and blood with horses' feet was trode without remorse (Rollins 1920, p. 247).

Elizabeth I also received her share of flattering comparisons. It is of interest to note that comparisons were drawn irrespective of her gender both to heroes and heroines of the past. However, as will be seen later, a more potent and efficacious type of allegory originated in the works of the contemporary poets. Nevertheless, allegorical comparisons contributed to the glorification of the Queen exposing the most important political and ideological peculiarities of her time.

In the dedication of his book *The acts and monuments* to queen Elizabeth, John Foxe calls her "our peaceable Salome!" (Foxe 1837, p. 502) alluding to a person of the New Testament – one of the women, a myrrh bearer, who witnessed the crucifixion and later discovered that Jesus' tomb was empty. Her name means 'peace'. Peace was the corner stone of Elizabeth's policy Another comparison is to

Constantine, an emperor who tried to terminate the religious controversies of his Christian subjects: "great tranquillity followed, and long continued in the church without any open slaughter for a thousand years together" (Foxe 1837, p. 250).

Allegories based on comparison show us how the image of a Prince was structured to be presented to the public in the definition of his/her sovereign identity within a specific historical situation, ideology, or political project. The diversity of comparisons creates imaginative plurality and enhances the significance of a royal personality.

Type II: Allegory as Impersonation

No matter how effective the literary device of comparison was, in the 16th century there appeared a different kind of allegory of a more sophisticated cognitive complexity – impersonation, which Quintilian defines in the *Institutio* as:

> A bolder form of figure is impersonation, or *prosopopoeia.* This is a device which lends wonderful variety and animation to oratory. ... We are even allowed in this form of speech to bring down the gods from heaven and raise the dead (Quintilian 1979, p. 391).

The 16th century saw a fast proliferation of this type of allegory in literature and art. It reached an apogee in the reign of Elizabeth I, when multifaceted allegorical representations were amply used by poets to accommodate political, ideological, moral, and ethical objectives. True, at the beginning it was used with a certain degree of reservation. When Fulwell called Elizabeth Diana, he wrote, "Her godly nature well deserues/ A Goddesse for to bee" (Fulwell 2011, p.7). Later, such poets as John Davies and Edmund Spencer took the queen's divine identities for granted and aggrandized Elizabeth with the help of polymorphous impersonations. It was an unprecedented invention when a sovereign was represented as an earthly reincarnation of ancient goddesses. Pagan gods became a suitable means for poetic representation of Tudor princes. With the revival of paganism, the proximity of the gods became the most important element of ideological indoctrination.

In the article we propose to discuss only two hypostases of Elizabeth, their moral and metaphysical significance – Diana and Cynthia. The first literary work written in this manner was Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queen* (1590). A whole gallery of famous virgins filled the pages of his book: Gloriana combining the virtues of virginity with the power over the seas and eternal divine light; Britomart, a warlike princess, a female knight (her name is composed of Britain and Mars), the ideal of Chastity; Una, the quintessence of purity and high priestess of the "true sacred lore" leading her people to God; and of course Cynthia/Diana (Moon), a true ruler epitomizing peace and harmony, the name prompted to Spenser by his friend Walter Raleigh. Christopher Marlowe, glorified Elizabeth as the goddess Ceremony "with a Crowne of all the stars," who descended from above to establish order and true religion. "Heaven with her descended" turning the isle into earthly heaven. Her "shadows" were Devotion, Order, State, and

Reverence, "All which her sight made live, her absence die" (Marlowe 1963, p. 88).

Transcending the individuality of Elizabeth

The insightful description of allegory by Arthur Schopenhauer emphasizes allegory's capacity to indicate some idea or ideas current in society (or inculcated in collective conscience) which reflect the spirit of the age. We aim to research the poetical and artistic material from this perspective to detect the prevailing ideas related with the female monarch. We regard such material as an authoritative data source because artistic ideas are drawn directly from life.

> An allegory is a work of art which means something different from what it represents. But the object of perception, and consequently also the Idea, expresses itself directly and completely, and does not require the medium of something else which implies or indicates it. ...Therefore through the allegory a conception has always to be signified, and consequently the mind of the beholder has to be drawn away from the expressed perceptible idea to one which is entirely different, abstract and not perceptible, and which lies quite outside the work of art (Schopenhauer 2017, p. 553).

Elizabeth as Diana

Of the mythological figures employed by poets and dramatists in praise of Elizabeth I, the most popular were those associated with the virgin goddess of the Moon – Diana/Cynthia, –who became the prevailing allegorical representations of other European princes, too.

The worship of the goddess Diana (a wood goddess) originated in Italy, on the wooded hills at Aricia about the 6th century B.C.E. and was Hellenized later (Gordon 1932, p. 178). Two centuries earlier, probably in the 8th century B.C.E., in the territory of modern Turkey near the ancient city of Ephesus there had appeared a cult of Artemis, which was taken over by the Greeks and identified with Roman Diana. The indiscriminability of the two goddesses is corroborated by biblical texts. In *King James Version*, the goddess in question is called Diana: "Great [is] Diana of the Ephesians of which the [image] fell down from Jupiter" (KJV 1769, Acts 19:36, p 822). In *The New International Version*, the name of the goddess in the same context is Artemis."The city of Ephesus is the guardian of the temple of the great Artemis and of her image, which fell from heaven" (NIV 1984, Acts 19:36, p 787).

Sumptuous temples were erected in honor of the goddesses whose main function was to protect and apotheosize the cities they symbolized. The statue of Artemis wears a zodiac necklace showing a part of the cosmos with the sign of the Crab in the center and other constellations on either side most closely associated with the Moon (LiDonnici 1992, p.407). It was common practice to consider a city's goddess its legitimate wife providing "political and cosmic stability" (ibid. p.

409), an idea that would be later employed by Elizabeth I conventionalizing her relationship with England.

Despite the scriptural condemnation by Paul of the cult of Diana as a handmade idol whose silver shrines "should be despised, and her magnificence should be destroyed" (KJV 1769, Acts 19:28, p. 822), the new Protestant religion embraced the pagan goddess and the idolatrous cult with all the burning ardor, and made it for half a century one of the central themes of panegyric verse. The aggrandizement of the pagan goddess is intimately related with changing historical and social conditions. The image of Diana as an omnipotent deity over nature emerged early in the Tudor reign. In 1508, a beautiful song was printed the first stanza of which was devoted to Diana extolling her overwhelming power over the awakening nature. Later, Elizabeth I was allegorized as Diana, and the elevation of the Queen to the status of a goddess on earth began.

> O lusty May with Flora quene.
> The balmy dropis frome Phoebus'
> shene, [shine]
> Preluciand [predawn] bemes
> befoir the day.
> By thé Diana growis grene,
> Throwch [through] glaidnes of this lusty May (Laneham 1907, p. cliv)

Figure 4. *Queen Elizabeth I as Diana by Frans Floris or Martin de Vos*

Source: The collection of the Marques of Salisbury, Hatfield House.

