Sanctified Tyrannicide: Tyranny and Theology in John Ponet’s Shorte Treatise of Politike Power and Edmund Spenser’s The Faerie Queen

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Sanctified Tyrannicide: 
Tyranny and Theology in John 
Ponet’s Shorte Treatise of Politike 
Power and Edmund Spenser’s 
The Faerie Queene 

by Ryan J. Croft

JOHN Ponet’s Shorte Treatise of Politike Power (1556) has often been noted for its argument against tyranny.¹ At the same time, scholars have repeatedly commented on Ponet’s apparent movement from violent resistance to prayer at the book’s conclusion.² Barrett Beer, for

¹ Barbara Peardon states plainly, “Ponet’s task was to construct a theory which would determine how and by whom a tyrant could be deposed” (“The Politics of Polemic: John Ponet’s Short Treatise of Politic Power and Contemporary Circumstance, 1553–1556,” Journal of British Studies 22 [1982]: 47). David Wollman, alternatively, has stressed the importance of the biblical overturns of tyrants that Ponet cites as precedents (“The Biblical Justification for Resistance to Authority in Ponet’s and Goodman’s Polemics,” Sixteenth Century Journal 13 [1982]: 29–41). Most recently, Barrett L. Beer, after acknowledging how “recent historians have . . . considered the Shorte Treatise either in the context of the Puritan movement or as it related to later theories of tyrannicide,” has attempted to move away from this popular focus and emphasize instead Ponet’s personal anguish and loss of “faith in man and political institutions” (“John Ponet’s Shorte Treatise of Politike Power Reassessed,” Sixteenth Century Journal 21 [1990]: 373–84). Also see Quentin Skinner’s discussion of Ponet alongside other prominent Marian exiles, in The Foundations of Modern Political Thought (Volume Two: The Age of Reformation [New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978], passim).

² For example, Peardon points out that if the “desperate action” of tyrannicide committed by a divinely inspired assassin “were shunned, the ultimate remedies which Ponet recommended were both long-term in operation,” those being “Penance and Prayer,” for “God would eventually heed the cries of his oppressed people and come to their aid” (“Politics of Polemics,” 48; my emphasis). Wollman similarly notes that Ponet’s “specific advice to the common people is to seek the assistance of God by repentance and prayer” (“Biblical Justification,” 35).
example, suggests that Ponet “was not successful in spelling out how the people, those who were the subjects of a tyrant, were to free themselves from oppression,” and he adds that the Treatise “ends not with a blast of the trumpet calling for the saints to rise against tyranny, but with a prayer exhorting a suffering people to repent of their sins and trust in God to change ‘variable England to the constant Jerusalem, from the company of men to the fellowship of angels.’”\(^3\) Wollman has offered what is to date the best solution to this oft-criticized aspect of Ponet’s treatise, arguing that Ponet emphasized supplication to God because such emphasis was in line with “the Old Testament model of Isra-elite behavior” where “repentance removes the reason for God’s anger and thus clears the way for terminating the punishment.”\(^4\) While Wollman’s explanation is enlightening, it only considers Ponet’s knowledge of Scripture and overlooks his familiarity with other forms of religious discourse, such as the English liturgy and catechetical texts. An examination of these sources produces a more complete answer to this central problem of the Treatise. Moreover, once the liturgical and sacramental dimensions of Ponet’s political thought are understood, the Treatise illuminates Edmund Spenser’s strikingly similar treatment of tyranny and resistance in The Faerie Queene.

In this essay I first reveal how Ponet’s demand for repentance and prayer in the Treatise recalls similar exhortations and prayers that occur prior to baptism in the Edwardian rite. These ritual prayers call for the rejection of Satan and prepare the recipient and the Christian community for the grace of the sacrament. I argue that Ponet similarly casts prayer as preparation for a tyrannicide that, like baptism, will remove a dark spiritual influence from the body politic and bring salvation to the nation. That is, since Ponet presents the devil as inspiring the tyrant, tyrannicide like baptism becomes a rejection of Satan’s oppression in both the secular and spiritual realms. Turning to Spenser, I find a similar linking of tyranny, the devil, and baptism in his national epic. Spenser’s sacramental understanding of tyranny and tyrannicide not only clarifies my reading of Ponet’s political theology but also suggests Spenser’s inheritance of a discursive legacy from the preceding genera-

\(^3\) Beer, “Politike Power Reassessed,” 381. Compare his equally strong critique on page 382: “Ponet, perhaps troubled by anger and frustration, failed to define the legitimate authority of a limited monarchy, and his proposals for removing a tyrant leave much to be desired. His work stressed the failures of kings and ministers but offered little by way of practical advice to one who had a job to do.”

tion of Marian exiles. This essay, then, continues to recuperate Ponet as an important thinker, while also contributing to the ongoing conversation about Spenser’s political and religious ideals.

An association between baptism and tyrannicide would have come easily to both Ponet and Spenser for a number of reasons. As the first sacrament, baptism held a foundational place in the life of the Christian, signifying escape from the tyranny of the devil into the freedom of Christ. Such a contrast between bondage and liberty would have been felt keenly by the Marian exiles and those still in England, where the Catholic queen was imprisoning and executing English Protestants while attempting to restore the false Roman religion. Baptism was also at the center of a religious controversy among Protestants themselves throughout the sixteenth century. As we will see, Ponet was engaged in this controversy on the side of the Edwardian church in opposition to the more radical Anabaptists, whom Spenser also targeted. Finally, there is the fact of Ponet’s own participation in the Edwardian liturgy and its sacraments as bishop. Having served under Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, the man responsible for the reformed liturgy, Ponet would have longed for a restoration of the reformed vernacular service that Mary had dissolved upon her ascendancy. Not only as a writer of a political treatise but also as a cleric, Ponet saw an urgent need for England to return to the purity of a Protestant faith confessed in baptism. In the aftermath of this struggle and in the face of continued threats from both Catholicism and Protestant radicalism, Spenser also upholds England’s calling as a Protestant nation. However, he does this primarily by portraying the individual Christian’s baptismal calling—the individual Christian in question here being the Red Cross Knight, also known as Saint George, the patron saint of England. As we will see, for Ponet and Spenser the baptismal callings of both the nation and the individual require the opposing of spiritual and temporal tyrants.

Before discussing Ponet’s sanctification of tyrannicide through baptism, it is first necessary to recognize how he conceives of tyranny—and the tyrant himself—in spiritual terms. For Ponet, as for other writers who approached politics from a theological perspective, a tyrant serves as an agent of the devil and rises to power because of a nation’s sins. Consequently, all tyranny for Ponet hearkens back to the primeval Fall, a key point I cover in part one of this discussion. In part two, I examine Ponet’s views on the Fall and baptism as expressed in his more religious writings, considering in particular how he posed his Edwardian orthodoxy against the beliefs of the Anabaptists, who held a different
theology of the Fall and original sin and who rejected the baptism of infants. My aim here is to show the theological as well as the political importance of the Fall and baptism for Ponet. Thus, in part three I demonstrate how the Edwardian liturgy associated baptism with the expulsion of a secular and a spiritual tyrant, specifically Pharaoh and the devil. In light of this liturgical subtext, I reveal that Ponet does not simply figure prayer as patient trust in providence but rather suggests that prayer is the appeal for the grace necessary to sanctify the violent act of tyrannicide—an act that Ponet casts as a type of baptism in its ability to cleanse England from a dark tyranny that is at once spiritual and political. In part four, my conclusion, I show how this precise understanding of Ponet’s sanctification of tyrannicide helps us to understand the similar portrayal of the devil, tyranny, and baptism in Edmund Spenser’s Faerie Queene, particularly in the Book of Holiness. For instance, scholars have differed in the way that they read the religious allegory in the penultimate canto of this book, where the Red Cross Knight combats a dragon and liberates Una’s kingdom from his tyrannical oppression. Ponet’s sanctification of tyrannicide elucidates this and other moments in Spenser’s allegory because both Spenser and Ponet constructed their works on the same political and theological foundation.

I

For Ponet, the struggle between the tyrant and the commonwealth involves the ancient conflict between the devil and God. As the king is supposed to rule justly with authority given to him by God, so the tyrant rules unjustly with power given to him by the devil. Near the beginning of his Treatise, Ponet professes his belief that God defends people from tyranny in order to make certain that they all have a secure and just government: “And the state of the policies and common wealthes have been disposed and ordained bi God [so] that the headdes could not (if they wolde) oppresse the other membres.”⁵ God’s protection of the commonwealth from an oppressive ruler is assured as long as the people remain obedient to his will.⁶ However, merely falling into disobedience is not

⁵ Ponet, A Shorte Treatise of Politike Power (Strasbourg, 1556), reprinted in facsimile in Winthrop Still Hudson, John Ponet: Advocate of Limited Monarchy (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), 11, hereafter referred to as Treatise. All subsequent references to Ponet will be to this facsimile edition and will be cited parenthetically by Hudson’s page numbers.

⁶ Wollman summarizes Ponet’s beliefs regarding this dynamic in the following way: “so long as God’s word is preached and held to, tyranny was impossible. Unfortunately,
grounds enough to create a tyrant—the tyrant must also have the assistance of the devil.\footnote{Compare Poet’s claim with Skinner’s acknowledgement that the people’s failure to follow God’s signs in choosing their ruler is a symptom of their fallen nature. Note also his neglect of the important role of the devil in taking advantage of this vulnerability—a vulnerability Satan himself enabled in the Garden (Foundations, 229–30).} Thus, Poet presents the tyrant as having traded not only his soul but also the souls of his people in return for power. He asks, “what judgement shalbe geuen of those that willfully goo about to destroye mennes soules, and to make them a present to the deuil, so that they for a tyme maye be his deputies here in earthe?” (15–16). Here and elsewhere as we will see, Poet paints a dark picture of tyrants who make a Faustian bargain with the devil in exchange for unjust power.

Later in the Treatise Poet explains how the devil inspires the tyrant to make this fatal political and spiritual bargain. First, he puts forward the example of a demonically inspired ruler in Alexander the Great, who was led by a “worne of ambicion”:

*This worne without faile was the deuil*, who not contented that kinges (the ministers of God) should serue God in their vocation (to haue them the soner fall from God and serue him) putteth them in hope that they shalbe lorde of all the worlde, *if they will take him for their chief lorde and souraigne.* (127; my emphasis)

Poet then discusses in detail how the devil allures rulers with promises of domination, noting as well the two “waies of the Deuil” by which such tyrants seize power—these being “open force” and Machiavellian “secret subtiltie,” also known as “policy.”\footnote{The devil, Poet states, Because he seeth the inconstauincie of kinges, that they no longer abyde by their othes and promises than they make thereby haue profit, gayue, and their desire, he doth not furtheith put them in possession, but to 튀eir fidelitie, he sheweth them bi what means they shal come to it, putting to their good will, helpe, and industrie. He doubtesth not, but if he maye bring them ones into the puddle ouer the shoyn, they will through thicke and thine whatsoever cometh of it, to come to that thei loked for. These waies of the Deuill procede out of his schole of practices. (127–28)} He comments that tyrants most often chose the latter route, so that “they worke a great deale more mischief than by open force and streignth of men, and with lesse peril of them selues.” This way of deception is necessary, Poet states, because God alone assures victory and success in open action: “For whan they goo about it by force, *the deuil their maister* is not hable to warraunt them the successe” (128; my emphasis).

The relative weakness of the tyrant and the devil explains why they can only disrupt the political order that God has set after the people themselves have first abandoned God. As Barbara Peardon argues, it
is not that Ponet, like John Knox and Christopher Goodman, sees the
tyrant as “the instrument of God, sent to move a nation to repentance
for their sins, to punish the wicked, and both to humble and strengthen
the pious,” since such a belief was “a great blasphemy’ which made
God ‘the author of evil.’” 9 Rather, making a move of great political and
theological significance, Ponet views the tyrant as the natural or neces-
sary consequence of disobedience, for it is in such a moment of back-
sliding that the commonwealth leaves itself open to possession by the
satanic tyrant. Thus, in the first section of his Treatise Ponet states, “But
wher the people haue forsaken God, and contenied utterly his worde,
ther hathe the deuil by his ministers, occupied the hole country, and sub-
uerted the good order, iustice and equalitie, that was in the common
wealthe, and planted his unreasonable lustes for good lawes” (12; em-
phasis added). He adds suggestively that this process of tyranny is so
common that he need not provide a particular example, though he does
mention the Turk’s domination of Hungary (12–13). However, Ponet
clearly expects his Protestant countrymen to think of England here,
now under the demonic sway of Mary Tudor and her ministers.

Although Ponet views tyranny as the direct result of a people’s turn-
ing away from God, he does not visualize this infernal political and
spiritual transformation as always being a sudden one. On the contrary,
Ponet portrays tyranny in vivid detail as a shadowy menace that gradu-
ally asserts control over the commonwealth, until the nation perceives
the danger all too late:

And wher the people haue not utterly forsaken God and his worde, but haue
begonne to be weary of it: there hathe not God suffred Tyrannes by and by to
rush in, and to occupie the hole, and to suppressse the good ordes of the com-
mon wellth, but by litle and litle hathe suffred them to crepe in, first with the
head, then with an arme, and so after with a legge, and at leyng (were not the
people penitent, and in tyme converted to God) to bring in the hole body, and
to worke the feates of Tirannes. (12)

Here the tyrant appears like a burglar slowly entering through the win-
dow of a house while the owner slumbers in blissful ignorance. Again,
tyranny is defined as an ever creeping threat that God alone is able to
repel as long as the commonwealth embraces his Word. To ward off
the satanic tyrant, then, Ponet counsels spiritual vigilance: “Wherefore
it shalbe the parte of all Christen men to take hede, that in forsaking
God, they bring not iustly the deuil and tyrannes to reigne ouer them”

(13; my emphasis). The implication, once more, is that complacency and faithlessness to God have multiplied throughout England, with Queen Mary’s Catholic rule and persecution of Protestants as the hellish results.

Ponet’s repeated emphasis on the importance of fearing God, on keeping his word, and on the devil’s role in fomenting tyranny recalls the events of the primeval Fall. Indeed, the Fall undergirds Ponet’s entire political theory, as we will see later. For now, it is enough to note how Ponet parallels Mary’s regime with the events in Genesis, in order to admonish Englishmen who would excuse their toleration of her unjust rule. First, he chastises those who would appeal to the fact that they were victims of the tyrant’s deception: “Did the plea that Eva made for offending in eating the forbidden apple . . . excuse her? Nothing lesse” (18). Next, Ponet turns to those who would explain that they were forced to accept tyranny by necessity: “Was it ynought for Adam our first father . . . to say, I durst not displease my wife: or to saye, as he sayed, The woman whome though gauest me, gaue it me? No, it auailed not” (19). It is important to remember here that the devil, “the prince that ruleth in the aire” to use the words of Saint Paul, was often presented as a tyrant, from patristic explanations of the atonement that charged him with exceeding his dominion over mankind in having Christ killed, to his comedic appearances as scheming usurper in the medieval cycle plays, to the Edwardian liturgy itself, as we will see later.\(^\text{10}\) Ponet is clearly expecting his readers to recall this idea and thus to see the present tyranny in England as ultimately derived from the original tyrannical act in Eden.

To summarize, throughout the Treatise the devil and tyrants are continually linked: he is their “chief lorde and souragine,” their “master,” and they are his “deputies.” Moreover, by connecting human tyranny with the original tyranny of the devil, Ponet casts Adam and Eve’s enslavement to sin and the devil’s unlawful usurpation of Creation as the

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\(^{10}\) Ephesians 2:2: “Wherein, in times past ye walked, according to the course of this world, and after the prince that ruleth in the aire, even the spirtie, that nowe worketh in the children of disobedience,” from the Geneva Bible (1587). As the marginal gloss notes, “Men are therefore slaues to Satan, because they are willingly rebellious against God.” In the Gospel of John, the devil is identified as the “prince of this world”: see John 12:31, 14:30, and 16:11. For the devil as a tyrant-type in the cycle plays, see especially the Wakefield “Creation and Fall of the Angels,” in which he sits in God’s throne and greedily overlooks the newly created world: “For I am lord of blis / Over all this world, iwis. / My mirth is most of all. / Th[e]r[for]my will is this: / ‘Master’ ye shall me call” (95–98). Quoted in Medieval Drama, ed. David Bevington (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1975), 95–98.
original cataclysm in which all future tyrannies find their beginning. In other words, Adam and Eve’s disobedience makes tyranny possible. Nevertheless, just as Ponet believes there is hope after the Fall in the church and its sacraments, with baptism being the first of these, so too does he hope in the comparable rescue of an English nation groaning under the rule of a devilish tyrant. Before we see how this is so, we must first examine Ponet’s and the Edwardian church’s theology of the Fall and baptism.

II

Ponet’s *A short catechisme, or playne instruction, conteynynge the summe of Christian learninge* provides a crucial precedent for the later intersection of politics and theology in the *Treatise*. At one point in the *Catechism* Ponet states that “we longe for, and praye that it may at length come to passe and be fulfylled, that Christe may reign with his sainctes, accordyng to Gods promises: that hee maye lyue and bee Lorde in the worlde, accordyngly to the decrees of the holye Gospell: not after the traditions and lawes of men nor pleasure of worldlye tyrantes.”  

In his biography of Ponet, Winthrop Hudson draws attention to this passage, noting that it “foreshadows the attitude which Ponet was to take during his exile under Mary,” expressed in the *Treatise*.  

It is important, then, to pause here and consider both the religious and political links between the *Catechism* and the *Treatise* more fully.

The first known editions of the *Catechism* were published in 1553 in both Latin and English, with the king’s Forty-Two Articles appended at the end. It has sometimes been supposed that Archbishop Cranmer, whose hand was behind the Articles, also composed the *Catechism* proper. However, evidence shows that the *Catechism* was actually written by Ponet, who served as Cranmer’s chaplain. Set forth as

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11 John Ponet, *A short catechisme* (London, 1553), lviith. Hereafter referred to as *Catechism*. All citations are from this edition (STC 4812), which is in English and includes the Articles.

12 Hudson, *John Ponet: Advocate of Limited Monarchy*, 53–54. “Sometime in 1552,” as Hudson writes, “Ponet finally got around to the project which seemed to him to be of such vital importance for the further progress of the Reformation. This was the composition of a new catechism for the use of schoolmasters in the grammar schools” (5).