The impersonation of Elizabeth I as Diana was buttressed by pictorial art, especially by the symbol-laden portrait of Elizabeth by Frans Floris[10] (1560). Diana is depicted with her hunting armor and a half-moon on her head instead of the crown – the virgin queen that can protect her country, feed her subjects by providing both daily bread and spiritual knowledge (hand pointing to her breast[11]), and crowned as deity (Figure 4). The image was probably prompted by the queen's

[10]Roy Strong expresses doubts in the attribution of the portrait, "The so-called portrait of her as Diana at Hatfield is a version of a Netherlandish allegorical piece attributed to Frans Floris or Martin de Vos" (Strong 1963, p. 48). He considers that the portrait may be wrongly identified as Elizabeth.

[11]In this gesture we find echoes of the earliest sculptural representations of Artemis Ephesia as a many-breasted goddess, a "nourisher".

declaration in Parliament a year earlier of her status as the Virgin Queen wedded to her Kingdom. In Elizabethan England the concept of the marriage of the ruler to her realm was a commonplace. This is how William Camden, the author of the *Annales*, the first detailed historical account of the reign of Elizabeth I, describes this epoch-making moment. The queen stated in Parliament:

> I am already bound upto an Husband which is the Kingdome of England, and that may suffice you: and this makes me wonder, that you forget your selves the pledge of this alliance which I have made with my Kingdome. (With these words she showed them the Ring with which she was inaugurated to her Kingdom in expresse and solemn terms). ... This may be sufficient both for my memory and honour of my Name, if when 1 have expired my last breath, this may be inscribed vpon my Tombe: Here lyes interr'd Elizabeth, A Virgin pure vntil her Death (Camden 1625, pp. 28–29).

Implicit in this speech is the mysterious powerfulness of Elizabeth's perception of herself as a 'body politic' prevailing over her female identity, which took on almost mystical dimensions. This was explicitly expressed in the letter of Edmund Spenser to Sir Walter Raleigh of 23 January, 1589:

> "For considering shee beareth two persons, the one of a most royall Queene or Empresse, the other of a most vertuous and beautifull lady, this latter part in some places I doe expresse in Belphoebe, fashioning her name according to your owne excellent conceipt of Cynthia, (Phoebe and Cynthia being both names of Diana) (Spenser 1758, p. xxxv).

From this time on, the perpetuation of Elizabeth's cult based on multiple identifications with various goddesses from Greek/Roman polytheistic theology begins; among them the virgin goddess of the hunt is the earliest and "the most popular of all the figures employed by Elizabeth's adorers, and in the minds of certain poets takes on some kind of esoteric philosophical significance" (Yates 1947, p.72). Diana was a goddess of chastity, untamed nature and the moon, but this is only part of the picture.

Elizabeth's multiple identities are used by Thomas Dekker in his play *Old Fortunatus* (written presumably in 1590) as a stylistic device to describe the queen's many perfections, which made her land "Elycium," and to create an idealized image of the queen as one body and soul.

> 2nd Old Man: Some call her Pandora: some Gloriana, some Cynthia: some Belphoebe, some Astraea: all by several names to express several loves: yet all those names make but one celestial body, as all those loves meet to create but one soul.
>
> 1st Old Man: I am one of her own country, and we adore her by the name of Eliza (Dekker 1904, p. 3).

Impersonation of queen Elizabeth as Diana linked Elizabethan symbolism with several important emblems, cultural and ideological categories. Elkin Wilson considers that idealization and adoration of Elizabeth "was aroused in large part by

the most impressive attribute of the "most vertuous and beautifull lady" – her virginity" (Wilson 1966, p. 191). Virginity became a category of power intimately connected with the stability of the empire and the universe. "By the later 1570s, there had emerged a cult of royal virginity that made the queen the inviolable object of universal desire" (Montrose 2002, p 917). The cult assumed a form of ideology enhanced and propagated by contemporary poetry. Frances Yates considers that "the virginity of the queen was used as a powerful political weapon all through her reign" (Yates 1947, p. 82). Philippa Berry asserts that virginity was regarded as "the symbol of the inviolable sanctity of the state" (Berry 1989, p. 41). Richard Barnfield confers on Elizabeth the astral sign of Virgo:

> Then, since an heauenly Name doth thee befall,
> Thou VIRGO art: (if any Signe at all.) (Barnfield 1990, p. 122).

Besides virginity, the cult of Elizabeth-as-Diana was based on a complex of other mythological and ideological ingredients. Berry considers that being associated "not only with female chastity and spiritual purity but also with matter, in the shape of wild nature," Elizabeth's bodily integrity signifies a possibility of a "harmonious relationship between spirit and matter. Her rulership of the moon suggested not only a quality of unearthly or heavenly purity, but also the ability to transmit this quality to the sublunary realm" (Berry 1989, pp. 37, 39). This motif is present in John Davies' *Royal Dedication* to Elizabeth written probably earlier but not published until 1599:

> Faire Soule, since to the fairest body knit
> You giue such liuely life, such quickning power,
> Such sweet celestiall influences to it
> As keepes it still in youths immortall flower (Davies 1876, p. 10).

He compares the queen to the North star that "Doth like another Sunne in glory rise" and "spread her heavenly worth;/ Loadstone [magnet] to hearts, and loadstarre [guiding star] to all eyes" (Davies 1876, p. 9). Davies displays rare subtlety in his understanding of the relations of power in English monarchy, not typical of other poets. He stresses the loneliness of the ruler whose only support, despite countless courtiers and advisors, is God's grace.

> That though great States by her support doe stand,
> Yet she herselfe supported is of none,
> But by the finger of the Almighties hand (Davies 1876, p. 9).

Diana's power over the yearly awakening of nature turned into a symbol of everlasting spring "the sacred spring whence right and honor streames," which the queen reintroduced in her realm and which was equated with the well-being and security of the realm. "In her shall last our State's faire Spring,/ Now and for euer flourishing,/ As long as Heauen is lasting" (Davies 1876, p. 131).

As where the sunne is present all the yeere,
And neuer doth retire his golden ray,
Needs must the Spring bee euerlasting there,
And euery season like the month of May (Davies 1876, p. 10).

In pictorial art, the eternal spring is represented by wild flowers embroidered on the queen's bodice in the famous *Rainbow portrait* by Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger (1600-03).The use of wild flowers is only part of allegorical symbolism for a complex system of ideas. Another is a crescent Moon: portraits of the Queen make use of this symbol; the last time it appears at the very top of the Queen's headdress in the *Rainbow portrait*. Sir Walter Raleigh chose a crescent turned down for his impresa in the portrait of 1588 with two words below "Amor et Virtute" (Love and Virtue). He lyricized the image of the Queen as the moon goddess in the poem *The Shepherd's Praise of his Sacred Diana* (1593): Moon beams in the night resemble primordial light. Comparing Elizabeth to the Moon, Raleigh lays stress on her mastery of the floods. Through the use of oceanic imagery, he expresses his devotion to the queen, characterizing their relationship as that between the Moon (empress) and himself as the tides (her servant).

Praised be Diana's fair and harmless light;
Praised be the dews wherewith she moists the ground;
Praised be her beams, the glory of the night;
Praised be her power, by which all powers abound.
Praised be that force, by which she moves the floods;
Let that Diana shine which all these gives (Raleigh 1885, p. 78).