13 Hudson reviews the two pieces of evidence for Ponet’s authorship: first, a 1553 letter from Sir John Cheke to Heinrich Bullinger that refers to “the catechism of John, bishop of Winchester”; second, a 1552 note in the *State Papers, Domestic*, that states, “Bishop Poynet has set forth a catechism in Latin and English; begs that the bearer may have license for
a dialogue between a master and a scholar, the book proceeds through
a number of crucial theological issues hotly and sometimes even vio-
lently contested during the Reformation, especially original sin, grace,
and the sacraments, including baptism. More than once in the Articles,
the Anabaptists are rebuked for their incorrect views on these matters.
Of course, this controversy revolves around a particular understanding
of the Fall, the primeval event that also undergirds Ponet’s theorization
of tyranny and resistance. Thus, although Cranmer’s Articles assail the
Anabaptists and their teachings more directly than the Catechism, Ponet
in his Treatise enters the same disputes with the Anabaptists over prop-
erty and original sin. The Fall and the closely related issue of baptism,
then, link the Catechism and the Treatise, standing as they do at the heart
of the Anabaptist controversy. Moreover, like the Fall, baptism has an
important place in Ponet’s political theory, as I will show later.

Cranmer’s article on original sin, the eighth, is the first to mention
the Anabaptists by name. This article declares that “Originall sinne
standeth not in the folowing of Adam, as the Pelagianes doe vainely
talke, which also the Anabaptists do now a daies renue”; rather “it is the
fault, and corrupcion of the nature of euery mane, that naturllye is
engendred of the ofspringe of Adam.”14 Here Cranmer, and Ponet by
extension, charges the Anabaptists with an incorrect understanding
of original sin that minimizes the impact of the Fall on humanity.15 To

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14 “[W]hereby manne is very far gone from his former righteousnesse, whiche he had
at hys creation: and is of his own nature geuen to euyll” (Ponet, A Short Catechism, lxxi;
my emphasis).

15 Actual Anabaptist teaching on original sin appears to be both more complex and
more varied than either Cranmer or Ponet give it credit for being. Claus-Peter Clasen
notes, “When it came to the question of baptizing children because they had been tainted
with original sin, some Anabaptists in central Germany seem to have cast out the notion
of original sin altogether. Man, like all other creatures, was created good and pure; there-
fore all children were in a state of innocence and blessedness.” On the other hand, “many
Anabaptists . . . admitted that there was a leaning toward evil in man. The Hutterites held
that through his sin, Adam had imparted this evil tendency to all mankind. But if children
were potential sinners, this weakness was not held against them” (Anabaptism: A Social
History, 1525–1618 [Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1972], 97). See also Balthasar Hub-
maier, “Human Beings After the Fall,” in the treatise Concerning the Freedom of the Will,
printed in Early Anabaptist Spirituality: Selected Writings, ed. Daniel Liechty (New York:
Paulist Press, 1994), 26–30; and Peter Riedeman, “Concerning Original Sin,” and “What
Original Sin Is,” both excerpted in Anabaptism in Outline: Selected Primary Sources, ed. Wal-
contradict this error, the terrifying consequences of the Fall are stressed as the passage continues: “So that the fleshe desyreth alwaiies contrary to the spirit therfore in euery person, born into this world, it deserueth Goddes wrathie and damnacion. And this infection of nature doeth remayne, yea in them that are baptyzed.” Different explanations of this “desire of the fleshe against the spirit,” or concupiscence, are mentioned, before the passage concludes that this desire, however it is explained, is not subject to the law of God.16 All in all, the article stresses the flawed, fallen nature of human beings, who are prone to rebellion against God.

The effects of original sin that Cranmer sets forth here are crucial to Ponet’s political theory. First, as we have already seen, Ponet is aware in the Treatise that the Fall is not only the inauguration of the devil’s tyranny over the world but also a pattern of tyrannies to come. However, like other contemporary political theorists, Ponet sees original sin as also making good government necessary. He thus opens his Treatise by noting that “bicause through the fall of the forst man, his reason is wonderfully corrupt, and sensualitie hathe goten the ouer hande, [he] is not hable by himself to rule himself, but must haue a more excellent gouernour” (3; my emphasis). Ponet’s description of the Fall’s lasting effects shares the same emphasis and even a little of the same language (“corrupt,” “sensualitie”) with Cranmer’s article on original sin cited above. And so it is no surprise that later, in discussing the necessary obedience owed to governors, Ponet criticizes Anabaptist doctrine on the question of original sin along the same lines as Cranmer: “Some ther be that will haue to littell obedience, as the Anabaptistes. For because they heare of a christian libertie, wolde haue all politike power taken awaye: and so in dede no obedience”:

For the anabaptistes mistake christian libertie, thinking that men maye liue without sinne, and forget the fall of man, wherby he was brought in to suche miserie, that he is no more hable to rule himself by himself, than one beast to rule another: and that therfore God ordaineu ciuile power (his ministre) to rule him, and to call him backe, whan so euer he should passe the limites of his dutie, and wold that an obedience should be geuen vnto him. (47–48; my emphasis)17

16 John Ponet, A Short Catechism, lxixi−v.

17 Between these two statements Ponet chastises the “papistes” for committing the opposite error by asking for too much obedience to worldly governors. Ponet’s attempts here and elsewhere in the Treatise to position himself (and the struggling Protestant church) between what he saw as the extremes of Anabaptism and Catholicism is indicative of the general tenor of his religious thought, which again anticipated the Elizabethan via media.
Tyranny and Theology in Ponet and Spenser

The Fall, then, explains not only tyranny but also the obedience that the men of the commonwealth owe to the good ruler. Here Ponet goes further than Cranmer in declaring the Anabaptists anarchical outright, a polemical move in keeping with the tone of the *Treatise* as a whole. Importantly, though, this controversialist thrust is still based on what Ponet, along with Cranmer, sees as a flawed Anabaptist theology that either distorts the meaning of the Fall or forgets it entirely.

The next of the Forty-Two Articles in Ponet’s *Catechism* to deal with the Anabaptists is entitled “Christian mennes gooddes are not commune.” This article, the thirty-seventh, states the following:

The riches & gooddes of Christians are not commune, as touchinge the righte title, and possession of the same (as certayn Anabaptistes do falsely boast) not withstanding every man oughte of such things, as he possesseth, liberally to giue almes to the pore, according to his hability.18

After first treating their view of the Fall and original sin, Ponet returns to the Anabaptists later in his *Treatise* and like Cranmer condemns their practice of holding property in common.19 However, he supersedes Cranmer’s article by tracing the Anabaptist beliefs regarding property to their incorrect theology of the Fall yet again:

The Anabaptistes wresting Scripture to serue their madnesse, among other foule erreurs, haue this: that all things ought to be common, *they ymage man to be of that puritie that he was before the fall, that is, cleane without sinne, or that (if he will) he make so be*: and that as when there was no sinne, all things were common, so they ought now to be. *But this mingling of the state of man before the fall, and of him after the fall muche deceaeth them.* (79; my emphasis)

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19 In fact, not all Anabaptists placed equal stress on the importance of shared property. Klaasen writes, “The majority of Anabaptists believed that property could be held privately, but that it could never be absolutely private. Property was viewed as a trust from God . . . such property should always be available to sisters and brothers in need” (*Anabaptism in Outline*, 232). See also his selection of Anabaptist writings on “Economics” in the same edition, 233–42. Liechty states, “The communal impulse was present among all Anabaptists. But it was among the Hutterians alone that this impulse was developed into an economic communism in which private possessions were actually forbidden and condemned as well” (*Early Anabaptist Spirituality*, 137); see also in the same volume Peter Walpot’s “True Yieldsness and the Christian Community of Goods” (1577), 138–96. Other scholars, while complicating this picture somewhat, basically agree on the unique and influential place that Jakob Hutter and the Hutterites with their practice of the *Bruderhof* hold in Anabaptist thought. Compare Clasen, *Anabaptism*, 191–94; Hans-Jürgen Goertz, “A Closed Community of Goods,” in *The Anabaptists*, trans. Trevor Johnson (New York: Routledge Press, 1996), 22–25; William R. Estep, “Of Moravia and the Community of Goods,” in *The Anabaptist Story: An Introduction to Sixteenth-Century Anabaptism*, 3rd ed. (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1996), 127–49.
In Ponet’s fiery rhetoric, the Anabaptists are maddened persons who commit “foule erreurs” and are woefully deceived regarding the terrible spiritual and political state of postlapsarian mankind. He thus reemphasizes with sermonic repetition the dreadful consequences of the Fall—original sin and concupiscence—against this dangerous deception: “For by the fall, and ever after the fall, this corruptible fleshe of man is clogged with sinne, and shall never be ridde of sinne, as long as it is in this corrupt worlde, but shalbe alwaies disposed and prone to doo that is euil” (79; emphasis added to highlight Ponet’s rhetoric). Peardon is correct when she writes that “ownership of property was for Ponet a natural right of subjects proceeding from the natural law.” However, her conclusion that “on these grounds he condemned the Anabaptists for their denial of the rights of property” neglects the importance of Ponet’s understanding of the Fall, the doctrine that he identifies as the real fault line between himself and the Anabaptists. It is as if Ponet feared that a denial of the Fall would lead not only to anarchy but also to political complacency—and it is this fear that fuels his polemic against the Anabaptists in a Treatise ostensibly devoted to the question of resistance to tyranny.

After we acknowledge the overwhelming significance of the Fall in Cranmer’s Articles and Ponet’s Treatise, we must also examine the place of baptism in Ponet’s Catechism, since this first sacrament addresses the Fall by inducting the Christian into the new life of grace. Although it is true, as Hudson notes, that the Catechism “represents an advanced position for most of the English reformers” in regard to the sacraments, we should also keep in mind with Wollman that Ponet “was closer temperamentally and doctrinally to the via media of the Edwardian and Elizabethan ideals.” Indeed, Ponet’s treatment of baptism, like his treatment of original sin, is an attempt to navigate between Catholicism on the one hand and a more radical Protestant movement like that of the Anabaptists on the other—a movement that would deny the “wholesome effecte, and operacion” of baptism that he and Cranmer uphold.

Cranmer in the Articles is very careful to discourage superstition regarding the sacraments of the Eucharist and baptism, while still up-

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20 Peardon, “Politics of Polemics,” 44.
21 Hudson, Limited Monarchy, 53; Wollman, “Biblical Justification,” 32. See also Beer’s statement that “because of Ponet’s identification with what historians regarded as ‘radical’ Protestant doctrines, he is more frequently associated with the Puritan tradition that emerged only after his death than with the Anglican church that he helped to found” (“Politike Power Reassessed,” 374).
holding their efficacy as signs bestowing grace. Thus, in his definition of what a sacrament is, Cranmer stresses that Christ ordained them not to be gazed upon but to be used and also that “they be certaine sure witnesses and effectuall signes of grace, & Goddes good wyll toward us: by the whiche he dothe worke inuisibly in vs: and doth not only quycken but also strengthnen and confirme our faith in him.”

Although he also maintains that the sacraments are only efficacious for those who worthily receive them, the Articles make clear that this is true for infants who are baptized: “The custom of the church to Christen yong children, is to be commended, and in anye wyse to be reteyned in the Church.” Cranmer’s discussion of the effects of baptism itself also suggests a certain sacramental viewpoint that would be anathema to Anabaptists, especially with its focus on infant baptism. For Cranmer and the Edwardian church, baptism itself is not only a “sygne of profession” or “marke of difference”; it also functions as a “sygne and seale of our new byrth: wherby, as by an instrument, they that receyue Baptisme ryghtlye are grafted into the church.” In addition to the incorporation of the Christian into the church, forgiveness of sin is promised by baptism, adoption into God’s family is “visibly signed and sealed,” and “faith is confyrmed: and grace increased, by vertue of praiyer to God.”

Again, this declaration, speaking as it does of both infant and adult baptism, counters the Anabaptist embrace of the latter over and against the former.

Ponet echoes Cranmer’s sacramental language and point of view in his discussion between the Master and the Scholar, while also stressing even more the appropriateness of infant baptism. When the Master asks, “What doth baptisme represent & set befor our eyes?” the Scholar responds that baptism represents that “we are by the spirite of Christ new borne, and cleansed from syn,” as well as the fact “that we be members and partes of his churche, receiued into the communion of sainctes.”

Baptism, as Cranmer states, would be the efficacious sign of this transformation, while Ponet adds that the water also represents the Spirit, burial with Christ, and the future Resurrection. Ponet also has his Master ask the Scholar to explain how the sacrament of baptism is to be administered. The Scholar replies,

22 Ponet, A Short Catechism, lxxix°.
23 Ibid., lxxx°.
24 Ibid.
25 Ibid., l°.
Hym that beleueth in Christ: professeth the Articles of the Christian religion: & myndeth to be baptised (I speake nowe of them that be grown to ripe yeres of discre- tion: sith for the young babes, theyr parentes or the churches profession sufficeth) the minister dyppeth in, or washeth with pure & cleane water onlye, in the name of the father, and of the sonne, and of the holy ghost: & then commendeth him by praier to God, in to whose churche he is now openly as it wear enrowled, that it mai please God to graunte hym hys grace, whearby he may answer in belefe and life agreeably to his profession.26

In upholding infant baptism in his dialogue as an effectual use of the sacrament, Ponet concurs with the Forty-Two Articles and the Edward- dian church against the Anabaptists. Claus-Peter Clasen has catalogued the many pejorative names that Anabaptists used in referring to infant baptism and has discussed as well instances where baptismal fonts were smashed or thrown into a river.27 Awareness of the actual violence lying behind such polemical language is necessary if we are to fully ap- preciate Ponet’s defense of this doctrine, a defense that, while it does not specifically name the Anabaptists, certainly has their radical posi- tion in mind.28

To summarize—just as in his discussion of the Fall and original sin, Ponet in his Catechism holds to the Edwardian orthodoxy regarding baptism against the teaching of the Anabaptists. However, this ortho- doxy was not expressed solely in articles and catechisms. Rather, the teachings of the English church were fully realized only in the liturgy that Ponet celebrated and may have had a role in shaping.29 The liturgy was where a correct understanding of the Fall’s consequences and baptism’s effects led to sacramental praxis. Thus, at the beginning of the

26 Ibid., lvi–lxxi.
27 For the Anabaptists held that “infant baptism originated with the devil” (Clasen, Anabaptism, 95).
28 We should keep in mind the sociological aspect of such polemics as well. Clasen states, “Most people who heard these arguments in the sixteenth century must have been shocked and horrified by what sounded like wild blasphemies” (Anabaptism, 96). Goertz similarly notes, “Certainly the way in which the Anabaptists separated themselves from the church and society of their day (through the first performances of rebaptism, which was what the new baptismal practice then amounted to) could not have violated contem- porary norms and conventions more drastically” (Goertz, “Baptism as Public Confession of Faith,” in Anabaptists, 68–69).
29 D. G. Newcombe reports that, as Ponet served as Cranmer’s chaplain, “it has been sug- gested that Ponet was engaged in research in support of Cranmer’s preparation of the new English Book of Common Prayer, the ordinal, and the Book of Homilies” before his own appointment as bishop (Oxford Dictionary of National Biography [Oxford: Oxford Univer- sity Press, 2004], s.v. “Ponet, John (c.1514–1556).”
baptismal ceremony in the 1552 Book of Common Prayer, the priest acknowledges that all men are conceived and born in sin and that they cannot enter the kingdom of God unless they be regenerate—born of water and the Spirit. He then calls on God to grant this new birth to the children about to be baptized.30 As the theology of the Fall held a crucial place in Ponet’s theorization of tyranny, then, so too is baptism—the first antidote to the Fall—intimately connected to Ponet’s theorization of tyrannicide through its similar union of prayer and purifying action, as I will now show.

III

Having demonstrated Ponet’s linking of the devil and the tyrant, as well as his agreement with Cranmer and his Articles regarding the Fall and baptism against the Anabaptists, I now wish to approach Ponet’s defense of tyrannicide from within the context of Cranmer’s Edwardian liturgy, specifically its baptismal ceremony. Ponet’s familiarity with the liturgy and its rites, I have already suggested, was more than a matter of personal devotion. Ordained a priest in 1536, Ponet later rose to become bishop of Rochester in 1550 and a year later was made bishop of Winchester. Quentin Skinner notes that Ponet continued to use “his style as a Bishop” even while in exile: his Treatise is signed D. I. P. B. R. W, for “Dr. John Ponet, Bishop of Rochester and Winchester.”31 During his education at Cambridge and later ecclesiastical career, Ponet forged connections with other Protestant luminaries, including the powerful Archbishop Cranmer. Ponet’s service under Cranmer certainly had an impact on his political and religious thought at least as important as the influence of Scripture, as the Catechism witnesses. Now I will consider Ponet’s own ecclesiastical role, in particular his leading of the liturgy. In the discussion that follows I will be drawing on the 1549 and 1552 Book of Common Prayer, focusing on the prayers in both that were spoken in preparation for baptism. Ponet, I contend, alludes to the language and substance of these prayers in arguing for tyrannicide. In particular, Ponet makes use of biblical typology and ideas of exorcism, engrafting, and headship that are referred to in the celebration of the sacrament. In addition, he refers to the baptismal vows that every Christian must make, including the sovereign. The sum of all these allusions is

31 Skinner, Foundations, note on page 221.
an implicit suggestion that tyrannicide can be as holy and liberating an act for the commonwealth as baptism is for the individual Christian—and therefore that prayer should precede tyrannicide as it does the sacrament.

It is crucial to note first that baptism was associated with the tyranny of Pharaoh in the typological interpretation of Scripture and that the baptismal rite refers specifically to this. That is, the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea and the drowning of Pharaoh and his forces were seen as prefiguring baptism, imbuing the liturgical celebration of the sacrament with a timeless sublimity. Thus, in the 1549 Book of Common Prayer, the priest praises God in the following manner: “And when thou dydest drowne in the read sea wycked kyng Pharao wyth all hys armie, yet (at the same tyme) thou dydest leade thy people the children of Israel safely through the myddes therof: therby thou didest figure the washynge of thy holy Baptisme.”32 The 1552 Book of Common Prayer omits mention of Pharaoh and his wicked kingship, while still acknowledging that God “dydest safely leade the children of Israel, thy people through the redde Sea: figuring thereby thy holy Baptisme.”33 An implicit relationship between tyrannicide and baptism is thus preserved in the 1552 version, for those with a knowledge of Exodus from either the liturgy or their own reading of Scripture would still consider the worldly tyranny of Pharaoh over the Israelites as a figure for the spiritual tyranny of sin and the devil every time they witnessed a baptism—or, like Ponet, actually performed one.