The European conception of the sacredness of monarchical authority as divinely ordained had close affinity with Diana, who, together with her brother Apollo, was endowed with the capacity to assert the legitimacy of imperial rulers. The representation of Diana as a bearer of the absolutist ideology goes back to the Roman Empire of the 1st century B.C.E. under Augustus, the founder of the Roman empire, where Diana was second only to Jupiter in her political importance. From that time on, Diana had been treated as a protectress of the state. Yates was the first to advance an idea that the conception of religious purity was also related to Diana: "The virgin of imperial reform who withstood the claims of papacy might well become a chaste moon-goddess shedding the beams of pure religion from her royal throne" (Yates 1947, p. 72). So identification of Elizabeth I with Diana Lucina as a light-bearer implies dissemination of true religion by the queen as the head of the Church. Elizabeth was endowed with absolute power in state and royal supremacy over the church. The elevation of the Queen to the status of a goddess had been completed. She rules both on earth and in heaven, inaugurates a second golden age.

In heaven Queene she is among the spheares;
Eternity in her oft change she bears.
Time wears her not; she doth his chariot guide;
Mortality below her orb is placed;
By her the virtues of the stars down slide;
In her is virtue's perfect image cast (Raleigh 1885, p. 78).

One of the most interesting visual representations of Elizabeth as *primum mobile* of England's political system is a remarkable woodcut placed by John Case, one of Elizabethan leading intellectual figures, on the title page of his book *Sphaera Civitati*s (1588); the woodcut depicts the Ptolemaic cosmological set of spheres including five planets, the sun, and the moon with the figure of the Queen embracing the universe. It is she who protects and makes it go round. The central sphere is *Iustitia Immobile* (Justice immovable), which is the axle of the political system of England. Five concentric rings of fixed movements of stars and planets are placed around it, each devoted to one virtue: Plentitude, Fortitude, Religion, Clemency, Majesty, etc. The outmost ring which is not a part of the planetary system includes Elizabeth's description as *Regina* and *Fidei Defenseatrix* (Queen and Faith Protectrix). The woodcut asserts the divinity of the queen by portraying her in the role of Divine Power.

The posthumous image of queen Elizabeth by Nicholas Hilliard (Figure 5) fits in well with her heavenly status. In the cult formation, the artist appropriated many attributes from Marian iconography and created an image of celestial significance. In the engraving, the Queen is depicted against the background of radiance with the halo of stars around her head; in the right-hand upper corner an Angel proffers a crown consisting of the stars, the sun, and the moon. Elizabeth is presented as the second Virgin Mary: "whilest living, the first maid on earth, and when dead, the second in heaven" (Fuller 1642, p. 318). It becomes obvious that fifteen years after her death, Elizabeth's divinity was not questioned.

The allegorical intention of presenting Elizabeth as Diana (a figure fraught with implied meaning) is an attempt to expose hidden truths of Tudor cosmology. Artists deliberately erased distinctions between the divine and the pagan conflating them in one person – Elizabeth. "She is Chastity; she is Elizabeth; she is naked truth; she is beauty; she is imperial power; she is divinity; she is the object of sexual desire" (Freeman 2005, p.74).

> O Goddesse heauenly bright,
> Mirrour of grace and Majestie divine
> Great Lady of the greatest Isle, whose light
> Like Phoebus lampe throughout the world doth shine (Spenser 1758, p. 4).

Figure 5. *Posthumous Image of the Queen by Nicholas Hilliard*[12] *for Camden's Annales (1617–1619)*

Source: Roy Strong. Portraits of Queen Elizabeth, post 9, p. 155.

Elizabeth as Cynthia

Eventually, other mythological figures came into play. As "allegories are classically used for moral suasion they may, during times of political revolution, present totally new theories" (Fletcher 1964, p. 120). In the case of Elizabethan England it is a policy of imperialist expansion, the creation of an 'empire of the seas', which could come to fruition only through the unchallenged naval supremacy achieved by the Royal Navy. Diana's power over the sea waves, rivers and floods engendered the worship of Cynthia, another name of Diana, which means a "woman from Cynthus," (a mountain on Delos where Diana was born). Then this separate hypostasis was associated to a great extent with the maritime side of the Tudor mythography. Spenser thus describes this 'personality split' attributing to Cynthia the prowess of a sovereign to rule:

> Ne let his fairest Cynthia refuse,
> In mirrors more than one her self to see;
> But either *Gloriana* let her chuse,
> Or in Belphoebe fashioned to be:
> In th'one her rule, in th'other her rare chastity (Spenser 1758, p.354).

The cult of Elizabeth-as-Cynthia, a protectress of the "sea-dogs" (adventurers, explorers, privateers, and sailors), who had circumnavigated the globe and headed "homeward by the Moone-shine light", was elaborated in the poetry of the 1590s ministered to by two Elizabethan poets – Raleigh and Spenser,– who created a compelling image of Cynthia-Elizabeth. Cynthia is a compositional center of Raleigh's *The Ocean's Love to Cynthia*, a long elegy written during his temporal rejection from court, "in which a gracious servant pictured/ His Cynthia, his

[12]Nicholas Hillard (1547-1619), the first great native-born English painter of the Renaissance and a miniature painter to Queen Elizabeth since 1570. His portraits raised the art of miniature to its highest point of development.

heavens fairest light" (Spenser 1758, p. 354). Raleigh's poem is very personal expressing his devotion to Elizabeth and hidden despair at being unjustly vilified and "debard" from his "Ladie of the Sea." The poem was never published and was considered to be entirely lost. We learn about it from Spenser who characterized its content as lamentation and confessed that his own "senses were lulled in slumber of delight" by this beautiful poem (Spenser 1758, p. 354). When in 1870 a fragment entitled *The twenty - first and last book of the Ocean*[13] *to Cynthia* was found it became clear that the elegy really existed and bore evidence that Raleigh's poetical talent was as great as his mastery of the oceans.

Opinions differ as to the date of the poem (suggested dates are from 1589 to 1595) and its *raison d'être.* Unlike Spenser's view of romantic love, some critics consider this poem to be an expression of grief of "a man conscious of his exceptional powers, which have been at the service of Cynthia-Elizabeth-England, and which are now wasting for want of use; a proud man, who cannot contemplate his fall, yet has to" (Johnson 1974, p. 30).

> The blossoms fallen, the sap gone from the tree,
> The broken monuments of my great desires, —
> From these so lost what may the affections be ?
> What heat in cinders of extinguished fires? (Raleigh, p. 32).

Others suggest that Raleigh only pretends to be hopelessly in love with the Queen and that "he maintains the fiction of his passion for the elderly and unattractive Queen. Elizabeth must have known that Raleigh's devotion was a convention only, a pretence; and that she was determined to maintain the convention for reasons politic" (Davie 1960, p. 72).

> Sir Walter Raleigh provides a compelling example of a court figure who participated in the collective process of Elizabethan cult-formation. He boldly and self-consciously fashioned an idiosyncratic cult of royal veneration in order to gain and maintain Elizabeth's attention and favor (Montrose 1999, p. 133).