In his Treatise Ponet hails this rescue of the Israelites from Pharaoh as a stunning example of God’s liberation of his faithful from tyrannical oppression; furthermore, he likens the Exodus narrative to the tyranny occurring in England. “God,” he states, “(to testifie that he hathe also power of the body) hathe many tymes in all ages myghtily and miracuously deliuered his people from the power of tyrannes: as the Israelites from Pharao, Mardocheus from Aman, etc.” (51; emphasis added). Only a few folios later, Ponet returns to the account of Pharaoh and the Israelites found in Exodus, finding in the familiar story a mirror for Mary’s corrupt rule and oppression:

Whan Pharao the tyranne commaunded the mydwyues of the Egipcianes, to kill all the male children that should be borne of the Israelites wyues: think ye,

33 Book of Common Prayer (1552), Dll.
he did only commaunde them? No without doubt: Ye maye be sure, he commaunde not only vpon threatned paynes, but also promised them largely largely as those doo, that being desirous of children, procure the mydwyues to saye, they be with childe, whan their bely is puffed up with the dropsie or molle. . . and hauing bleared the common peoples eies with processioning, Te deum singing, and bonefire banketting, vse all ceremonies and cryeng out . . . another birdes egge is layed in the nest. (55–56)

Here Ponet suddenly switches the tyrant’s gender, moving from the male Pharaoh to a clear mockery of the female Mary and what John Guy terms her “phantom pregnancies, which the courts of Europe ridiculed.”34 Ponet proceeds to comment acidy on the Catholic rituals of Mary’s regime, attacking “processioning,” “Te deum singing,” and “ceremonies.”35 This passage, then, belies Beer’s statement that “Ponet carefully avoided a direct attack on the queen although an imaginative reader might readily see the similarity between Mary and his account of the wicked Queen Athaliah.”36 Here Ponet explicitly links Mary’s tyranny to Pharaoh’s, with the English people serving the role of the Israelites suffering under her oppression and waiting for their own passage across the Red Sea to the promised land of renewed Protestant rule and baptismal vows kept by both the sovereign and the people.

By comparing Mary Tudor to Pharaoh, Ponet suggests a violent end for the Catholic queen that will, like the Israelites’ escape through the Red Sea and the drowning of Pharaoh’s forces, figure baptism by removing a devilish tyrant from power. Later in the Treatise, Ponet suggests how such a removal from power might actually take place, from the actions of a constable of England representing the commonwealth, or “som minister of the worde of God” bearing “the keyes . . . to excommunicate,” to the act of “any priuate man” with “some special inward commaundemont or surely proued mocion of God” (117 and 112). Surely it is no coincidence that when Ponet turns here to consider precedents for tyrannicide he dwells longingly on the slayings of two female tyrants from the Old Testament: Athaliah and Jezebel. Athaliah, like Mary Tudor “childless, and past hope to haue any children,” is killed spontaneously by “the nobilitie and commones” who had just crowned

35 Hudson notes that the installation of Ponet as bishop of Winchester (by proxy) was “a very simple ceremony”: “There was no altar, ‘Te Deum’ was not chanted, and the bells were not rung. Nothing was done beyond the reading of the mandates appointing the proctors and the taking of the required oaths” (Limited Monarchy, 50).
Joas, having known too long “what miserie it was to lyue vnder the gouernement of a mischieous woman” (114–15). Meanwhile, Jezebel, who encouraged the religion of Baal, an antitype of Catholicism for Ponet, is slain after the prophet Elias (“no ciuile magistrate” as Ponet makes sure to mention) calls for her death by defenestration, which is swiftly carried out (115–16). Still, Ponet seems to be most interested in the defeat of Pharaoh and the parallel triumph over the devil that takes place in baptism.

Since, as we saw in part one, Ponet charges the devil with lying behind all tyrants, the removal of a tyrant through tyrannicide is simultaneously a removal of the devil’s influence from over the state. Here too Ponet’s Treatise finds a parallel in the Edwardian liturgy, which includes a rejection of the devil made either by the baptismal candidate or his or her sponsors in the case of infant baptism. The first version of the Book of Common Prayer contains the strongest example of this rejection in an exorcism rite, wherein the priest looking upon the children pronounces the following:

I Commaunde thee, vncleane spirite, in the name of the father, of the sonne, and of the holy ghost, that thou come oute, and departe from these infantes, whom our Lord Jesus Christ hath vouchesaved, to call to his holy Baptisme, to be made membres of his body, and of his holy congregacion . . . And presume not hereafter to exercise any tyrannye towaerde these infantes, whom Christe hath bought wyth hys precious bloude, and by this his holy Baptisme calleth to be hys flocke.37

This ritual with its explicit mentioning of the devil’s “tyrannye” was not included in the 1552 rite.38 However, while a direct reference to the devil’s tyranny may have been omitted, baptism as set forth in the second version of the Book of Common Prayer still emphasizes the rejection of the devil that was supposed to take place before the sacrament. The priest asks the godparents whether they forsake the devil and all his works, as well as the vanity of the world and selfish desires. He also calls to mind the spiritual combat that the Christian must wage in praying for God to “Graunt that they [the children] may haue power and strength to have victorye and to triumpe agaynste the deuyll, the

37 Book of Common Prayer (1549), Aaii; my emphasis.
wolde, and the fleshe.”39 After these prayers, the baptism would seal this rejection of the devil through the reception of grace and enrollment in the church.

As Ponet casts tyranny as an echo of Satan’s deception and Adam and Eve’s disobedience, the removal of the tyrant in Ponet’s system also becomes akin to a baptismal burying of the old Adam and the rising of the new. In other words, the sacrament of baptism counters the legacy of the first Adam by incorporating the Christian into the body of Christ, the second Adam. Thus, the 1552 Book of Common Prayer directs the priest to pray the following before the baptism: “Mercyfull God, graunt that the olde Adam in these chyledren maye be so buried, that the newe man maye be raysed up in them.”40 Ponet suggests this effect of baptism in connection to tyrannicide not only by linking tyranny with the Fall earlier but also by later describing tyrannicide as the replacement of an “incurable member” or “head” in the body politic.41 That is, Ponet’s language suggests the grafting of the Christian into Christ’s body, the church, of which Christ is the head—one of the central functions of baptism highlighted both by Cranmer’s articles and Ponet’s Catechism.

For Ponet, overthrow of Mary’s rule will recall the English nation from the idolatry of Catholicism to its true baptismal faith, confirming this faith in a way that hearkens back to the effects of the baptism itself as again defined in Ponet’s Catechism and Cranmer’s Articles. Skinner points to this aspect of Ponet’s resistance theory when he writes that Ponet and the other resistance theorists “assure the people not that they will be damned if they resist the powers that be, but rather that they will be damned if they fail to do so, since this will be tantamount to breaking what Knox calls the ‘league and covenant’ which they have sworn with God himself.”42 As far as Ponet is concerned, the covenant that the Christian must principally keep in mind is his baptismal one, which supersedes all other laws: “But besides this lawe appointed for all kinges, he that wilbe accompted a christian king or gouernour, must re-

member, that he is a christian man, and that bi being made a king, he is not exempt from the lawes and dutie of a christen man, which eueri one pro-

39 Book of Common Prayer (1552), Diiiiiv.
40 Ibid., Diiii.
41 “This lawe testifieth to euyery mannes conscience, that it is naturall to cutte awaie an incurable membre, which (being suffred) wolde destroie the hole body. Kingses, Princes, and other gouernours, albeit they are the headdes of a politike body, yet they are not the hole body. And though they be the chief membres, yet they are but membres: nother are the people ordaine for them, but they are ordaine for the people” (108).
42 Skinner, Foundations, 238.
fesseth in Baptisme” (90–91; my emphasis). Here Ponet implicitly charges Mary with forgetting her solemn baptismal vow. He calls for her removal not just for her tyranny but also for her having set up a false religion in the mold of wicked Old Testament rulers, instead of preserving the pure faith that was ascendant under her younger brother Edward, a kind of Josiah.

For Ponet, then, tyrannicide would have a baptismal—that is, exorcizing and redemptive—effect on England, as it would for any nation suffering under a satanically inspired tyranny that had managed to possess the body politic. Ponet further points to this link between spiritual and political exorcism with his calls to conversion at the end of his treatise, which echo the exhortations directed toward godparents about rejecting the world, flesh, and the devil noted above:

[I]f ye wil in time earnestly repent you of your sinnes, leaue your Idolatrie, and honour and worship God truly, as ye were taught in blessed king Edwardes time. . . . [I]f ye wil obey Goddes commandements before your governours, and your governours in that is godly, honest, and iust, and not elles . . . if ye will abstine from curel murtherine of the Saintes of God . . . and inordinate desires of the trashe of this worlde. (181–82)

Here, as elsewhere in the Treatise, Ponet reveals that the priest’s admonitions to the baptized, to “forsake the devyll and all his workes, and constantly beleue Goddes holy worde, and obediently kepe his commandements,” are the best defense against tyranny.43 If this kind of repentance takes place, then the people may indeed “aske of God in Christes name” for relief (182). Calling on God for mercy, the people will not only win salvation (“Ye shall auoide the eternal paines of hel prepared for sinners”) but also receive the grace to purify England from the devil and the tyrant’s influence: “you being a fewe, shalbe hable to withstande al the tirannes of the worlde, and enemies of God and our countrey, and vttterly confounde them and destroie them” (183). In other words, repentance and prayer lead to holy violence, a violence that the preceding passages have suggested will be reminiscent of God’s destruction of the Egyptian army in the Red Sea. Thus, through a network of careful allusions to Scripture and the liturgy, Ponet’s Treatise suggests that a divinely sanctioned tyrannicide would, in a process analogous to baptism, remove a fallen, tyrannous rule and substitute a holier government in its place, thus expelling the devil’s influence and spiritually renewing the body politic.