Whatever the case, the poem is beautifully composed, contains unique figurality, and reflects Raleigh's restless soul and injured pride.

It is believed that Edmund Spenser borrowed the name Cynthia for his *Faerie Queen* from Raleigh's "sweet verse, with Nectar sprinkled" as he was impressed, by his own admission, "with the wonder of her beames bright." However, he developed a different kind of allegory: while Raleigh elaborated a mythopoetic image of Elizabeth as the Moon whose "waxing and waning caused the rise and fall of 'Ocean,'" whose poignant love for Cynthia was "frustrated by unbridgeable distance" (Bednarz 1996, p. 286), Spenser created an allegory of monarchical authority as the "pivot of national life" (Johnson 1974, p. 17).

---

[13]Elizabeth liked to give nicknames to her courtiers of the inner circle. She called Raleigh 'Water' twisting his name Walter. Spenser called his friend "the Shepherd of the Ocean", hence his name in the poem.

In the last, probably unfinished book VII of the *The Faerie Queene,* Spenser describes Cynthia's origin and places her among Greek and Roman gods and goddesses:

> You fair *Cynthia*, whom so much ye make
> *Joves* dearest darling, she was bred and nurst
> On *Cynthus* hill, whence she her name did take:
> Then is the mortal born, how so ye crake;
> Besides, her face and count'nancc every day
> We changed see, and sundry forms partake,
> Now horned, now round, now bright, now brown and
> So that as changeful as the Moon men use to say (Spenser 1758, p. 480).

It is of interest to note that Spenser in his representation of Cynthia resorts to the ancient alchemical conceptualizations when all actions were attributed to the power of gods associated with stars or to natural forces that govern the universe. Marcellin Berthelot[14] in his book *Les origines de l'alchimie* asserts that knowledge took up "une form mystique." It is not by accident that Spenser described Cynthia's face "stain'd with magick." Alchemists established a rigid paradigm of interconnections between terrestrial and celestial phenomena; mutability of cosmic bodies and natural transformability.

> Quoiqu'il en soit, les vieux auteurs s'enréfèrent perpétuellement au parallélisme mystique entre les sept planètes et les sept métaux. Ainsi dans le symbolisme des vieux alchimistes, le même signe représente le métal et la planète correspondante. Le signe astronomique du soleil estpris pour l'or; le signe de la lune pour l'argent. Elles expliquent le côté mystique des alchimistes.
> [In any case, the ancient authors perpetually refer to mysterious parallelisms between the seven planets and the seven metals. Thus, in the symbolism of old alchemists, the same sign represents a metal and the corresponding planet. The astronomical sign of the Sun is employed for gold; the sign of the Moon for silver. They explain the mysterious side of alchemists] (Berthelot 1885, p. 50).

In *The Faerie Queene*, Spenser repeatedly employs the epithet "silver" in the description of Cynthia. He calls her "silver Cynthia" who drops silver dew; in darksome night, She breaks her silver beams and her bright head through a "noyous cloud" [harmful cloud] to show the way to all those "that went astray". This extended metaphor has two semantic levels: a literal one meaning actually helping poor travelers who lost their way; and a metaphysical layer concerning "the substance thin and light," showing sinners the right and virtuous way: the "shining ray gave light unto the day". In the circle of the Moon, Cynthia "reigns in everlasting glory." He pictures Cynthia's palace with silver gates which are guarded by hoary Time "with hour-glass in hand". Cynthia is sitting on "an ivory throne/ Drawn of two steeds, th'one black, the other white,/ Environd with ten thousand stars around/ That duly her attended day and night", a motif initiated by

[14]Berthelot Marcellin (1827-1907), a French chemist, the first professor of organic chemistry. He also wrote on the history of early chemistry - alchemy.

Ecclesiasticus. Her page is none other than *Vesper* "whom we the Evening-star intend/ That with his torch, still twinkling like twylight/ Her lighten'd all the way where she should wend" (Spenser 1758, Book VII, p. 455).

The *Faerie Queen* had such a great influence on other poets that they began to imitate Spenser. In 1595, Richard Barnfield wrote a poem entitled *Cynthia.* He admitted that the most important poetic influence on his *Cynthia* was Spenser. Literary critics consider Barnfield the first poet to write in Spenserian stanzas as he himself admits: "It is the first imitation of the verse of that excellent Poet Maister Spencer, in his Fayrie Queene" (Barnfield 1876, p. 64). His poem displays a close inter textual and cognitive connectedness with Spenser in the description of the goddess, he calls her a 'Fairy queen,' who combines the virtues of virginity with the power over the seas and eternal divine light. Echoing Spencer, he places Elizabeth's imperial throne amid the ocean. Compare the two stanzas of the two authors Barnfield and Spenser respectively:

> In Westerne world amids the Ocean maine,
> In coumpleatVertue shining like the Sunne,
> In great Renowne a maiden Queene doth raigne...
> In whose faire eies [eyes] Love linckt with vertues been,
> In euerlasting Peace and Union (Barnfield1876, p. 121).

> Great and most glorious virgin Queene alive ...
> In widest Ocean she her throne does reare.
> That over all the earth it may be seene
> As morniug Sunne her beames dispredden cleare
> And in her face faire pence and mercy doth appeare (Spenser 1758, Book II, p. 114-115).

For his panegyric on Cynthia-Elizabeth, Barnfield chose a time-tested dream vision format in combination with the famous *Three Goddesses* theme popularized in pictorial art by Hans Eworth (1569) whose famous canvass was placed in Whitehall alongside European monarchs to emphasize Elizabeth's superiority over all of them. As well as in painting, the *Three Goddesses* motif was exploited in multiple pageants, entertainments, and plays. In them, Elizabeth is presented either as an unbiased judge or, more often, as a beneficiary. Thus, in Peele's *Arraignment of Paris* the dispute among goddesses is resolved by Diana in Elizabeth's favor, whom she calls "this peereles nymphe whom heauen and earth beloues/ In whom do meete so manie giftes in one" (Peele 1910, p. E iij). In her argumentation, Diana enumerates the gifts of Zabeta (Elizabeth) echoing the inscription on Eworth's painting.

> In state Queene Juno's peere, for power in armes,
> And vertues of the minde Mineruaes mate:
> As fayre and louely as the queene of loue:
> As chast as Dian in her chast desires.
> The same is shee, if Phoebe doe no wronge,
> To whom this ball [golden apple or orb] in merit doth belonge (Peele 1910, p.Eiiij).

Barnfield also makes Elizabeth-Cynthia a beneficiary; placed in the Olympian framework, justice is thought to be attached more objectivity, the status of the judge is raised: it is Jupiter who issues a pronouncement. The poet in his sleep is directed by "an Angell bright" to a Dale where under a lofty Pine sat gods and goddesses: Jupiter with a wheel of fortune, Mercury, Volcano, three furies, all in armor, Priam's son Paris "wrapt in the Mantle of eternal Night," Pallas Athena, Venus "In glistring Golde," and Juno all in tears. Juno is a Plaintiff and appeals to Jupiter "to judge with equitie." She gives details of her case. Juno, Pallas, and Venus were going to hunt with Diana when a golden Ball trundled from above with an inscription *PVLCHERIMAE* [to the most beautiful]. The goddesses were arguing which of the them was the worthiest when they saw a young shepherd who happened to be Paris and asked him to resolve their contention. They tried to bribe him: Juno with wealth, Athena with wit, but he "bestowed that glorious Prize, On Venus." Juno considered it unjust and Paris was brought before Jupiter. After hearing Juno's complaint, Jupiter pronounces his decision to award the "fairest Fayrie Queene," the sacred Virgin, Muse of chastity – Elizabeth. The poem ends with the poet's awakening at dawn "Frō pleasant slumbring sleepe"; he almost wept "Depriu'd so soone of my sweet Dreame" (Barnfield 1876, p. 122).

Barnfield's *Cynthia* is another step in the development of the royal panegyric genre. He attaches a Conclusion to his poem in which he places Elizabeth above the Moon and the Sun stating that it is she who gives light to the celestial bodies.

> Thus, sacred Virgin, Muse of chastitie,
> This difference is betwixt the Moone and thee:
> Shee shines by Night; but thou by Day do'st shine:
> Shee Monthly changeth; thou dost nere decline:
> And as the Sunne, to her, doth lend his light,
> So hee, by thee, is onely made so bright:
> Yet neither Sun, nor Moone, thou canst be named,
> Because thy light hath both their beauties shamed (Barnfield 1876, p. 76).

The most enigmatic and difficult for interpretation poem in the Cynthia cycle is Chapman's *Hymnus in Cynthiam,* in which, according to Yates, the poet "assimilates his imagery to the Elizabeth cult. Cynthia, the Moon, is 'our empresse', that is Queen Elizabeth I, appearing in all the purity of her imperial reform" (Yates, 1979, p. 166). For Chapman, the moon goddess is the central figure in his philosophy discussed above. He equates Elizabeth to *Anima Mundi* "Elizabeth is the Divine Soul of England, just as World-Soul is the Soul of the cosmos" (Battenhouse1941, p. 599). The hymn starts with a rise of "Great Cynthia" from her palace, and her ride in the chariot in "all-ill-purging purity."

> NATURE'S bright eyesight and
> The Night's fair soul
> That with; thy triple forehead[15], dost control
> Earth, seas, and hell; and art in dignity
> The greatest and swiftest planet in the sky (Chapman 1874, p. 10).

[15]In this description, Chapman follows Orpheus, who said Cynthia is thrice-headed, as she is Hecate (a triple- bodied goddess) Luna, and Diana.

Chapman emphasizes Cynthia's Englishness and her role as the Virgin of the Imperial Reform. He entreats her not to exchange her virginity for "the subject title of a wife." Elizabeth alone withstands European political and religious powers threatening England represented in the poem as an evil Sun. "Here, the reader can see, the Sun has become more than the symbol of hostile Europe and is now the symbol of sin" (Battenhouse 1941, p. 601). Elizabeth's special function is to promote virtue in the face of overwhelming peccancy of Europe.

> Then set thy crystal and imperial throne...
> Gainst Europe's Sun directly opposite,
> And give him darkness that doth threat thy light (Chapman 1874, p. 11).

The poet depicts two opposing pictures of accursed Europe stricken with diseases and famine and the "Almighty state" of England "bless'd" with peace and plenty as it is ruled by "the great enchantress that commands/ Spirits of every region, seas, and lands," who is also "queen celestial" and "rulest/ Round heaven itself, and all his sevenfold heights,/ Are bound to serve the strength of her conceits" (ibid., p 11), whom Jove endowed with "complete Empery[16]. "England that Elizabeth configured is compared to a "rare Elysian palace," so that this "blissful court" could shine "with all accomplishment of architect" and is named *Pax Imperii* (Peace of the Empire).

> In which two hundred twenty columns stood,
> Built by two hundred twenty kings of blood,
> Of curious beauty, and admired height,
> Pictures and statues, of as praiseful sleight,
> Convenient for so chaste a goddess' fane
> (Burnt by Herostratus), shall now again
> Be re-exstruct, and this Ephesia be
> Thy country's happy name (Chapman 1874, p. 15).

The greater part of the *Hymnus in Cynthiam* is devoted to the description of a shadowy hunt where Cynthia is the huntress. From "a white and dazzling meteor", she framed "a goodly nymph," Euthimya (joy is her sacred name)[17], bound to her "golden wings with purple strings," which endowed the nymph with the capacity to take the shape of any beast. Out of the shadows and mists, she made hunters and hounds. Euthimya entices them into a vast dreadful thicket from whose "bosom cast prodigious cries,/ Wrapt in her Stygian fumes of miseries"; and a hot chase begins. At the beginning of the hunt Euthimya is turned to a panther (Pride), later to a boar (Lust). The hunt ends with the coming of night: "Half-slain with fear" mounted hunters retreat, hounds like "vapors wasted" and the goddess was "mounted to her sphere" by Titanides and milk-white heifers.

This rather lengthy passage is interpreted differently by critics. Some see in it the tantalizing pursuit of poetic rhymes and images (Spens 1925), which seems a bit far-fetched; others, a majority, see in it an allegory of earthly desires and

[16]Unchallenged political power
[17]In philosophy, Euthymia means "gladness, good mood, serenity".

passions which must be quenched (Bradbrook 1936). The most convincing interpretation seems to be the one given by Roy Battenhouse: "The story of Cynthia's activity as a huntress is an allegory of World-Soul acting in her role of providential governor of men and punisher of the wicked" (Battenhouse1941, p. 604). The author emphasizes the religious import of the mystic hunt – *memento poenae.* The hunt resonates with the myth of Diana and Actaeon in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: the mortal hunter glimpses the bathing naked goddess, and she punishes him by turning him into a stag that is destroyed by his own hounds.

The hymn ends with a call on Elizabethan subjects to worship Cynthia-Elizabeth in the manner the Ephesians worshiped their Moon-goddess, Diana, and turn England into a new Ephesus, a realm of peace and prosperity where Cynthia rules with Divine Wisdom and Providence. Cynthia's is a cult of religious submission which instills not only adoration but also dread. The last lines of the poem are the poet's reminder to the reader of Cynthia's supernatural powers, who, in order to punish sinners, can

> Convert the violent courses of thy floods,
> Remove whole fields of corn, and hugest woods,
> Cast hills into the sea, and make the stars
> Drop out of heaven, and lose thy mariners.
> So shall the wonders of thy power be
> seen,
> And thou for ever live the planets'
> queen (Chapman 1874, p. 16)

At the turn of the century, when it became clear that the queen's reign was coming to its very end, there arose the question of change or mutability. In the *Ode Of Cynthia* written by Lyly in 1600, the brevity of mortal existence and its transiency make up the central theme. But in tune with the general tradition and ideology, he states that time spares Elizabeth who is ageless and timeless.

> All things vnder Cynthia tooke
> To bee transitory...
> Landes and Seas shee rules below,
> Where things change, and ebbe, and flowe,
> Spring, waxe olde, and perish;
> Only Time which all doth mowe,
> Her alone doth cherish (Lyly 1902, p. 415).