43 Book of Common Prayer (1552), Diii.
To conclude my discussion of Ponet, the extensive allusions to the devil and baptism in his treatment of tyranny and resistance explain the sudden turn to prayer at the end of his work, a turn that we witnessed scholars wrestling with at the beginning of this discussion. That is, the resonances between the baptismal liturgy and Ponet’s discussion of tyrannicide suggest that tyrannicide is not forgotten with the call for prayer and repentance at the end of his work—that prayer and repentance are not options to be separated from tyrannicide and embraced when all else fails. On the contrary, when seen in the light of the baptismal rites of the Edwardian liturgy, Ponet’s calls for prayer and repentance take their proper place as preparation for the commonwealth to dethrone the tyrant and purify the body politic through tyrannicide, as much as the priest prepares the baptismal candidate for baptism with similar prayers and exhortations. As the priest baptizes in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, so Ponet appeals to the Holy Trinity at the end of his treatise in the hope that the triune God will soon redeem his suffering English nation from its devilish oppression. Prayer appropriately precedes tyrannicide for Ponet, just as baptism is preceding by rejection of the devil and sealed with the prayerful invocation of the Holy Spirit.

IV

In books 1 and 5 of *The Faerie Queene*, Spenser, like Ponet, establishes suggestive links between the devil and the tyrant, baptism and tyrannicide. My argument here is not that Ponet necessarily influenced Spenser directly, although the evidence that I present suggests that he probably did. Indeed, Spenser’s early position as secretary under John Young, bishop of Rochester, provides a direct connection with Ponet, who kept his title as bishop of Rochester even in exile. It is likely, then, that Spenser understood the tenor of Ponet’s political and religious positions, even if he had not read Ponet’s *Treatise*. But regardless of the degree of influence, the main point to be noted is that just as Ponet drew on the Edwardian liturgy for the matter of his *Treatise*, so too did

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Spenser draw on the Elizabethan liturgy for the matter of his allegory. The fact that both Ponet and Spenser used this common source in similar ways means that an understanding of the Marian exile can illuminate the meanings of the new poet’s allegory, including episodes disputed by scholars. It is this path of inquiry that I mainly wish to follow here, leaving aside the tempting question of influence for now.

I will begin by examining the House of Pride episode in book 1, for here the closest link between Spenser’s epic and Ponet’s *Treatise* can be found, as the female tyrant Lucifera rules in league with the devil. Next, I will turn to the penultimate canto in which the Red Cross Knight battles the dragon and is renewed by the Well of Life on the second day of his fight. Critics have differed in their interpretations of what the dragon and the well stand for in Spenser’s allegory. For example, some have seen the dragon as death or the law rather than as the more obvious Satan, who also appears as a dragon in Revelation.45

By the same token, scholars such as Rosemund Tuve and Anthea Hume have challenged the traditional reading of the Well of Life as a symbol for baptism, in part by questioning how Red Cross could be unbaptized throughout the Book of Holiness.46 However, reading this canto

45 See, for example: Linwood E. Orange, “Spenser’s Old Dragon,” *Modern Language Notes* 74 (1959): 679–81 (Dragon as death). For a consideration of romance sources and an argument for the dragon as a demonic beast similar to those in the medieval *Vision of Tundale*, see Whitney Wells, “Spenser’s Dragon,” *Modern Language Notes* 41 (1926): 143–57. In a recent analysis Patrick Perkins has relied on Martin Luther’s theology of law and grace to argue for the dragon as representing the devilish use of the law against the Christian (“Spenser’s Dragon and the Law,” *Spenser Studies* 21 [2006]: 51–81). I agree with Perkins that the dragon is a satanic figure, but I differ in stressing his identity with the devil rather than with the law.

through both Ponet and the Elizabethan sacramental liturgy shows how Red Cross’s seemingly anachronistic baptism assumes a significance extending well beyond his own individual spiritual journey. That is, after first demonstrating that Spenser identifies baptism with resistance to the devil in this episode, I argue that Spenser here offers a political and spiritual understanding of tyranny to the Protestant readers of his epic virtually identical to that found in Ponet’s Treatise. To support this argument I conclude this article with a discussion of how Spenser in book 5 continues to use baptismal imagery and language to suggest spiritual as well as political and societal purification. Proceeding through The Faerie Queene in the manner outlined above, we can observe how the House of Pride and dragon episodes radiate out to the later episodes in the Book of Justice, which seems at first glance to operate under different allegorical principles from the Book of Holiness. On the contrary, my analysis reveals that both books depend on a political, theological, and liturgical foundation virtually identical to Ponet’s call for resistance.

In Lucifera and her corrupt court Spenser not only provides an allegorical figure for Pride but also reflects, like Ponet, on how the tyrant is a satanically inspired figure. Spenser’s “proud Tyrannesse” (1.5.46.6) thus serves as a symbol of worldly as well as spiritual tyranny—indeed of the nexus between the two. For example, while Lucifera’s name immediately links her with Satan, whose own sin of pride led to his fall from heaven, her name would also have called to the mind of the Protestant reader the Babylonian tyrant Nebuchadnezzar, identified as Lucifer in a gloss in the Geneva Bible. Spenser makes the dual spiritual and political ramifications of his allegory explicit when Red Cross discovers Lucifera’s hell-like “deep dungeon” in which ancient biblical

Kaske has explained Red Cross’s seemingly anachronistic baptism by reading the events of the battle as “non-mimetic recapitulations of earlier events in Book I” and pointing to Red Cross’s “representative role” as a type of Christian Everyman (“The Dragon’s Spark and Sting and the Structure of Red Cross’s Dragon-Fight: The Faerie Queene, Ixi–xii,” Studies in Philology 66 [1969]: 629). By showing how the battle fits into larger liturgical patterns that Spenser and his readers were familiar with, I adopt a similar approach.


48 See Isaiah 14:12: “How art thou fallen from heauen, O Lucifer, sonne of the morning? and cutte downe to the grounde, which didest cast lottes vpon the nations?” The gloss in the Geneva Bible notes, “Thou that thoughtest thy selfe most glorious, and as it were placed in the heauen: for the morning starre that goeth before the sunne, is called Lucifer, to whom Nebuchad-nezzar is compared.”
and classical rulers are thrown together “Like carkases of beastes in butchers stall” (1.5.49.2), along with many who “Fell from high Princes courtes, or Ladies bowres” (51.6). Earlier in Lucifera’s audience chamber Red Cross encountered similar “Lordes and Ladies” seeking to gain his attention: “Some frounce their curled heare in courtly guise, / Some pranke their ruffles, and others trimly dight / Their gaye attyre: each others greater pride doth spight” (1.4.14.7–9). The familiar anti-court satire in both of these passages suggests that readers were invited to see in Lucifera not just the abstract notion of Pride but also a recollection of tyrants from history, including the recent English and European past. Indeed, an early commentator on the poem, John Dixon, noted the following regarding Red Cross’s grisly discovery: “kinges and princes that warre against god, are by the wilines of satan brought to ye pite of distuction.”49 Here is a neat summation of Ponet’s understanding of tyranny, drawn from Spenser’s poem by the alert Protestant reader.

In his description of Lucifera herself and her ministers Spenser provides a stronger invitation to read this episode politically and historically, while also more firmly aligning himself with Ponet’s political theology. The narrator reports that Lucifera “made her selfe a Queene, and crownd to be, / Yet rightfull kingdom she had none at all / Ne heritage of natie soueraintie” (1.4.12.2–4). Like most tyrants, then, she has seized her power without right:

But [she] did vsurpe with wrong and tyrannie
Vpon the scepter, which she now did hold:
Ne ruld her Realme with lawes, but pollicie,
And strong aduizement of six wisard olds,
That with their counsels bad her kindome did vphold.

(12.5–9; my emphasis)

This dwelling on details common to resistance literature suggests again that Spenser is making a political as well as a spiritual observation here. Ponet, as we saw, views “policy” as inspired by Satan and identifies it as one of the two “waies of the Deuils” by which tyrants gain power. Similarly, Spenser conveys that his tyranness and her policy are satanically inspired when he reveals that her counselors are the other six deadly sins. Moreover, when these dark advisors engage in a procession around the court with Lucifera, the devil himself is found among them: “And after all vpon the wagon beame / Rode Sathan with a smarting whip in

hand, / With which he forward lasht the laesy teme” (1.4.36.1–3). The devil’s mere presence in Lucifera’s court is significant as it is his only explicit appearance in the epic. This fact suggests that Spenser had a special purpose in placing him in Lucifera’s court. Since the House of Pride is also a demonic inversion of the courts of the Faerie Queene and Mercilla, both figures for Elizabeth, this special purpose may likely have been to allegorize the reign of Mary Tudor, Mercilla’s sister and predecessor. That is, for the Protestant reader keenly aware of recent history, and also perhaps well-read in the Marian exiles and similarly outraged writers like Roger Ascham, the demonic Lucifera could have suggested the infamous Catholic queen and persecutor.

Whereas Lucifera appears ostensibly as a worldly tyranness in league with the devil, Spenser’s dragon in the eleventh canto of the same book reminds the reader that the devil himself is the original tyrannical usurper. Throughout Red Cross’s journey different characters identify the dragon as a tyrant. For example, in canto 7 Una tells Arthur upon meeting him that she sought a knight at Gloriana’s court who might combat the dragon and who “Parents deare from tyrants powre deliuer might” (1.7.46; my emphasis). In canto 10, when Una comes with Red Cross to the House of Holiness, Celia welcomes her as “most vertuous virgin . . . That to redeeme thy woefull parents head, / From tyrans rage, and euer-dying dread, / Hast wandred through the world now long a day” (1.10.9.3–6). Not only is the dragon a tyrant, but the poem also suggests that his takeover of Una’s kingdom is an allegory for Satan’s tyranny over the world following Adam and Eve’s Fall. While telling Arthur about her captured parents and their kingdom, Una reveals that they are king and queen of Eden. They “Did spred their rule through all the territories, / Which Phison and Euphrates floweth by, / And Gehons golden waues doe wash continually” (43.7–9), references to the rivers that surround the Garden of Eden in the second chapter of Genesis.50 When these passages are taken together, it becomes clear that Spenser, like Ponet, is drawing on the ancient Christian notion that Satan’s corruption of Adam, Eve, and all Creation was a tyrannical act, in which he made himself “the Prince of the power of the air.” The monstrous dragon, then, complements the more earthly Lucifera—together they suggest that tyranny in the poem is worldly and spiritual, demonic and familiarly human.

50 Again, in the final canto Duessa, attempting to spoil Red Cross’s betrothal to Una, sends a letter to Una’s father, whom she addresses as “most mighty king of Eden fayre” (1.12.26.1).
In accord with Ponet and his own Elizabethan liturgy, Spenser reveals baptism as the key to the Red Cross’s victory over this tyrannical and satanic dragon. In the course of their battle, Red Cross is overthrown and happens to fall backward into a body of water once known as “The Well of Life” (1.11.29.9) before the dragon defiled its source. Despite the loss of its name, the well is still full of “great vertues, and for med’cine good”:

> For vnto life the dead it could restore,  
> And guilt of sinfull crimes cleane wash away,  
> Those that with sickenes were infected sore,  
> It could recure, and aged long decay  
> Renew, as one were borne that very day.  
>
> *(1.11.30.1–5)*

These healing powers recall the effects of baptism as set out in the numerous prayers from the rite in the 1559 Book of Common Prayer. First, that the Well of Life washes away the “guilt of sinfull crimes” specifically recalls the following prayer to be said by the priest before baptizing the child: “we cal upon the for these infantes, that they, comming to thy holy Baptisme, may receyve remission of their sinnes by spiritual regeneration.”51 Second, that the well is also a source of rebirth calls to mind the priest’s prayer for the Father to send his Holy Spirit upon the infants so that they “may be borne againe, and be made heyres of everlasting salvacion, through our Lorde Jesus Christ.”52 Third and finally, the narrator’s claim that the well excels the “Iordan” and other famous bodies of water (stanza 30) is perhaps a recollection of the beginning of yet another baptismal prayer: “Almighty and everlasting God, which . . . didst sanctify the flood Jordan and all other waters to the mystical washing away of sin.”53 Like baptism itself, the Well of Life follows on the promise of these legendary waters to provide true healing.

After Red Cross falls into this holy water, Spenser continues to incorporate both the language and imagery from the baptismal liturgy into his poem. Distraught over being unable to see her champion, Una spends the night in faithful watching and prayer (stanza 32), another likely reference to the prayers surrounding the sacrament of baptism.

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51 John E. Booty, ed., *The Book of Common Prayer 1559: The Elizabethan Prayer Book* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005), 271. Hereafter cited as *The Book of Common Prayer* (1559). The priest also prays that God “wilte mercifully loke upon these children, sanctify them and washe them with thy holy gost, that they beyng delivered from thy wrath, may be received into the Arcke of Christes churche.”

52 Ibid., 272.

53 Ibid., 270.
In the morning she is rewarded with the sight of Red Cross emerging from the water, his resurrection described in an epic simile as being like an eagle rising from the “Ocean waue”: “So new this new-borne knight to battell new did rise” (34.9). The threefold use of the word “new” here suggests another pre-baptismal prayer from the Book of Common Prayer: “grant that the old Adam in these children may be so buried, that the new man may be raised up in them.”\textsuperscript{54} There is also the matter of the animal symbolism itself. As Beryl Rowland explains, conflation of Scripture and ancient natural history led to the eagle becoming a symbol of rebirth, since the aged eagle was supposed to ascend toward the sun, burning its wings, and then descend into a fountain three times, rejuvenating itself: thus, “a popular motif on baptisteries and fonts was the eagle plunging into the sea, the symbol of regeneration.”\textsuperscript{55} The threefold repetition of “new” suggests that Spenser had this pious legend in mind. Moreover, it reflects the invocation of the Trinity at the moment of the baptism, which is performed in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

When the Red Cross Knight is finally able to wound the dragon after this mystical immersion Spenser explicitly confirms baptism as the subject of his allegory. After the knight rises on the second day, he immediately strikes the dragon on his “crested scalp so sore . . . / That to the scull a yawning wound it made” (1.11.35,7–8). The narrator then offers the following possible explanations for Red Cross’s newfound ability to wound the dragon:

\begin{quote}
I wote not, whether the reuenging steele \\
Were hardned with that holy water dew, \\
Wherein he fell, or sharper edge did feele, \\
Or his baptized hands now greater grew; \\
Or other secret vertue did enswe; \\
Els neuer could the force of fleshly arme, \\
Ne molten metall in his blood embrew: \\
For till that stownd could neuer wight him harme, \\
By subtilty, nor slight, nor might, nor mighty charme. \\
(1.11.36)
\end{quote}

The fact that his hands are baptized is certain—what remains in doubt is the exact effect of this baptism. Although the narrator is not

\textsuperscript{54} Ibid., 274.

\textsuperscript{55} Rowland, 
\textit{Birds with Human Souls: A Guide to Bird Symbolism} (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1978), 52–54. For this reason the eagle like the phoenix was also a symbol of Christ.
sure whether the water tempered the sword or rather made it keener, whether it strengthened Red Cross’s hands or added some other power to his attack, it is clear that the water must have had some effect, since a merely physical attack (“force of fleshly arme”) had never been able to hurt the dragon before. Given the certainty displayed earlier about the water’s powers, the uncertainty here is likely intended to create a holy awe around this moment, as well as to suggest the mysterious workings of grace, invisible though figured forth symbolically before human eyes in the washing of baptism.

The wounding and ultimate defeat of the dragon also achieve greater meaning when placed alongside the language of the baptismal liturgy. Before and after administering the sacrament, the priest impresses upon the witnesses the new duty of the baptized Christian to oppose and overcome the devil. Speaking to the infant’s sponsors, the priest notes that “these infants must also faithfully for their part promise by you that be their sureties, that they will forsake the devil and all his works, and constantly believe God’s holy Word.” He then asks the sponsors directly, “Dost thou forsake the devil and all his works?” The language of combat is also rife throughout the ceremony. Right before the baptism itself, the priest prays to God to “grant that they [the baptized] may have power and strength to have victory, and to triumph against the devil, the world, and the flesh.” After the baptism, the priest makes the sign of the cross on the infant’s forehead and states that this is a token that “hereafter he shall not be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified, and manfully to fight under his banner against sin, the world, and the devil.” The physical combat between the Red Cross and the dragon—and Red Cross’s ultimate victory—serve to allegorize this spiritual combat between the Christian and the devil that takes place with new intensity after baptism, a combat in which Christ, not the flesh, assures the victory.

As we have already seen in Ponet’s *Treatise* and are beginning to see in *The Faerie Queene*, the close connection between the devil and tyranny can grant the slaying of a tyrant a sacramental aura. Recognizing Spenser’s linking of the devil and the tyrant in the Book of Holiness, then, can enable us to appreciate the sacramental character of the tyrannicides and purifications carried out by Arthur and Artegal in the Book of Justice. For example, in canto 11 there is Arthur’s threefold slaying

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56 The Book of Common Prayer (1559), 273.

57 Ibid., 275.
of “that Tyrant” (5.11.2.1) Gerineo, as well as Arthur’s threefold exorcism of the demonic monster underneath the idol in the same episode: “Vpon the Image with his naked blade / Three times, as in defiance, there he strooke” (5.11.22.1–2). After slaying the Errour-like monster that emerges, Arthur smashes the idol and cleanses the altar. However, I would like to focus here on the second canto of book 5, which recalls not only Ponet’s use of baptismal imagery to suggest political and societal purification but also his criticism of the Anabaptists.

As classic scholarship has recognized, Spenser attacks the Anabaptists and their views on government and property through the figure of the egalitarian Giant. Of course, Spenser could find the Anabaptists and their views on property mentioned and dismissed in the Thirty-Nine Articles, just as Ponet could find them dealt with in Cranmer’s Forty-Two Articles. Nevertheless, given Spenser’s already demonstrated agreement with Ponet regarding the devil, tyranny, and baptism, his criticism of the Anabaptists here and elsewhere in his work is worthy of closer attention. Recent criticism by Stephen Greenblatt and Annabel Patterson has emphasized how the Giant’s critique of a fallen world echoes Spenser’s own in the preem to book 5. As Mark Hazard has shown, Spenser also invokes an eschatological tension, in that Artegall and the Giant each appeal to different visions of the Apocalypse. I wish to point here to another piece of political and theological common ground between the Giant, Artegall, and Spenser. That is, the Giant, like Spenser and also Ponet, is opposed to “Tyrants that make men subject to their law” (5.2.38.6) and uses religious language to justify this

opposition. Adopting the prophetic tone of John Knox and the other Marian exiles, the Giant channels Isaiah 40:41 (“Therefore I will throw downe these mountains heie, / And make them leuell with the lowly plaine” [1–2]), before declaring that he “will suppress[e] [these Tyrants], that they no more may raine” (7). This religious and anti-tyrannical rhetoric might seem to have authority in a book repeatedly concerned with the overthrow of unjust rulers, if not for the fact that Spenser has already safely identified the Giant with the Anabaptists and similar radical groups. For example, the Giant’s political program includes the redistribution of wealth: “I will . . . Lordings curbe, that commons overaw; / And all the wealth of rich men to the poor will draw” (7 and 8–9). In addition, the mob of the “vulgar” (33.1) that flock about him, seeking “uncontrolled freedome to obtaine” (5), recalls the unrestrained liberty that the Anabaptists were supposed to desire.

Spenser had attacked these same two Anabaptist tenets previously in “Mother Hubberd’s Tale,” a controversial poem from his 1591 Complaints volume, which landed him in trouble with Elizabeth’s government for its criticism of William Cecil, Lord Burghley. In this beast fable an ape and a fox attempt to cheat and steal their way through English society from the lowest to the highest levels, not stopping until they become king and chief minister and tyrannize over the people. Before beginning their journey, the Fox mounts an argument against their assuming honest labor, an argument with a theological edge: “For should he that is at libertie / Make himselfe bond? Sith then we are free borne, / Let vs all seruile base subiection scorne” (132–34). As Frederick Padelford notes, referring to a sermon by the Archbishop John


62 All quotations from “Mother Hubberds Tale” are taken from Edmund Spenser: The Shorter Poems, ed. McCabe, and will be cited parenthetically within the text by line numbers.
Whitgift in 1583, the Anabaptists were supposed to cite Galatians 5:1, “Stande fast therfore in the libertie wherwith Christe hath made vs free, and be not intangled agayne with ye yoke of bondage,” in support of their resistance to civil magistrates.63 However, Spenser in his attack on the Anabaptists here resembles not just Whitgift but also Ponet and his charge that “Some ther be that will haue to litle obedience, as the Ana-
baptistes. For because they heare of a christian libertie, wolde haue all politike power taken awaye: and so in dede no obedience” (47; my emphasis). Moreover, when the Fox argues for the redistribution of wealth, Spenser echoes Ponet’s criticism of the Anabaptist understanding of the Fall. In opposing this unjust socioeconomic situation where “a few haue all and all haue nought” (141), the Fox refers again to a very Christian idea, that all men bought by Christ are equal: “Yet all be brethren ylike dearly bought” (142; a recollection of 1 Corinthians: “For ye are bought for a price”).64 However, he quickly turns away from Christian doctrine to the pagan myth of the “golden age of Saturne old,” in order truly to justify his plot. Nature, he says,

gau like blessing to each creature
As well of worldly liuelode as of life,
That there might be no difference nor strife,
Nor ought cald mine or thine: thrice happie then
Was the condition of mortall men.

(146–50)

The Fox’s appeal to this Golden World, of course, overlooks the Judeo-
Christian narrative of the Fall, so central to both Ponet’s political thought and Spenser’s epic as we have seen. As Ponet might say, “this mingling of the state of man before the fall, and of him after the fall muche de-
ceaueth them” (79), and this seems to be what Spenser is saying here as well. Knowing that his poem was politically dangerous, Spenser may have taken these familiar swipes at the Anabaptists so as to render his satiric beast fable less threatening to the Elizabethan government.

By the same token, Spenser’s decision to have Talus tumble the Giant into the sea may have been meant to further separate his own views

63 Padelford, “Spenser’s Arrainment,” 339. The Scripture citation is from the Bishop’s Bible of 1568. Whitgift also quotes Galatians 5:13: “ye haue ben called into libertie.”
64 1 Corinthians 6:19–20: “Knowe yee not, that your body is the temple of the holy Ghost, which is in you, whome ye haue of God? And yee are not your owne. For ye are bought for a price: therefore glorifie God in your bodie, and in your spirit: for they are Gods.” See also 7:23: “Yee are bought with a price: be not servants of men,” both from the Geneva Bible.
from the Giant’s political and economic radicalism in a way to this point unnoticed by critics. In other words, in giving his Giant death by water, Spenser may be mocking Anabaptist beliefs regarding adult baptism. An earlier episode in this same canto indicates that this may be the case, while furthermore suggesting that Spenser is activating the same link between baptism and tyrannicide that Ponet had found a generation before. Before Artegaill meets the Giant, he decapitates the unscrupulous lord Pollente, who had been collecting unjust bridge tolls. Through his use of a trapdoor and the raging river below, Pollente is able to slay any knights who attempt to halt his crooked financial enterprise. However, he underestimates Artegaill’s strength and cunning and is slain on the river’s shore. Artegaill’s robot enforcer Talus then disposes of Pollente’s corrupt daughter Munera by dismembering her and throwing her in the same river that her father has charged people to cross. Significantly, the same word “drowned” is used both for this deed and the later slaying of the Giant. However, here the baptismal image is even more apparent: after Artegaill decapitates Pollente, his body stains the river red with blood, but when Talus drowns Munera “in the dutry mud: / . . . the streame washt away her guilty blood” (5.2.27.4–5). As Spenser confesses in book 1, the waters of baptism have a corresponding power to wash away the guilt of sin. It seems far from coincidental that the Giant, representing a kind of early modern communism, and Munera, representing a kind of early modern capitalistic greed, meet similar ends in the same canto. In the former case Spenser would seem to be ironically supporting the sacramental orthodoxy of the English church against the beliefs of the Anabaptists; in the latter case he would seem to be using baptismal imagery to signify the overthrow of tyranny and the ending of societal corruption. In making both of these moves Spenser is in agreement both with Ponet’s political theology and with the liturgy of his own Elizabethan church.

Spenser’s concord with Ponet is more clearly perceivable when set against the treatment of tyranny given by his friend and sponsor, Sir Walter Ralegh, in the seventeenth century. In the extraordinary preface to his History of the World, Ralegh runs through the rise and fall of England’s kings, many of whom he claims were punished by God for the sins of their fathers. Thus, whereas Ponet emphasizes the sins of the people that allow a tyrant to take over, Ralegh is obsessed with the sins of kings and God’s punishment of them, down to the third and fourth generation. For instance, the murder of Edward II is scourgéd through the purges of Richard’s reign and Bolingbroke’s usurpation,
which is itself punished through the turbulent reign of his grandchild, Henry VI.\textsuperscript{65} It was this sort of reading of English history that undoubtedly led to the great displeasure of James I, from whom the imprisoned Ralegh was hoping for eventual release.\textsuperscript{66} However, where Ralegh and Ponet (and Spenser by extension) differ most is in their analyses of the causes of tyranny. Though individual tyrants such as Richard III may act under the inspiration of Satan, Ralegh moves from spiritual to natural explanations in considering the issue of tyranny in general. Thus in the section under the partial heading “That in mans nature there is an affection breeding tyrannie, which hindreth the vse and benefit of the like moderation,” Ralegh concludes that “in Mankind there is found, ingrafted euen by Nature, a desire for absolute dominion” (366). As Greenblatt comments, “from this perspective . . . the rise of so many tyrants throughout history is due not to God’s desire to scourge wicked nations but to man’s nature. . . . Likewise, the fall of tyrants is due to the natural return of violence and rapacity on their own heads.”\textsuperscript{67} Thus, although Ralegh, like Ponet and Spenser, speaks of tyrannies and irreligious policy, tyranny is for him ultimately a moral or even a physiological issue rather than a spiritual one, as it is for Ponet and Spenser. Similarly, when Edward Sexby, writing against Oliver Cromwell in the middle of the century, comically states that the “natural and almost the only remedy against a tyrant” is “done by prayers and has tears, with the help of a dagger, by crying to the Lord, and the left hand of an Ehud,” and further adds that “devotion and action goe wel together . . . for believe it, a Tyrant is not of that kinde of Devill that is to be cast out by only fasting and prayer,” he is clearly having fun with an idea that Ponet and Spenser took far more seriously.\textsuperscript{68}

\textsuperscript{65} Sir Walter Ralegh, \textit{The History of the World}, ed. C. A. Patrides (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1971), 51–52. All quotations from Ralegh’s \textit{History} are taken from this abridgement. Page numbers will be given in parentheses.

\textsuperscript{66} On 5 January 1615, John Chamberlain wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton: “Sir Walter Ralegh’s book is called in by the King’s commandment, for diverse exception, but especially for being too saucy in censuring princes. I hear he takes it much to heart, for he thought he had won his spurs, and pleased the King extraordinarily” (qtd. in John Winton, \textit{Sir Walter Ralegh} [New York: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, 1975], 291). On the political background and aim of Ralegh’s \textit{History}, see Anna R. Beer, “‘Left to the World without a Maister’: Sir Walter Ralegh’s \textit{The History of the World} as a Public Text,” \textit{Studies in Philology} 91 (1994): 432–63.


\textsuperscript{68} Edward Sexby, \textit{Killing noe murder. Briefly discoursed in three quaestions} (Holland, 1657),
Spenser and Ponet, then, occupy nearly identical theological and political worlds, despite the distance of years and Elizabeth’s triumphant Protestant reign. Although questions of influence must remain speculative for now, it is clear that Ponet should be recognized as presenting a powerful synthesis of political and religious notions of tyranny that writers such as Spenser or William Shakespeare in a play like Macbeth shared. Though recent scholarship has often focused on the classical roots underlying the theorization of tyrants and tyrannicide in the period, Ponet and Spenser together demonstrate that there was also a theological tradition present in the liturgy that strongly supported notions of resistance and tyrannicide, most importantly by granting this violence a sacramental legitimacy.

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70 I would like to thank Linda Woodbridge, Ryan Stark, and Kathryn Hume for commenting on previous versions of this article.