In his symbolic description of the only constant being in the changing world – Elizabeth – Lyly draws on the same principles and rigorous rules of presenting the Tudor monarch as the famous *Rainbow portrait* produced in 1601. As Lyly put it, "Times yong howres attend her still,/ And her Eyes and Cheekes do fill,/ With fresh youth and beautie" (Lyly 1902, p. 414). These lines resonate with the "Mask of Youth" which presented the queen ageless, emblematizing a victory over nature's tendency to age over time, and had an additional political meaning – an unquenchable driving force of the country's successes. Constancy in all spheres of life was related with Elizabeth.

However, a shift to new imagery and a new worldview is evident in Spenser's last unfinished book of the *The Faerie Queene* devoted exclusively to Change. Mutability, the daughter of Titans, acquired the powers of a goddess over men, changing things on earth, and now "cast in her ambitious thought,/ T' attempt the empire of the heavens height,/ And Jove himself to shoulder from his right" (Spenser 1758, Book VII, p. 455). Then to the circle of the Moon[18] she climbed, where Cynthia reigned in everlasting glory. And when she saw Cynthia's throne and "palace bright," upheld with thousand crystal pillars, her heart burnt with envy and she demanded that Cynthia descend from her throne because she, Mutability, could rule better as "herself of all that rule she deemed most condign" (Spenser 1758, Book VII, 456).

Mutability confronts Jove, accuses him of usurpation of power and demands they take the case to the court of Nature "for trial of their titles and best rights" (Spenser 1758, Book VII, 462). When the thunder-bearer "looked on her lovely face,/ In which fair beams of beauty did appear/ That could the greatest wrath soon turn to grace" he agreed to her demand to go to Arlo-hill, which had been cursed by Diana after the unhappy incident with Faunus (a variation of the Actaeon myth). Nature after hearing the litigants "gave her doom in speeches few": she said that all things change, but stressed their enduring continuity which let them remain fundamentally unchanged: they never change their "first estate" (essence). So "Titaness was put down and whift [made silent]./ And Jove confrm'd in his imperial See" (Spenser 1758, Book VII, 482). However, the poet-narrator is left disillusioned with the verdict. In Canto 8, in the very last lines written by Spenser, the poet expresses his inner perception of the historical moment: "though she [Mutability] all unworthy were/ Of the Heavn's Rule:/ yet In all things she beares the greatest sway" (Spenser 1758, Book VII, p. 483). Spenser's poignant wit foresaw great changes England was in for in the days to come after Elizabeth's death. For Spenser, changeability was an inherent characteristic of the cosmos itself, but he looks forward to the time, "when no more Change shall be/ all things firmly stayd/ Upon the pillours of Eternity" (Spenser 1758, Book VII, p. 483), a matter of fundamental importance for England. Spenser's nostalgia for constancy and the Aristotelian doctrine of the changeless and incorruptible heavens come into conflict with the new reality in which, according to astronomic discoveries and the new heliocentric model, heavenly bodies are also subjected to change. Thus, paraphrasing Pushkin we can say, "there ain't no constancy on earth, man, there ain't none higher either."[19]

We have analyzed only two impersonations of the queen; there are many others no less picturesque and ideologically charged, all of which presented Elizabeth as the wellspring of the prosperity of the entire country and were the principal vehicle of social propaganda. We witness the appearance of a new allegorical personality in Spenser's last book which is directly connected to sixteenth-century discoveries in astronomy that suggested that the celestial region

[18]The sphere of the moon forms the border between terrestrial matter and celestial ether.
[19]The original sentence from *Mozart and Salieri* is "there ain'tno truth on earth, man, there ain't none higher either."

was not impervious to change either. Unfortunately, we will never know who or what will impersonate this allegory.

Type III: Allegory as Personification

Henry VIII as Magnificence and Imperial Majesty

The third type of allegory is personification, which blossomed in Tudor drama and had a special abstract and visual significance. Allegorical representations of vices and virtues are inherited by the sixteenth century drama from the medieval period where it took pride of place as a mode of a hermeneutical interpretation of religious and moral texts. However, presenting monarchs as personifications of some abstract qualities may be considered an early modern innovation. "Allegories on stage take on an essentially visual, iconographic character; their vividness and tangibility become an essentially defining attribute" (Enders 2015, p. 450).

The drama of Henry VIII's period is less known, so it is significant for understanding the allegorical mode of expressing current ideas through personifications. We found two plays in which the monarch is presented on an allegorical level: *Magnificence*, the only extant play of the English poet John Skelton[20] written about 1519, and John Bale's[21] drama *Kinge Johan* (1538; 1560?), the first history drama with real historical characters. The former may be considered the first important political and didactic allegory, which tackles two important questions: kingly prowess, which depends to a great extent on councilors and the volatility of wealth if handled foolishly and rashly; the latter makes religious issues its focal theme and asserts that the true (Protestant) religion is central to good governance. At the heart of each of the two allegorical dramas is the conflict of authorities. Politics, economics, religion, and history are intimately interwoven in these play. As Greg Walker has argued, these plays "are themselves political acts as they respond to the contingencies of the time; the stance is in response to specific historical circumstances and conflicts, rather than a reflection of universal values" (Walker 1991, p. 2).

In terms of Tudor cosmology, the human ruler is a vicegerent for God Himself. It is asserted in Bale's drama by Imperial Majesty:

> The adminystracyon of a princes governaunce
> Is the gifte of God and hys hygh ordynaunce,
> Whome with all your power yow thre [clergy, nobility, civil order] ought to support
> (Bale 1838, p. 101).

[20]John Skelton (c. 1460-1529) was a scholar and poet. He became tutor to the future Henry VIII. During 1513 he wrote patriotic verses to celebrate Henry VIII's victories at Tournai and Therouanne. Skelton is regarded as one of the fathers of the English drama.

[21]John Bale was originally a Roman Catholic, became a Protestant, went abroad during the reign of Mary, returned to England after the accession of Elizabeth. He began writing Protestant plays in the 1530s. In 1536, he was charged with heresy, but was saved by Thomas Cromwell who believed in plays as effective propaganda.

St. Thomas Aquinas devoted four articles in his *Summa theologica* to the analysis of Magnificence. In Aquinas' conception, magnificence is the peculiar virtue of the prince, an active virtue, for that matter. Magnificence denotes a perfect degree of any virtue.

> It belongs to magnificence to do (*facere*) something great, and not only to do something great but also to tend with the mind to the doing of great things; magnificence is the administering of great and lofty undertakings, with a certain broad and noble purpose of mind.... Magnificence does a great work especially in reference to the Divine honor. For this reason magnificence is connected with holiness, since its chief effect is directed to religion or holiness (Aquinas 1981, pp. 1739–1740).

The third article called *Whether the matter of Magnificence is Great Expenditure* is devoted especially to the question of liberality. St. Thomas emphasizes:

> The magnificent man is not lavish towards himself because to do so is not something great, but in order to do something which will reflect honor on the whole state: as when he brings to effect what the whole state is striving for (Aquinas 1981, p. 1741).

The vices that surround the prince try to convince him to the contrary advising him to abandon Prudence and Measure in royal and money policies: measure is for merchants, "But largesse becometh a state ryall. /A lorde a negarde [niggard] it is a shame/ But largesse may amende your name" (Skelton 1879, p. 20). The vices that the prince made his courtiers had the powerful position to influence and take advantage of the king in order to destroy him: "you were somtyme a noble estate,/ Nowe must you lerne to begge at e*u*ery mannes gate" (ibid., p. 94). Allegorically viewed, the message of the play is that an emblematic ruler is still to comprehend what real magnificence is. He learns it the hard way: he is robbed of all his wealth, beaten, humiliated by mockery, and nearly driven to suicide. He is restored by Good hope and Redress. The final soliloquies sum up the message of the play:

> This mater we haue movyd you myrthys [mirthful] to make
> Precely purposyd [briefly discussed] vnder pretence of play
> Shewyth wysdome to them that wysdome can take
> Howe sodenly worldly welth dothe dekay
> How wysdom thorowe wantonnesse vanysshyth away (Skelton 1879. p. 123).

The play is a kind of *The Honest Mirror of Youth* for young rulers. It cannot be divorced from the immediate political and economic situation. When Henry succeeded to his father's throne, he inherited immense wealth which his father's avarice had accumulated. "This, however, was in a few years dissipated by the prodigal expenses of the youthful monarch to supply his riot and extravagance" (Ruding 1840, p. 300) and expensive war campaigns of the Holy League[22] against France which were paid for mainly with English money. Greg Walker considers

[22]In October 1511, Pope Julius II proclaimed the new Holy League against France, including the Papal States, Venice, Spain, the Holy Roman Empire, England, and the Swiss Confederacy.

Magnyfycence "to be an intensely political play. It takes as its subject matter questions which contemporaries considered central to effective royal administration" (Walker 1991, p. 65). And that "subject matter" was a particular political event of 1519 – the expulsion of Henry's closest companions (called King's minions) from very high posts to which he had appointed them a year before. For the general public, the removal was portrayed as the King's intolerance to vice and inefficiency among his appointees.

> The minions' extravagant behavior, their condescending, disparaging, manner, and especially the over familiar way in which they treated their King, began to alarm the members of Henry's council, who felt that such loutish activities and such disrespectful behavior were bringing the Crown into odium (Walker 1991, p. 68).

The other drama *King Johan* dramatizes symbolic power struggles between English kings and papacy. The plot of the play unites historical factuality and allegory, real historical characters and personified vices and virtues. Widow England complains to King John that she is torn from her husband, God, by the clergy, who profess a false religion. The king promises to help her, repudiates the appointment of the archbishop of Canterbury, which exasperates the Pope, who buys over nobility and commoners, bishops and lawyers, and the clergy. Betrayed by all his subjects, after a two-year standoff, King John resigns his scepter and crown to the Pope, who levies a heavy tribute that drains the king's treasury. Moreover, the Pope sends a monk with a bottle of poison to the contumacious king. The monk and the king drink of the same bottle and die. Eventually, Verity (Truth) and Imperial Majesty, personification of royal authority, namely Henry VIII, appear, drive popery out of England and promise to lead England to "the land of milk and honey".

The closing scene is, by all appearances, a manifesto for a new social order based on Protestantism and the Act of Supremacy[23], in which the struggle between the state and the Church for absolute power is resolved in favor of the royal authority. The act declared that the king was "the only supreme head on Earth of the Church of England" answerable only to God. The doctrinal topics are proclaimed from the stage almost *verbatim* by Verity:

> Verity: In hys owne realme a kynge is judge over all,
> By Gods appoyntment, and none maye hym judge agayne,
> But the Lorde hymself: in thys the scripture is playne ...
> King is the supreme head of the church,
> Bishopp, monke, chanon, priest, cardynall, pope:
> All they by Gods lawe to kynges owe their allegeaunce.
> Than shall never Pope rule more in thys monarchie" (Bale1838, pp. 90–91).

Verity calls on all English subjects to "gyve to your kynge hys due supremyte,/ And exyle the pope thys realme for evermore" (Bale1838, p. 90).

[23]The first Act of Supremacy was passed in November 1534 by Parliament. It granted King Henry VIII and subsequent monarchs Royal Supremacy: he was declared the Supreme Head of the Church of England.

The both plays reflect different stages in Henry VIII's rulership, whose personality is perceptible in the dramatic characters, and were written with the aim of strengthening Tudor political authority. The plays are ideological vehicles for indoctrinating society with "correct" ideas. Thus we see that allegories became a predominant attribute of the sixteenth century drama.

Conclusion

The allegory is only one of a broad repertory of figurative forms aimed to create society's favorable vision of the sovereign in power. They are far from being fossilized systems, but are an ever changing figurative mode of representation developing from simpler forms to more complex and rich in connotations instruments of indoctrination. In the history of political ideas, allegorical representations of the Tudors (both visual and textual) focused on one thing – the ideal ruler, a bearer of absolutist ideology, a ruler that is a divine being.

The allegorical devices studied in the article proved to be a medium through which images of Tudor princes were shaped and transmitted making poetic and drama discourses a part of political culture. Poets fictionalized political, religious, and ideological conceptions informing them with Biblical and mythological content corroborated by visual representations in pictorial art. Allegories were effective in translating ideas and policies into poetic and visual imagery. Starting with allegorical comparisons in writing and later introducing other forms of allegories, "poets, writers and chroniclers structured the Tudors' images with the aim of enhancing the charisma of the sovereign; legitimating the authority of the regime; seeking to solicit royal sympathies in matters religious, civic, and military" (Montrose 1999, p. 109).

Allegorical representations of Tudor monarchs and values changing throughout the century display great flexibility and adaptability to specific political situations (war – peace) and ideologies (Protestantism, absolutism, imperialism). On the face of it, the paradigm may seem eclectic, combining a strong pagan trend and Christian beliefs, the idea of Oneness and Greek polytheism, Aristotelian worldview of constancy in higher spheres and Neo-Platonist ubiquitous mutability. The tensions between the classical inheritance and the religious doctrine are resolved by blending them. Efforts were made to purge Olympian prototypes of protogenic sinfulness and imbue them with divine light.

The textual paradigm is characterized by a high degree of intertextuality. Mega discourses are formed around such issues as 'virginity', 'chastity', 'divine ordinance', 'royal prowess', 'eternity' etc. (Poets were not averse to imitation and plagiarism). The discussion of virtues in relation to the ruling dynasty was densely allegorical, it took the form of mythological reflections and allegorical visualizations, which added picturesqueness to a literary text, enhanced its own pragmatic intent and facilitated the passing on of its message.

References

Aquinas T (1981) *Summa theologica*. Westminster, Md.: Christian Classics.

Aristotle (1984) *The complete works of Aristotle: the revised Oxford translation*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Babuts N (1992) *The Dynamics of the Metaphoric Field: A Cognitive View of Literature.* Newark: University of Delaware Press.

Bale J (1838) *Kynge Johan.* A play in two parts. London: J.B. Nichols and Son.

Barnfield R (1990) *The complete poems.* Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press.

Battenhouse R (1941) Chapman's "The Shadow of Night": An Interpretation. *Studies in Philology* 38(4): 584–608.

Bayley H (2000) *The Lost Language of Symbolism*. Escondido Ca: Book Tree.

Bednarz J (1996) The Collaborator as Thief: Ralegh's (Re)Vision of The Faerie Queene. *ELH* 63(2): 279–307.

Berry P (1989) *Of chastity and power: Elizabethan literature and the unmarried queen*. London; New York: Routledge.

Berthelot M (1885) *Les origines de l'alchimie.* (The origins of alchemy.) Paris: G. Steinheil.

Blanton D (2015) Theory by Analogy. *PMLA* 130(3): 750–758.

Bloomfield M (1987) Varieties of allegory and interpretation. *Revue internationale de philosophie* 41(162/163): 329–346.

Bradbrook M (1936) *The school of night: a study in the literary relationships of Sir Walter Raleigh.* Cambridge: University Press.

Bruno G (1991) *On the composition of images, signs & ideas.* New York: Willis, Locker & Owens.

Burckhardt J (1878) *The Civilization Of The Renaissance In Italy*. Translated by S.G.C. Middlemore. Vienna: the Phaidon Press.

Camden W (1625) *Annales. The true and royall history of the famous empresse Elizabeth, queene of England, France and Ireland &c*. London: Printed for Beniamin Fisher.

Case J (1600) *Sphaera Civitati*s. Oxoniae: Excudebat I. Barnesius

Chapman G (1875) *The works of George Chapman*. London: Chatto and Windus.

Cirlot J (1971) *A Dictionary of Symbols.* Translated by Jack Sage. London: Routledge.

Cranmer T (1846) *The works of Thomas Cranmer*. Cambridge: University Press.

Davie D (1960) A Reading of The Ocean's Love to Cynthia. In *Elizabethan Poetry. Stratford-Upon-Avon Studies*, no. 2, 71–89. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Davies J (1876) *The complete poems of Sir John Davies*. London: Chatto and Windus.

Dekker T (1904) *Old Fortunatus: A Play*. London: J.M. Dent.

Durkheim E (1915) *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life.* Translated by Joseph Swain. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.

Enders J (2015) Allegory Plays. *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 55(2): 447–464.

Fairfield W (1882) *The true key to ancient cosmology and mythical geography.* Boston: Ginn, Heath, & co.

Fletcher A (1964) *Allegory: the theory of a symbolic mode*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.

Foxe J (1837) *The acts and monuments of John Foxe: a new and complete edition: with a preliminary dissertation, by the Rev. George Townsend.* London: R. B. Seeley and W. Burnside.

Freeman L (2005) Vision, Metamorphosis, and the Poetics of Allegory in the "Mutabilitie Cantos." *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 45(1): 65–93.

Fuller T (1642) *The holy state*. Cambridge [Eng.]: Printed by Roger Daniel for John Williams.

Fulwell U (2011) Flower of Fame. In W Jewell (ed.), *The Golden Cabinet of True Treasure*. Ann Arbor: Text Creation Partnership.

Furnivall F (1872) *Ballads from Manuscripts*. Vol. I. London: Printed for the Ballad Society, by Taylor and co.

Gordon A (1932) On the Origin of Diana. *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 63: 177–192.

Hard R (2004) *The Routledge Handbook of Greek Mythology: Based on H.J. Rose's "Handbook of Greek Mythology."* London: Psychology Press.

Harington J (1591) *Apology of Poetry. Orlando Furioso in English heroical verse*. London: Richard Field.

Innes A (1911) *England under the Tudors*. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.

Johnson M (1974) Some Problems of Unity in Sir Walter Ralegh's The Ocean's Love to Cynthia. *Studies in English Literature 1500 – 1900* 14(1): 17–30.

Kahn V (2017) *Allegory, poetic theology, and enlightenment aesthetics*. In P Kottman (ed.), *The insistence of art. Aesthetic philosophy after Early Modernity*, 31–54. New York: Fordham University Press.

King James (2004) *Authorized Version of the Holy Bible (KJV)*. Crosswire Bible Society. http://www.davince.com/bible.

L'Orange H (1953) *Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World.* Oslo: H. Aschehoug.

Laneham R (1907) *Robert Laneham's letter: describing a part of the entertainment unto Queen Elizabeth at the castle of Kenilworth in 1575.* Edited by F Furnivall. London: Chatto & Windus.

LiDonnici L (1992) The Images of Artemis Ephesia and Greco-Roman Worship: A Reconsideration. *The Harvard Theological Review* 85(4): 389–415.

Lyly J (1902) *The complete works*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.

Marlowe C (1963) *Hero and Leander*. Elizabethan minor epics. Edited by E. Donno. New York: Columbia University Press.

Montrose L (1999) Idols of the Queen: Policy, Gender, and the Picturing of Elizabeth I. *Representations* 68: 108–161.

Montrose L (2002) Spenser and the Elizabethan Political Imaginary. *ELH* 69(4): 907–946.

Moulton RG (Ed.) (1896) *Ecclesiasticus*. New York: The Macmillan Company.

New International Version of the Holy Bible (NIV) (1984) Colorado Springs: International Bible Society.

Peacham H (1593) *The Garden of Eloquence*. London: Imprinted by H. Jackson.

Peele G (1910) *The arraignment of Paris, 1584.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Plutarch (1911) *Plutarch on the face which appears on the orb of the Moon: translation and notes, with appendix*. London: Simpkin.

Puttenham G (1869) *The arte of English poesie.* London: A. Murray & son

Quintilian (1979) *The institutio oratoria*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Raleigh W (1885) *The poems of Sir Walter Raleigh collected and authenticated, with those of Sir Henry Wotton and other courtly poets from 1540 to 1650*. London: G. Bell & Sons.

Rollins H (1920) *Old English Ballads 1553-1625. Chiefly from Manuscripts*. Cambridge: The University Press.

Ruding R (1840) *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain and its Dependencies*. 3rd Edition. Vol. I. London: Printed for John Hearne.

Scarisbrick J (1968) *Henry VlII.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Schopenhauer A (2017) *The World As Will And Representation*. Vol. 1. London: Delphi Classics.

Skelton J (18790 *The poetical works of Skelton and Donne, with a memoir of each.* Boston: Houghton, Osgood and Company.

Spens J (1925) Chapman's Ethical Thought. *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association* XI: 161–163.

Spenser E (1758) *The Fairy Queen.* London: Printed for J. and R. Tonson.

Strong R (1963) *Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Walker G (1991) *Plays of persuasion: drama and politics at the court of Henry VIII*. Cambridge [England]: Cambridge University Press.

Walter B (2003) *The origin of German tragic drama.* London and New York: Verso.

Wilson E (1966) *England's Eliza*. New York: Octagon Books.

Yates F (1947) Queen Elizabeth as Astraea. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 10: 27–82.

Yates F (1979) *The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age*. London and New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul.