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93. Thomas, *History of Italy*, 53.
94. Parks, Introduction, xxv.
95. Hoby, *Travels and Life*, 24–25.
96. *Ibid.*, 25. Lucio Fauno, translator of the Venetian editions of Biondo and Flavio used by Thomas, also produced his own antiquarian study, *Le antichità della città di Roma* (Venice, 1542). Powell's "Marlian" in the Camden Society edition of the diary is a misprint; the Osborn manuscript clearly reads "Marlian" (Hoby, *Travels and Life*, 47), of course referring to the influential sixteenth-century antiquarian Bartolomeo Marliani.
97. Pastor, *History of Popes*, 13:56n2; Desmond O'Grady, *Rome Reshaped: Jubilees 1200–2000* (New York: Continuum, 1999), 86–87.
98. Hoby, *Travels and Life*, 60.
99. Herbert Thurston, *The Holy Year of Jubilee: An Account of the History and Cereimonial of the Roman Jubilee* (Westminster: Newman Press, 1949), 28–54, 405–10.
100. Hoby, *Travels and Life*, 61.
101. *OED*, s.v. "weary, adj."; 2.a ("Discontented at the continuance or continued recurrence of something, and desiring its cessation; having one's patience, tolerance, zeal or energy exhausted; 'sick and tired' of something"), 2.b ("Tired of, anxious to be rid of"), 6.a ("Irrksome, wearisome, tedious").
102. Pastor, *History of Popes*, 13:57–58, 62, 77–79, 426–27. He additionally records a renewed veneration of the Eucharist at many Jubilee Masses (*ibid.*, 416–18).
103. Bartlett, "Thomas Hoby," 191.
104. Powell, Preface, in Hoby, *Travels and Life*, xiv–xv; *DNB*.

## “A comely presentation and the habit to admiration reverend”: Ecclesiastical Apparel on the Early Modern English Stage

Robert I. Lublin

NOTIONS OF THE SACRED AND THE PROFANE TOOK ON A PARTICULAR SIGNIFICANCE in sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century England. This period, chronologically circumscribed on one side by the Protestant Reformation and on the other by the civil war, was a time of enormous, sometimes turbulent religious change. These changes influenced English society at every level, from asserting the monarch's theological preeminence to dissolving the monasteries to redefining the manner in which all Englishmen were pressed to practice their religion. Yet, despite the pervasiveness of religious change and controversy during this time, the period's stages have been predominantly studied as sites of secular activity.<sup>1</sup>

This predilection on the part of theater scholars can be noted in the highly influential work of E. K. Chambers, who posits a binary between the theater and religion by contrasting the noble patronage of acting troupes with Puritan antitheatrical attacks. "The palace was the point of vantage from which the stage won its way, against the linked opposition of an alienated pulpit and an alienated municipality, to an ultimate entrenchment of economic independence."<sup>2</sup> Similarly, Glynn Wickham has stated that the Elizabethan theater was "effectively divorced from religion."<sup>3</sup> Chambers's and Wickham's inclination to consider the stage as primarily a secular institution has found much more recent support in New Historical examinations of the theater, which tend to focus on the establishment and circulation of social power, often to the exclusion of religion. For instance, Louise Montrose has written that "the secure establishment and royal licensing of a fully professional, secular, and commercial theatre in later Elizabethan London was contemporaneous with the effective suppression of the religious drama and the relative decline of local amateur acting traditions in the rest of England."<sup>4</sup> According to this

argument, the theater underwent a marked change during the reign of Elizabeth, transitioning from an activity primarily involved with sacred issues to one that exists exclusively in the realm of the secular.

Opposed to this sacred/secular binary approach to writing theater history, Thomas Postlewait has argued that in late-sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century England, despite considerable changes to the institution of theater, religion remained ineluctably connected to the practice of public performance. He writes, "Throughout this extended period the sacred and secular operated together. Even the most secular playwrights in the era were embroiled in the complex religious culture, as plays, performances, and audiences demonstrate."<sup>5</sup> Postlewait's approach to theater history does not preclude or even diminish the considerable influence of secular forces on the theater of the period, but it does demand that we consider the manner in which the theater participated in the religious controversies of the time. I would like to build on the premise that the early modern theater was embroiled in the complex religious culture of the period by focusing on one particular aspect of religious culture and its impact on the period's stages. Specifically, I want to examine the manner in which ecclesiastical apparel figured into performance in the public theaters. Over the last two decades, numerous scholars have asserted and begun to explore the enormous significance of costumes to early-modern performance.<sup>6</sup> In this essay, I intend to argue that the early-modern stage had recourse to a complex but well understood visual vocabulary of religious apparel that it employed to make conspicuous and comment on characters' religious identities.

Ecclesiastical apparel, although rarely considered in histories of the early-modern period, had its own Reformation and was the subject of considerable interest and anxiety following Henry VIII's separation from the Catholic Church. The first change in the English understanding of religious clothing resulted from Archbishop Cranmer's 1533 *Articles*, which refused to acknowledge the pope as the head of the church, referring to him only as the bishop of Rome.<sup>7</sup> In this statement and its general acceptance throughout England came the disavowal of the sanctity of the pope's particular vestments. Among the Catholic clergy, only the pope wore a *tiara*,<sup>8</sup> a triple-crown processional headgear in a cone shape, and a white *cassock*, an ankle-length, sleeved tunic held at the waist by a narrow belt or buttoned from neck to foot. The cassock was the article of apparel that Catholic clergy regularly wore outdoors and underneath the vestments for celebrating the Eucharist. By the sixteenth century, cardinals wore red cassocks, bishops wore purple, priests wore black, and the pope wore white.<sup>9</sup> Once the pope had been relegated

in the eyes of the English to the rank of bishop, the particular apparel by which he was known ceased to identify the wearer as God's premier representative on Earth and came instead to be understood as the symbol of his impiety. The literature throughout the period we are examining consistently identifies the pope as the antichrist, and his unique clothing served as an easily identifiable visual signifier. Consonant with Henry VIII's rejection of the pope's ecclesiastical preeminence in England was his denial of the authority of the cardinals. Accordingly, the distinctive, scarlet apparel worn by the cardinals and their *cardinal's hat*, a scarlet, wide-brimmed, low-top hat, became symbols of the immorality of Catholicism.

Interestingly enough, even before Henry VIII had separated from the Catholic Church, at least two plays recorded discontent with the English cardinal, Wolsey. John Skelton's *Magnificence*, dated variously at 1516 and 1520–22, lampoons the cardinal's pretensions and his string of better-than-royal palaces. The play ultimately lightens its moral attack to make a less contentious argument supporting fiscal moderation, but the playwright's aversion to the prelate's secular endeavors is clear. For Christmas 1526, a play written by John Roo (or Rouse) was produced at Gray's Inn. In this performance, Lord Governance was ruled by Dissipation and Negligence, by whose misgovernance Lady Public Weal was separated from Governance, which caused Rumor Populi, Inward Grudge, and Disdain of Wanton Sovereignty to rise with a great multitude and restore Lady Public Weal to her proper place. According to the historian Edward Hall, who was present, the play was well received by all but Cardinal Wolsey who saw enough of himself in the performance (despite the playwright's assurance that the work included only historical personages) to order the arrest of the author and one of the actors.<sup>10</sup> English disdain for cardinals in general and Wolsey in particular provided material for drama all the way up to the interregnum.

Following the passage of the Act of Supremacy (November 1534) in which King Henry was recognized as the head of the Church in England, anti-Catholic performances became far less subtle in their condemnation of cardinals and the pope. For instance, in June 1539, a water entertainment was performed in which two barges entered the Thames and met in the middle. One was manned by a crew representing the king and his council, the other by men dressed up as the pope and cardinals. The two boats met in combat, fighting until the "papal" barge was beaten and its contents pitched into the river.<sup>11</sup> Dialogue was unnecessary to this performance because the visual codes alone were more than sufficient to forward both the action and the ideology of the performance. John Doeblar has noted that "the

average Renaissance Englishman knew a language of images, an iconography, whether he encountered those images in graphic form, in literature, or on a stage."<sup>12</sup> In the case of religion, which played such an enormous role in the life of the entire commonweal, this is particularly true. The apparel worn by those aboard the papal barge was understood to be a visual marker of the profane according to the newly transformed cultural definition of what constituted the sacred in England.

With the dissolution of the monasteries (largely completed by 1540), the apparel particular to monks, nuns, and friars joined that of the pope and the cardinals as representative of the Catholic Church and its iniquities. On the stage, long after the monastic houses were confiscated by the Crown and the money gained thereby had been spent, the clothes particular to these clergy remained symbols of greed and sexual license. The origin of this opinion lies in the public estimation of the monasteries before they were dissolved. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, many saw the monks as idle, corrupt individuals, living off the fat of the land.<sup>13</sup> There was reason for this opinion. After the plague, the number of monks was halved, and some communities were wiped out entirely. Monastic revenues were so large relative to the number of monks that they encouraged worldliness. Feasting had replaced fasting, and services were often poorly attended.<sup>14</sup> Additionally, dress had grown extravagant, despite rigid rules that ordered monks to wear a long tunic made of wool, a belt or girdle, a hood, and perhaps a *scapular*, a rectangular piece of fabric that went over the tunic and provided extra protective covering for the monk when he worked or traveled abroad. As a result of the monks' wealth, the humble attire that was supposed to be the sign of their devotion to a life of simplicity and prayer became instead a symbol of their hypocrisy. The fact that the majority of English society could only speculate on the activities that actually took place in the secluded monasteries only added to public mistrust of the monks.

The nuns were the subject of fewer moral attacks than were the monks, but their distinctive apparel and the isolated conditions in which they lived similarly marked them for public suspicion. A nun typically wore a white undertunic, a gown, a hood, a veil, and a *wimple*, a piece of fabric that went around the face and neck. Additionally, they could also wear a scapular. The colors of a monk's or nun's habit were determined by his or her religious order and could be of a wide variety.<sup>15</sup> Ostensibly devoted to a life of celibacy, both the monk and the nun, after the Reformation, were figured to be notoriously libidinous behind their cloistered walls, and convents became synonymous with brothels. Thus, when Hamlet tells Ophelia to "get thee to

a nunnery," he is simultaneously recommending to her a life of chastity and one of prostitution.

Friars dressed nearly identically to monks and were treated much the same in drama until the 1590s when their particular identities were made the subject of theatrical consideration. The friars' orders were created in the twelfth century (first entering England in the thirteenth) in an attempt to reform what they saw as the increasing immorality of the monastic orders. The friar typically wore a wool tunic, a scapular with a hood, and a cord around the waist, with slight differences in style and color marking the different orders. For instance, the Franciscan friars were called the "gray friars" because of the color of their original habits. However, beginning in the fifteenth century, they typically wore brown apparel. Additionally, they wore a distinctive cord around their waist that had three knots representing their vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. With this in mind, we can begin to understand how Mephistopheles might have appeared in the original production of *Dr. Faustus* after Faustus tells him he is "too ugly to attend on me," and that he should "go, and return an old Franciscan friar: That holy shape becomes a devil best."<sup>16</sup> To appear in the semblance of a Franciscan friar such as those who resided in England at the beginning of the sixteenth century, Mephistopheles would have reentered wearing a brown tunic, a hood, and a cord around his waist. However, since friars had not been admitted into England for almost fifty years when *Dr. Faustus* was first performed (c.1588), it is possible that Mephistopheles entered in the gray apparel appropriate to a "gray friar." In Henslowe's list of costumes and properties from March 10, 1598, among the six friar's gowns that are mentioned, only one is identified by color: "*Item, i freyers gowne of graye.*"<sup>17</sup>

In the English drama performed between the Reformation and the opening of the first professional public playhouse in 1567, popes, cardinals, monks, and friars found repeated theatrical representation, particularly in the newly transformed morality plays. Whereas the pre-Reformation morality taught its audience that the way to heaven was to take part in the sacraments of the church and be obedient to the authority of the priest who administered them, the post-Reformation morality taught the tenets of Protestantism and stressed the evils of Catholicism.<sup>18</sup> During this time, it became the practice in England to have the Vice characters played as Catholic clergy, reversing the earlier practice of having the seven virtues dressed as Catholic clergy.<sup>19</sup> In this capacity, they would admit their own impiety to the audience while dressed in religious apparel, thereby furthering the aims of Protestantism by highlighting the evil of

Catholicism and the hypocrisy of its ceremonies. Quite naturally, the characters we have addressed thus far were the ideal ones to play the part of Vice, for their apparel immediately identified them as Catholics and as enemies of the newly emergent English Church.

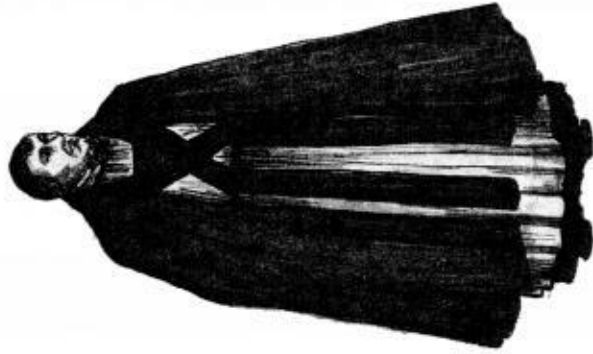
Recognizing the frequency with which this costuming convention was used, T. W. Craik has noted that "scarcely a single anti-Catholic play in this period fails to introduce some such character as Flattery disguised as a friar (*Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis*) or Ignorance as an old Popish priest (*Enough is as good as a Feast, The longer thou livest the moor Fool thou art, New Custom*)."<sup>20</sup> Craik's statement, although a fair generalization for the period reaching from 1540 (*Ane Satyre*) to 1570 (*New Custom*), fails to acknowledge the rapid changes that were taking place in moralities during this thirty-year period. He notes that the Vice characters in the post-Reformation moralities were regularly dressed as Catholic clergy, but overlooks the fact that this period can be divided into two parts, each defined by trends in choice of character. On examining the plays and the dates when they were written, we find that the earlier works include primarily popes, cardinals, monks, and friars, and the later ones prefer "Popish priests." The most likely explanation for these tendencies can be found in the changes in religious apparel that occurred during this time. When *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* was first performed circa 1540, dressing Flattery as a friar would have been more potent than dressing him as a priest because, at the time, the English priesthood was appeared in much the same way as the Catholic. Indeed, the religious vestments worn by the Catholic clergy were reaffirmed for use in the English Church in the early years of the reign of Edward VI.

The Book of Common Prayer, first published in 1549, stipulated the apparel that the priest should wear while administering Holy Communion. The introductory section of "The Order for the Administration of the Lordes Supper or Holye Communion" states, "Upon the date and at the tyme appointed for the ministracion of the holy Communion, the Priest that shal execute the holy ministry, shall put upon hym the vesture appointed for that ministracion, that is to saye: a white Albe plain, with a vestement or Cope."<sup>21</sup> These are the primary articles of apparel required by the Catholic Church for celebrating the Eucharist. The *alb* is a white linen, ankle-length tunic with sleeves that is held in place at the waist by a girdle. The term "vestement" implies the *chasuble*, the principal attire used by the priest, including bishops and archbishops, for the celebration of the Mass. The *chasuble* was a large, round piece of fabric, worn over the shoulders, which had a hole in the center to pass the head through

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while putting it on. The *cope* was a semicircular, ceremonial version of an outdoor cloak, which was most often worn at non-Eucharist ceremonies (i.e., baptism, marriage, and procession) in place of the *chasuble*. Four items not listed, although they were likely to have been tacitly understood to accompany those mentioned, are the *stole*, the *maniple*, the *miter*, and the *crozier*. The *stole* is a long, narrow strip of material worn on top of the alb and draped over the shoulders in various ways to indicate the rank of the wearer. A priest would wear the *stole* crossed over the breast while the bishop would wear his uncrossed, and both would have them held in place by the girdle. The *maniple* was a small strip of linen that was draped over the left forearm. The *miter* worn in the sixteenth century was a tall divided hat and was worn primarily by bishops and archbishops. The *crozier* was a pastoral staff carried by bishops. A similar staff, but topped with a cross instead of a hook, was carried by archbishops.<sup>22</sup>

Since Protestant religious apparel for the priest was indistinguishable from the Catholic vestments, it made sense for the moralities of the time to present the more conspicuously Catholic clergymen as the Vice characters.<sup>23</sup> Thus, in John Bale's *King Johan* (c.1540),

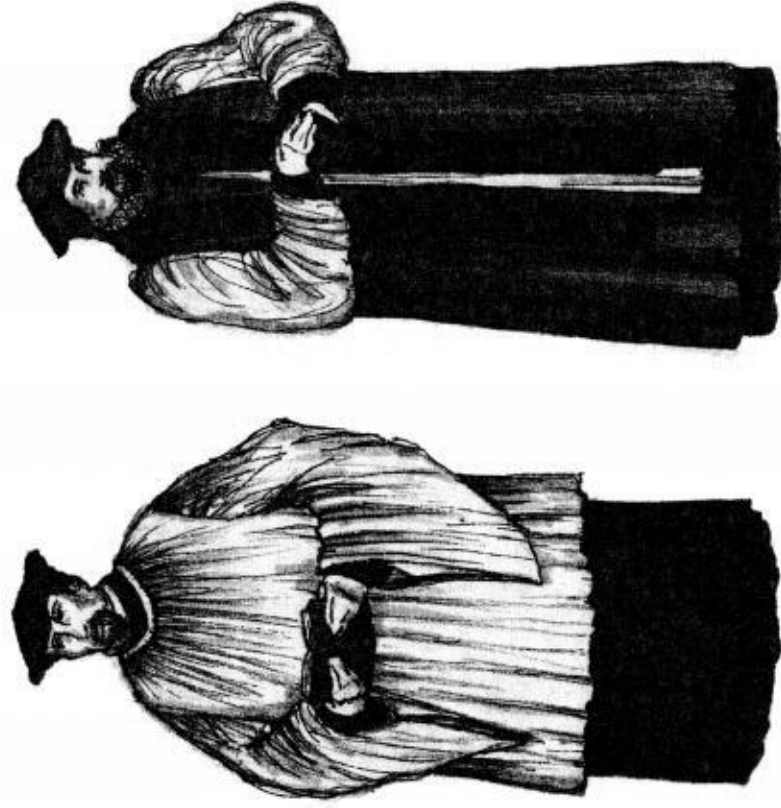


Generalized English Priest and Bishop, pre-Edward VI. Drawings courtesy of Tomi Elliott.

Usurpyd Power appears as the pope, Private Welth enters dressed as a cardinal, and Treason is a monk. In the year of the play's original presentation, each of these characters would have been immediately identifiable as Catholic, and the play would have forwarded its ideological agenda in its visual presentation as well as with its dialogue. When characters portrayed other members of the Catholic clergy, they required introductions in the dialogue to be understood.

The apparel to be worn by English priests was officially altered in 1552. In *The Book of Common Prayer* published in the fifth year of Edward VI's reign, the 1549 rules governing vestments were removed from the segment addressing the Holy Communion. The only place in which apparel is mentioned at all is in a prohibitory rubric at the beginning of the section addressing Morning Prayer. "And here is to be noted, that the minister at the tyme of the Communion and all other tymes in his ministracion, shall use neither albe, vestment, nor cope; but being archbishop or bishop, he shall have and wear a sur-rochet; and being a preest or deacon, he shall have and wear a surplice onely." The *rochet* worn at this time was a large, white overgarment that reached the floor, was gathered at the waist, and had full lawn sleeves. Typically, Anglican bishops wore it with a *chimere* and a *tippet*. The *chimere* was a silk or satin sleeveless gown that was open at the front. The *tippet* was a long black scarf. The *surplice* was similar to the *rochet* except that it was shorter and, as a result, not gathered at the waist. Both the bishop and the priest would typically wear the cassock underneath their Communion apparel.

The change of religious apparel mandated in the 1552 Book of Common Prayer was anything but superficial. Although the new wording might seem to assert only a minor sartorial adjustment in the practice of Christianity, it carried with it enormous ecclesiastical significance marking some of the chief variances in belief systems that separated Protestantism from Catholicism. The vestments visually asserted the fact that in the Catholic Church the clergy served a mystical function essential to the salvation of the congregation. By donning the appropriate vestments and speaking the right words, the Catholic priest was understood literally to transform bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ for his congregation. By changing the apparel that priests wore when administering Holy Communion, the 1552 prayer book rejected the validity of transubstantiation, positing instead the Protestant belief that the Eucharist was merely a reaffirmation of the Christian's belief in God. The altering of religious apparel denied the very status of the priest as an intermediary between God and man, suggesting that the clergy were no different



Generalized English Priest and Bishop, c. 1552. Drawings courtesy of Toni Elliott.

from commoners. Accordingly, the priest's ability to absolve his parishioners of their sins was also challenged.

If the Catholic vestments were not efficacious in transubstantiation, what purpose did they serve? According to the post-Reformation morality plays written in England, they were worn to trick people into giving their money and their faith to a religion that secretly worshipped the devil. Thus, in N. Woodes's *The Conflict of Conscience* (c.1572), Hypocrisie tells how he fools people into the Romish faith, while Cacones, a priest, finds that the sacraments are the greatest source of revenue for the clergy, especially the Eucharist.<sup>24</sup>

Despite the significance of the change in apparel made by the 1552 prayer book, a significant number of English clergy did not believe it went far enough. According to the newly emergent Protestant faith

in England, the priest's role was not mystical but pedagogical. The Protestant parishioner could not save his soul by performing good deeds, attending church, and taking part in ecclesiastical ritual. Rather, as Christopher Haigh explains, "Protestantism was not a works religion, it was a Word religion: the Word preached, the Word read, the Word sung to the Lord, the Word applied to life, the Word wrestled with in the heart of a sinner yearning for grace."<sup>25</sup> Apparel that distinguished the priest from the members of his congregation drew attention from his real purpose, which was to teach the word of God. Even the surplice and the rochet, divorced as they were from the vestments of the Catholic Church, were considered idolatrous by some because they suggested that the wearer held a special providence and place in God's design. Disagreements regarding the appropriate apparel for the English clergy resulted in what has come to be termed the "vestments controversy" and mark the beginning of the split in England between Protestants and Puritans.

The origin of the vestments controversy can be dated to 1550 when John Hooper was appointed to the bishopric of Gloucester and declined the position on the grounds that he refused to wear the vestments mandated by the Book of Common Prayer.<sup>26</sup> At this time, clergy were expected to wear the alb and the chasuble or cope. When the requirements changed two years later, the more extremist Protestants remained unappeased. However, their discontent was silenced the following year, 1553, when King Edward died and Queen Mary converted the country back to Catholicism. The vestments that had only recently been discarded were once again taken up by the English clergy with the uncompromising Protestants either fleeing the country or facing punishment (more than three hundred were executed). Mary's death in 1558 was understandably cheered by the Protestants who subsequently returned to England from abroad en masse, expecting Queen Elizabeth's accession to usher in a new era of religious purity.

The high expectations for Elizabeth's reign were dampened, however, when the Book of Common Prayer was reissued in 1559 calling for a return to the alb, cope, and chasuble required in the prayer book of 1549. The new "Act of Uniformity" stated "that suche ornaments of the Church, and of the ministers therof, shalbe retained and be in use as was in this Church of England, by authority of Parliament, in the second yere of the raygne of Kyng Edward the vi." This issue, which had drawn fire during Edward's reign, became a major point of contention. After all, those who had fled England during Mary's reign had largely spent their time in the Protestant churches on the Continent where even the surplice had been com-

pletely abandoned.<sup>27</sup> To return and find that England was prepared to take a step backward rather than embrace a more purified form of Protestantism was unacceptable and sparked a war of words that stands as the opening salvo between Puritans and Anglicans. This point of contention was not resolved in March 1566 when Archbishop Parker circulated his "Advertisements," which discarded the unrealistic demand of Eucharistic vestments and required merely that the surplice be adopted and that specific outdoor apparel be worn: "a square cap, a scholar's gown priest-like, a tippet, and in the church a linen surplice."<sup>28</sup>

The year 1566 marks the height of the vestments controversy, for after Parker presented his "Advertisements," he called a conference of all London pastors and curates where he demanded that the attendees declare whether they would follow his guidelines or not. Of those present, sixty-one agreed and thirty-seven refused. The latter were suspended and their livings sequestered. As might be expected, this action prompted some of the most strident antvestment polemics, the mere titles of which make clear the position of the authors. For just two examples: *A briefe discourse against the outward apparel and Ministering Garmentes of the Popishe Church* and *To my lovinge brethren that is troubled about the popishe apparrell, two short and comfortable Epistels*.<sup>29</sup>

The events of 1566 solidified the notion that the general clergy in England were visually identifiable by the surplice or the rochet and a square cap and that Puritans were unwilling to be seen in Parker's prescribed apparel. Moreover, drama records the significance of this visual code. In *New Custom*, the title character dresses as a Genevan minister "with a gathered frocke, a powle head, and a broad hatte, An vnshaued bearde, a pale face" and (according to Perverse Doctrine in the opening scene, where he is a trustworthy witness) inveighs against the square caps and white surplices of priests as superstitious trifles.<sup>30</sup> Puritan revulsion for the surplice also appears in a number of plays. For instance, in William Rowley's *A Match at Midnight* (1633), Sim states, "It has turn'd his stomacke, for all the World like a Puritanes, at the sight of a surplesse."

In the year before the first public playhouse opened in London (the Red Lion in 1567), debate concerning religious apparel was at a high point and had important ramifications for the visual codes identifying the clergy in England. It should not therefore surprise us to find that the plays presented on the public stages made extensive use of the apparel defined by these issues. We can state with complete confidence that in production, characters portraying Catholic, Protestant, and Puritan clergy would have been immediately identifiable

to a high degree of specificity and would have carried with them the cultural associations that defined them at the time of their presentation. Accordingly, we must suspend our notion of characters entering the early-modern English theaters as ciphers to be filled with the playwright's words, and instead begin to consider how the plays of the period made use of characters whose identities were already firmly established by their costumes.<sup>31</sup>

When we understand the associations intrinsic to particular articles of religious apparel, we can begin to study the very different ways in which playwrights made use of the audience's assumptions to further their dramatic aims. For instance, both Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus* (1588) and Robert Greene's *The Honorable History of Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* (1589) feature characters costumed in the apparel of a friar, and yet each makes very different use of the associations elicited by the clothing. Marlowe's play makes straightforward use of the post-Reformation morality play convention in which friars put on the semblance of holiness but are secretly in league with the devil by having Mephistopheles appear as an old friar. The choice of a Franciscan friar is particularly poignant since they are among the most austere practitioners of Christianity, devoting themselves to lives of poverty, chastity, and obedience. Moreover, Franciscans are among the four mendicant orders, friars who live entirely on alms (the other three being Dominicans, Carmelites, and Augustinian Hermits). By having even the most ascetic Catholic be secretly a devil in disguise, *Dr. Faustus* suggests the depth of Catholic hypocrisy.

Marlowe takes this anti-Catholic argument one step further by having Faustus go to Rome and taunt the pope and his ecclesiastical court. There, before the pope, appear characters in virtually all of the religious apparel that denotes Catholicism, with cardinals, bishops, monks, and friars in attendance. In one sense, this scene would seem to offer a pro-Catholic position for it puts the pope at cross-purposes with Mephistopheles. However, the avarice of the pope as he seeks to extend his temporal authority even over emperors guarantees that he will not be seen in a favorable light. Furthermore, the scene suggests that the apparel and accoutrements stipulated by the Catholic Church serve no religious or mystical purpose whatsoever; the chanting of the friars and their ceremony employing bell, book, and candle fail to have any impact on Faustus and Mephistopheles. When the chanting concludes and Faustus and Mephistopheles beat the friars (after having already struck the pope), the Catholic Church appears as an altogether secular organization whose vestments and rituals serve simply to help them consolidate political power.

Greene's *The Honorable History of Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* employs friar's apparel in a manner very different from *Dr. Faustus*. Rather than serve as the cunning disguise of evil, the friar's habit in Greene's play becomes the clothing appropriate to the play's hero, Friar Bacon. The play achieves this new understanding of the friar's garments in two important ways. First, the habit is reinvested with the traits of poverty, chastity, and obedience that originally defined the friars who wore it. At several points in the play, it is made clear that the life the friars lead is a simple one, devoid of the comforts of lavish dwelling or fine food. When Burden, Mason, and Clement enter Bacon's home, the friar makes it clear that he lives in a small room at a college. "Why flock you thus to Bacon's secret cell, a friar newly stall'd in Brazen-nose?" (1.2.13-14).<sup>32</sup> When Bacon entertains King Henry, the Emperor, the King of Castille, and others, he teases them with a meal consisting of pottage and broth. King Henry is outraged. "What, dost thou taunt us with thy peasants' fare?" (3.3.239). Bacon responds that "I show'd the cates to let thee see how scholars use to feed, How little meat refines our English wits" (3.3.248-50). Bacon then offers to furnish the monarchs with a feast such as they have never enjoyed before, but notes that the simple fare they just reviled is a friar's typical sustenance. Additionally, even though Edward promises Bacon 40,000£ to impede Lacy's marriage to Margaret, there is no mention of the fee being paid or of the friar seeking his due.

Bacon's chastity is not mentioned in the play, but it would likely have been noted by an audience raised with the notion that Catholic habits hide lascivious desire. Bacon observes the romantic plot in the play and uses his skills to forward it, but he never displays any sexual motivation himself. When we consider the manner in which monks and friars appeared in post-Reformation moralities, the importance of Bacon's quiet chastity becomes clear.

Bacon's obedience takes on a particular significance in Greene's play because it proves to be primarily an Anglican obedience to his king and not a Catholic obedience to the pope and church. He is at the command of his monarch and works to see his kingdom well ordered and distinguished on the world stage. Thus, when Bacon outperforms Jacques Vandermast, Henry responds, "Bacon, thou hast honored England with thy skill, and made fair Oxford famous by thine art" (3.2.166-67). Devoted to poverty, chastity, and a distinctively English form of religious obedience, Bacon assumes an honorable identity (as the play's title promises he will) and works to reclaim his apparel from its earlier associations.

The second way in which Bacon's apparel is separated from its

more negative meanings can be found in the friar's renunciation of magic at the end of the play. Having accidentally contributed to the death of two men and their sons with his mystical skills, Bacon swears to give up the use of magic. This he plans to accomplish by discarding the clothes that aid him in his conjuring. Not surprisingly, these articles of apparel are Catholic vestments. In renouncing his magic, Bacon draws a connection between Catholic vestments, magic, and devil worship:

I tell thee, Bungay, it repents me sore  
That ever Bacon meddled in this art.  
The hours I have spent in pyromantic spells,  
The fearful tossing in the latest night  
Of papers full of necromantic charms,  
Conjuring and abjuring devils and fiends,  
With stole and alb and strange pentag[on]non . . .  
. . . With praying to the fivefold powers of [hell]  
Are instances that Bacon must be damnd  
For using devils to countervail his God.

(4.3.86-97)

This conflation of Catholicism, conjuring, and damnation was not confined to Greene's play. As Keith Thomas notes, "In the reign of Elizabeth I, therefore, the term 'conjurer' came to be a synonym for recusant priest. . . . Catholic miracles were confidently attributed to witchcraft."<sup>33</sup> By giving up the stole and the alb, Bacon not only renounces the Catholic faith of which they are a part, but also actually takes on himself the character of a Reformation minister. He has already demonstrated his primary devotion to his king, and now he wishes to give up the Catholic accoutrements and devote "the remnant of my life in pure devotion, praying to my God" (4.3.107-8). Bacon renounces the religious significance of his vestments and seeks heaven not through confession, but by devoting himself instead to a life of prayer. Bacon's simple friar's robe is thus divorced from Catholicism by the Protestant characteristics and honorable identity of its wearer.

Shakespeare regularly employs this newly defined and humbly appraised friar in his plays. When Romeo wishes to marry Juliet, he seeks out Friar Lawrence who presides over the ceremony. Friar Lawrence proves his good intentions by agreeing to marry the couple to bring peace to the divided city. In *Much Ado About Nothing*, Friar Francis will perform the marriages between Claudio and Hero and Benedict and Beatrice. Further, this friar contributes to the plot by suggesting the stratagem whereby Hero's innocence can be

proven and the happy ending achieved. In *Measure for Measure*, Vincentio requests the assistance of Friar Thomas and assumes the guise of a friar himself so that he may observe the rule of Angelo unseen.<sup>34</sup> Catholic clergy are appropriate to Shakespeare's plays because nearly all of them are set in Catholic territory or in pre-Reformation England. The friars that Shakespeare presents so positively are the appropriate Catholic clergymen to preside in a Protestant theater because they can appear in simple robes and circumnavigate the more negative associations that attend the distinctive, Catholic vestments.

When the vestments do appear onstage in Shakespeare's plays, they would have been understood from the first to embody the moral characteristics associated with them in England at the time. David Bevington has argued that, in Shakespeare, "anticlericalism is staple."<sup>35</sup> Certainly he is correct, but this anticlericalism was often accomplished first with the costumes that were worn. Let us consider the opening scene of *I Henry VI* in which the Duke of Gloucester accuses the Bishop of Winchester of having prayed for Henry's death. Citing the bishop's cruel and overly ambitious monologue at the end of the scene, Jeffrey Knapp has noted, "The audience does not have long to wait before learning whether Gloucester's attack is justified."<sup>36</sup> However, the audience would have understood when it saw the bishop that his clothes were the literal embodiment of mendacity, cruelty, and worldly desire. It is most likely that the bishop would have appeared wearing an alb with a cope on top and a miter on his head. Thus appareled, Winchester would have been the subject of Gloucester's specific attack on a corrupt prelate, but also the recipient of a general assault on the Catholic Church that is presented here as dedicated solely to accumulating political power. Knapp is on the right track when he suggests that Winchester is "like the medieval stage-vice,"<sup>37</sup> but he would be closer to the mark if he noted that the bishop is a direct borrowing from the post-Reformation morality play that presented its Vice characters in precisely this manner. The bishop is understood to be evil on first sight and secretly acknowledges his wickedness to the audience in a monologue to forward the play's Protestant principles through a well-known dramatic strategy (1.1.173-77).<sup>38</sup>

This dramatic strategy remained viable on the stage and reached perhaps its most pronounced form in *A Game at Chess* (1624). Thomas Middleton's blatantly political and openly anti-Catholic play begins with Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Society of Jesus, coming forward to address the audience in precisely the manner that Catholic Vice figures presented themselves in the post-Reformation

moralties. A priest and a Jesuit, Loyola would have been identified easily as a member of the Catholic clergy when he first appeared.<sup>39</sup> The negative response his apparel elicits would then have been corroborated by his speech, which likens the Catholic clergy to a plague of grasshoppers and marks England as a land of "truth and goodness" that is ripe to be "deflowered." Finally, Loyola identifies himself to the audience, thereby taking his self-incrimination to a new height. However, this strategy also finds precedent in the later morality plays that sometimes had Vice characters played as actual figures from history that would have been understood by the audience to be appropriate targets of scorn. For instance, in Bale's *King Johan*, Usurpd Power is dressed as the pope, but he is more specifically identified as Innocent III.

More than perhaps any other play performed in the professional English theaters in the period, *A Game at Chess* makes extensive use of religious apparel, having six characters appear as clergy: the Black Bishop, the Black Bishop's Pawn, the White Bishop, the White Bishop's Pawn, Ignatius Loyola, and the Fat Bishop.<sup>40</sup> In the play, the Black House represents the Catholic Spanish and the White House represents the Protestant English. Visually, this presents a contrast between the apparel of the English Church in white and that of the Catholic Church in black. For a suggestion of how they might have appeared, we can look to the title page of the play which shows members of both sides sitting at a table across from one another.

However, this information can be misleading, for the characters are drawn in the likeness of the historical figures they were intended to represent and not in the form of the players who performed the roles.<sup>41</sup> Thus, the Fat Bishop appears in the drawing, but he is clearly a representation of the former Archbishop of Spalato, Marco Antonio de Dominis. Nevertheless, the title page gives a sense of the visual expectations of the time and shows the very different apparel appropriate to Catholic and English bishops in the early seventeenth century. In the drawing, the two appear in the daily attire of the clergy and not in their Eucharistic apparel. Accordingly, the Fat Bishop wears a cassock with a *mozzetta*, a short hooded cape worn over the shoulders, and a *biretta*, a stiff three-cornered hat. The White Bishop appears in academic-style robes, a tippet, and a square cap.<sup>42</sup>

Beyond creating a visual contrast between the apparel appropriate to the two churches, Middleton's play also comments on their relative significance. This he accomplishes, in the tradition of the post-Reformation moralities, by devoting the majority of his attention to the Catholic characters who ultimately support the piousness of the Protestants by demonstrating their own immorality. The Catholic



"A game of chess as it was acted nine dayes together at the Globe on the banks side." Illustrated title page. (STC 17882.2). By Permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

character appearing most frequently in the play is the Black Bishop's Pawn, who specifically employs his apparel to accomplish his evil designs. When he determines to convert the White Queen's Pawn to Catholicism, for instance, the Black Bishop's Pawn resolves to win her through the visible display of his religious power. "Let me contemplate, / With holy wonder season my access, / And by degrees approach the sanctuary / Of unmatched beauty set in grace and goodness" (1.1.70-73).<sup>43</sup> In the lines of the Black Knight, we learn that the Black Bishop's Pawn wears the full Catholic vestments. The Black Knight says that perhaps he should wear "a three pound smock 'stead of an alb, / An epicene chasuble" (1.1.231-32). Thus, the Black Bishop's Pawn hopes to use the spectacle of his alb and chasuble to convince the White Queen's Pawn to turn Catholic. This was a common fear in England at the time, with Protestant writers making frequent mention of the dangerous influence that Catholic spectacle and ceremony could have over the laity that was deemed prone to mistaking spectacular show for religiosity.<sup>44</sup>

In *A Game at Chess*, the White Queen's Pawn is taken in by the Catholic apparel. "By my penitence / A comely presentation, and the habit, / To admiration reverend" (1.1.34-36). The Black Bishop's Pawn then seeks to have the White Queen's Pawn take part in Catholic confession with him. The clear implication of the scene is that Catholic priests require confession so that they can learn the secrets of their enemies and extend the reach of their power. Shortly thereafter, the Black Bishop's Pawn stresses the importance of obedience in Catholicism and demands that the White Queen's Pawn demonstrate her own obedience by having sex with him. With this command, the Black Bishop's Pawn demonstrates the hypocrisy of the Catholic clergy's vow of chastity. The White King, intended to represent King James, explains how the deeds of the Black Bishop's Pawn are vile in and of themselves, but take on a far more pernicious aspect as a result of his religious clothing. "To find sin, / Ay, and a masterpiece of darkness, sheltered / Under a robe of sanctity, is able / To draw all wonder to that monster only" (2.2.127-34). According to the logic of *A Game at Chess*, the Catholic religion is itself little more than a masquerade: Catholic ecclesiastical apparel serves to bewilder people into believing in the holiness of the wearer and accepting the tenets of his religion, which serve merely to extend the reach of the church's power and hide its iniquity.

Shakespeare appears to take a different approach to employing ecclesiastical apparel in *Henry VIII* (1613). He begins in the typical manner by presenting Cardinal Wolsey's scarlet clothing as suitable to his avarice and impiety. Noted by Norfolk and Buckingham to be

overly ambitious, fat, and devoid of noble blood, Wolsey is referred to variously as "scarlet sin" and a "piece of scarlet." This designation typifies the manner in which cardinals were regularly presented in drama. In Shakespeare's *Henry VI*, Cardinal Beaufort is called the "scarlet hypocrite," with his morality being understood on sight and reinforced in the dialogue. Even at the late date of 1641, James Shirley was able to assume that the title character of his play *The Cardinal* would be understood as an appropriate object of ridicule in his "reverend purples." Of course, Wolsey was a special case since he remained in English memory as a specific example of Catholic greed, and the play notes his relentless efforts to accrue wealth and even become pope. But where *Henry VIII* departs from usual practice is in presenting Archbishop Cranmer as a voice for the nascent English Protestant church.

As the primary author of The Book of Common Prayer in 1549 and then again in 1552, Cranmer was largely responsible for the elimination of the vestments from church practice while Edward VI was king of England. Cranmer's death as a heretic during Mary's Catholic reign made him an ideal representative of Protestant virtue in Shakespeare's play and an appropriate foil to Wolsey's worldly ambition. Consequently, it seems highly likely that in the early seventeenth century, the actor playing Cranmer would have worn the rochet, chimere, tippet, and square cap that were appropriate to bishops in England at the time. Thus appareled, Cranmer would have appeared as a Protestant prelate when the Catholic members of the council reproached him for his "new opinions, divers and dangerous" (5.2.52-53). Further support for the likelihood that Cranmer would have worn Protestant religious clothing can be found in the extant paintings of the archbishop, all of which portray him thus appareled. Presenting the form of a Protestant bishop and contrasting the Catholic Wolsey, Cranmer would have made a strong pro-Anglican statement when he argued, "Love and meekness . . . Become a churchman better than ambition" (5.2.97-98). In this manner, the costumes in *Henry VIII* would have epitomized the contrast that can be found in the dialogue between the worldliness of the Catholic Church and the godliness of the Protestant Church.

The Puritan<sup>45</sup> notion that Protestant religious apparel was not, in fact, godly found articulation on the stage as well, but virtually never in straightforward form. Plays from 1570 (*New Custom*) to at least 1641 (Thomas Jordan's *The Walks of Islington and Hogsden*) present the Puritan opinion that the surplices and square caps of the English clergy were remnants of the Catholic Church; however, these works almost uniformly support Protestant orthodoxy by deprecating the

religious forces that opposed the government and the established church's sartorial decree.<sup>46</sup> This deprecation was often accomplished by presenting Puritan characters as comic zealots who foolishly and incessantly rail against the way others are dressed.

Most objectionable to stage Puritans was the surplice, which they regarded as a vestige of Catholicism. Thus, in the anonymously written *The Pilgrimage to Parnassus* (1598), Stupido gives highest praise to his uncle by noting his unwillingness to wear the clothes dictated by the English church. "I have a good man to my vncl, that neuer wore capp nor surples in his life, nor anie such popishe ornament" (3.1.338-40).<sup>47</sup> Of course, Stupido's name alone guarantees that the Puritan position he espouses will be laughed at and not genuinely considered. His opinion of religious apparel is compatible with his insipid personality, his love of insignificant theological puzzles, and his strident disdain for liberal learning and the arts. This was a common technique until the interregnum: Comically ridiculous, frequently hypocritical Puritans rail against the apparel of the English clergy, thereby strengthening the Protestant cause by depicting themselves and their religious convictions as absurd. Thus, in Thomas Randolph's *Hey for Honesty, Down with Knavery* (1626-28), Gogle, the self-proclaimed "zealous Saint of Amsterdam" condemns both Catholic and Protestant religious apparel in the same breath. "O Popery! / A profane Cope, or the Levitical smock, / I mean a Surplisse, is not more unlawful" (4.1.353-55).<sup>48</sup> In Shackerley Marmion's *A Fine Companion* (1633), the Puritan Chandler has "run mad with illuminations . . . he thought a man in a surplice to be the ghost of heresy."<sup>49</sup> And in *The Walks of Islington and Hogsden*, when Sir Reverence Lamard appears in a white shirt, Wildblood notes how he would appear to a Puritan: "here comes my white Knight in his Lawn sleeves, now if a Quaker saw him he would take his shirt for a Surplisse, and condemn it for a Babylonish Garment, or in good sooth and verily a wicked and superstitious remnant of that foul slaps the whore of Babylon."<sup>50</sup> The stage Puritan's contempt for ecclesiastical apparel in general and the surplice in particular remained constant throughout the period.

Beyond targeting religious clothing, stage Puritans similarly disparaged sumptuous apparel, railing against ostentatious display almost as often and as vociferously as they did against the surplice. This attack on rich clothing mirrors the condemnation of pride in apparel that was being issued from the pulpit and in print at the time. Scholars, starting with E. K. Chambers, have focused considerable attention on the Puritan antitheatrical writings of the period, but those works often devote equal or even greater attention to clothing

than they do to the theater. For instance, Philip Stubbes's *Anatomie of Abuses* issues a strong condemnation of the theaters, but devotes far more space to ridiculing English "Sumptuous Attire." At considerable length, Stubbes assaults opulent hats, ruffs, shirts, doublets, hose, stocks, shoes, coats, jerkins, cloaks, and scarves, as well as gilt swords and scabbards, the wearing of feathers or velvet visors, the use of makeup, particular hair styles, cross-dressing, and new fashions.<sup>51</sup> On stage, the most common targets of Puritan attack are large ruffs and oversized breeches. Accordingly, in *The Pilgrimage to Parnassus*, shortly after extolling his uncle for never donning Protestant religious apparel, Stupido attacks the poets who wear "such diabolical ruffs, and wicked great breeches full of sin, that it would make a zealous professors harte bleed for grife" (3.1.359-61). Similarly, in Thomas Middleton's *The Family of Love* (1603-7), a Puritan bellows-mender preaches against crimson breeches (4.1.18). In Ben Jonson's *The Alchemist* (1610), Ananias decries costly clothing, saying, "They are profane, / Lewd, superstitious, and idolatrous breeches. . . . That ruff of pride / About thy neck betrays thee . . . Thou look'st like Anti-christ, in that lewd hat" (4.7.46-55).<sup>52</sup> Puritan characters in early-modern English drama were quick to condemn anything smacking of fun, and lavish apparel was a prime object of their scorn.<sup>53</sup>

On the early-modern English stage, Puritans were ultimately more easily identifiable visually by the variety of clothes they refused to wear than by any uniform attire. Vehemently opposed to religious apparel and lavish clothing of any sort, stage Puritans often appeared in clothes of a markedly threadbare variety. Thus, in *The Pilgrimage to Parnassus*, Stupido appears in the "frize coate" that his uncle sent him.<sup>54</sup> The inferior quality of this woolen cloth is made clear when Ingenioso notes how poor, unemployed schoolmasters could not afford even such simple apparel as frieze jerkins. "They could scarce get enough to apparell there heade in an vnlined hatt, there bodie in a frize Jerkin, and there feet in clouted paire of shoes" (5.1.589-91). Rather than wear such tawdry material by necessity, Stupido considers it a mark of his devoutness. In *Hey for Honesty, Down with Knavery*, Gogle similarly believes in the sanctity of his tattered apparel, which consists of a worn robe and old shoes, neither of which has been changed for thirteen years. "This holy Cloak and I these thirteen years / Have freez'd together, and these upright Shoes; / Not upright once, till their ungodly soles / That always went awry, were rightly mended / By a religious conscionable Cobler" (4.1.91-95).

Thomas Heywood's *How a man May Chase a Good Wife from a Bad* (1602) provides a fuller description of how Puritans were visually

figured in drama, supporting the notion that they typically wore austere attire and introducing the importance of short hair to the stock image. Master Fuller explains how he sought to seduce a Puritan girl, but found he could only succeed by convincing her he was just as devout as she. This he accomplished by doing away with his double ruff, long hair, scarf, and Spanish shoes and furnishing himself instead in the apparel appropriate to her convictions. "My shooes were sharpe toed, and my band was plaine, / Close to my thigh my metamorphis'd breech: / My cloake was narrow Capte, my haire cut shorter."<sup>55</sup> The *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) first dates the word *roundhead* to 1641, but clearly the association of short hair with Puritanism on the English stage began much earlier.<sup>56</sup> The visual expectation of short hair finds its cultural cognate in Puritan publications such as William Prynne's *The Unloveliness of Lovelocks* (1628), which warned that the wearing of inappropriately long hair by men or short hair by women was a damnable offense against God.<sup>57</sup> Humbly attired and wearing his hair closely trimmed, Fuller quickly succeeds in his sexual conquest of the Puritan girl whose outer show of godliness hides her inner impiety.

Puritan women rail against pride of apparel as vehemently and comically as their male counterparts and are thus equally well suited to distinctively humble apparel. Jasper Mayne's *The Citye Match* (1637-38) presents Ms. Dorcas as so devout that she will not let Madam Aurelia wear any clothes that are not specifically prescribed by scripture: "I am never drest / Without a sermon, but am for to prove / The lawfulness of curling irons before / She'l crisp me in a morning; I must show / Text for the fashions of my gownes, she'l aske / Where Jewels are commanded" (2.2.6-11).<sup>58</sup> Dorcas is rendered more ridiculous by her affinity for embroidering images from the bible into Aurelia's chemise and petticoats. Aurelia says, "My smock-sleeves have such holy imbroderies, / And are so learned, that I feare in time / All my apparell will be quoted by / Some pure Instructor" (2.2.33-36). Dorcas's character is defined by her fanatical religiosity, which determined not just the words she spoke, but also the manner in which she appeared on the early modern stage.

Fanatical religiosity also guaranteed that stage Puritans would carry a Bible to which they would invariably appeal to support their ridiculous contentions. They did not typically quote directly from scripture, which would put the theatrical company at serious risk of breaking the 1559 royal proclamation prohibiting the playing of interludes wherein "matters of religion . . . shall be treated," but rather would refer to the Bible for support while making wildly reductive arguments about religious minutiae. Thus, in Jonson's *Bartholomew*

*Fair* (1614), the Puritan minister Zeal-of-the-Land Busy references an argument from Deuteronomy when he attacks the immorality of puppets for cross-dressing as women. Carrying a Bible, Busy would have been prepared to issue his argument that mirrors in religious tone and substance the dialogue of Puritan characters throughout the period.

Zeal-of-the-Land Busy deserves extra comment, for instead of the austere apparel typical of stage Puritans, he wears a "scrivener's furred gown" and is taken for a schoolmaster (5.4.327-28). The robe in which Busy originally appeared was probably not the long, flowing robes mandated for the Protestant clergy. Rather, Busy most likely wore a *Geneva gown*, a black preaching gown that had wide sleeves and was open down the front. The Geneva gown had been adopted by Calvin and was widely worn by Protestants on the continent.<sup>59</sup> Further evidence that Busy did not dress as an English Protestant clergyman can be found in the fact that no mention is made of a square cap, which was required apparel for English priests along with the robe. Numerous Puritan antvestment polemics attacked the priest's robes and square caps in addition to condemning the surplice. It thus seems impossible that Busy would have been identifiable as anything but a Puritan divine when he appeared in his particular clothes. Thus attired, Busy would have been a fit object of comic derision for an audience that was accustomed to seeing Puritans satirized onstage.

The apparel in which Puritans appeared on the early-modern English stage, like that which was identifiably Catholic or Protestant, did not merely reflect the identity of the characters who wore it, but rather actively asserted it. Friars, cardinals, English bishops, and Puritans would all have been known on sight and understood according to the conventions of the time and the stage even before they had a chance to speak their lines. The visual language of religious apparel was thus well understood by both playwrights and audiences at the time, significantly influencing the manner in which plays were originally received.

## NOTES

1. Jeffrey Knapp, "Preachers and Players in Shakespeare's England," *Representations* 44 (1993): 32; Thomas Postlewait, "The Sacred and the Secular: Reflections on the Writing of Renaissance Theatre History," *Assaph* C 12 (1997): 5.
2. E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951), 1:3.
3. Glynne Wickham, *Early English Stages*, 3 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), 2:19.

4. Louis Montrose, *The Purpose of Playing: Shakespeare and the Cultural Politics of the Elizabethan Theatre* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 28. For a fuller consideration of the trend among scholars to privilege the secular aspects of early modern English theater, see Postlewait, "The Sacred and the Secular," particularly pages 1–11.
5. Postlewait, "The Sacred and the Secular," 11.
6. Some of the more important contributions to this growing body of work are Laura Levine, *Men in Women's Clothing: Anti-Theatricality and Effeminization* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Jonathan Dollimore, "Early Modern Cross-Dressing in Early Modern England," in *Sexual Dissidence: Augustine to Wilde, Freud to Foucault* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); Jean MacIntyre, *Costumes and Scripts in the Elizabethan Theatres* (Alberta: University of Alberta Press, 1992); Stephen Orgel, *Impersonations: The Performance of Gender in Shakespeare's England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Jean MacIntyre and Garrett Epp, "Clothes worth all the rest: Costumes and Properties," in *A New History of Early English Drama*, ed. John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997); and Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Sallibrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
7. Roger Lockyer, *Tudor & Stuart Britain, 1471–1714* (London: Longman, 1964), 61.
8. For descriptions of the items of religious apparel, I draw on Janet Mayo, *A History of Ecclesiastical Dress* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1984), and R. A. S. Macalister, *Ecclesiastical Vestments: Their Development and History* (London: Elliot Stock, 1986).
9. Also particular to the Pope, although nearly impossible to see by observers, was the *orale*, a thin veil or mantle fastened around the neck when he celebrated pontifical High Mass, and the *subcingulum*, which was an ornamental addition to the girdle that hung down the left side.
10. Robert Potter, "The Cardinal's New Clothes: Politics and Morality in the 1520s," *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* 31 (1992): 62–63.
11. J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 367.
12. John Doebl, *Shakespeare's Speaking Pictures: Studies in Iconic Imagery* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974), 6.
13. Rosemary O'Day, "The Anatomy of a Profession: the Clergy of the Church of England," in *The Professions in Early Modern England* (New York: Croom Helm, 1987), 32.
14. Lockyer, *Tudor & Stuart Britain*, 69–70.
15. For a list of the orders of monks and nuns and the particular colors of their apparel, see Macalister, *Ecclesiastical Vestments*, 235–53.
16. Christopher Marlowe, *The Complete Plays*, ed. J. B. Steane (New York: Penguin, 1969), 1.3.24–26.
17. Philip Henslowe, *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. R. A. Foakes, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 323. The fact that there is an entry for "faustus Jerkin his clog" in a roughly contemporaneous list in Henslowe's diary increases the likelihood that the apparel worn by the actor playing Mephistopheles is one of the friar's gowns listed here (*ibid.*, 294).
18. Rainer Pincas, "The English Morality Play as a Weapon of Religious Controversy," *Studies in English Literature* 2 (1962): 157, 180.
19. Although the ecclesiastical apparel employed in early-modern drama has not received thorough study before, its use in medieval drama has. See Dunbar Ogden,

*The Staging of Drama in the Medieval Church* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2002), chapter 4, 123–40; and Clifford Davidson, *Technology, Guilds and Early English Drama* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute, 1996), chapter 4, 57–118.

20. T. W. Craik, *The Tudor Interlude: Stage, Costume, and Acting* (Leicester, UK: Leicester University Press, 1958), 56.

21. *Book of Common Prayer*, February 24, 2004, Society for Archbishop Justus, <http://justus.anglican.org/resources/bcp/bcp.htm#Other%20BCP%27s>. This and all subsequent citations from the *Book of Common Prayer* will be from this link.

22. Over the chasuble, archbishops could be distinguished from bishops by their *pallium*, a long woven band or scarf of white wool marked with six dark crosses that was placed around the neck and shoulders, with a strip hanging down the front.

23. By 1540, nearly all the monasteries, nunneries, and friaries in England were closed, and their tenants were provided with government pensions to guarantee that they could support themselves without pursuing their previous, Catholic vocation. Consequently, no provision at all was made for the apparel worn by monks, nuns, or friars, who were not welcome in the newly Protestant country.

24. Pincas, "The English Morality Play," 172.

25. Christopher Haigh, *English Reformation: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 287.

26. Hooper ultimately agreed to wear the vestments after he had spent some time mulling the issue in jail; see J. H. Primus, *The Vestments Controversy* (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1960), 64.

27. *Ibid.*, 75.

28. *Ibid.*, 103; Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1967), 70.

29. For a list and description of the major polemics written, see Primus, *The Vestments Controversy*, 107–48.

30. Craik, *The Tudor Interlude: Stage, Costume, and Acting*, 81–82. It is important to note that New Custom never inveighs against Protestant religious apparel himself. Rather, at the end of the play, he makes a case for the unimportance of religious apparel altogether, finding no reason why people should be offended by the wearing of the surplice since it is meaningless (which was a common Protestant position).

31. G. K. Hunter, "Flatcaps and Bluecoats: Visual Signals on the Elizabethan Stage," *Essays and Studies* 22 (1980): 27.

32. Robert Greene, *The Honorable History of Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay, Elizabethan and Jacobean Comedy*, ed. Robert Ornstein and Hazelton Spencer (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1964). This and all subsequent quotations from this play are from this text and are cited parenthetically according to act, scene, and line.

33. Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York: Penguin, 1971), 78.

34. There are exceptions. In *Twelfth Night*, Olivia and Sebastian are married by a priest.

35. David Bevington, *Tudor Drama and Politics: A Critical Approach to Topical Meaning* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), 201.

36. Knapp, "Preachers and Players," 35.

37. *Ibid.*, 35.

38. *1 Henry VI, The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. G. Blakemore Evans, 2nd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997). This and all subsequent quotations from Shakespeare are from this edition and are cited parenthetically.

39. Thomas Middleton, *A Game at Chess*, ed. T. H. Howard-Hill (New York: Manchester University Press, 1993). It is quite possible the character on the stage would

have been identifiable as a Jesuit since there were a large number of the order present in England serving in the retinues of the Spanish and French ambassadors (ibid., 14).

40. Seven if, as T. H. Howard-Hill has suggested, Error is dressed as a Jesuit. He notes that one of the original audience members, John Holles, called the character his "disciple" ("The Unique Eye-Witness Report of Middleton's *A Game at Chess*," *Review of English Studies* 42 [1991]: 172). Additionally, Loyola calls Error the father of Supererogation, which suggests that he takes part in the ceremonies of the Catholic Church.

41. See Howard-Hill's introduction to *A Game at Chess* for a discussion of the characters presented.

42. The White Bishop has been figured as either John Williams, archbishop of York, or George Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury.

43. Middleton, *A Game at Chess*. This and all subsequent quotations from this play are from the Middleton text and are cited parenthetically.

44. Robin Clifton, "Fear of Popery," in *The Origins of the English Civil War*, ed. Conrad Russell (New York: Macmillan, 1973), 147.

45. The term *puritan*, Paul Whitfield White explains, "Was an abusive epithet for various groups of Protestant zealots both inside and outside the national church, but all so labeled privileged a personal, inward-looking religious faith centered on scripture-reading and shared dissatisfaction with the slow pace of reform within the church" ("Theater and Religious Culture," in *A New History of Early English Drama*, ed. John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan [New York: Columbia University Press, 1997], 151). The plays support the false notion that there is such a thing as a typical Puritan by indiscriminately introducing aspects of different groups into their stage characters (William P. Holden, *Anti-Puritan Satire, 1572-1642* [New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1954], 108).

46. Holden, *Anti-Puritan Satire*, 102.

47. *The Pilgrimage to Parnassus*, *The Three Parnassus Plays (1598-1601)*, ed. J. B. Leishman (London: Ivor Nicholson & Watson, 1949). This and all subsequent quotations from these plays are from this edition and are cited parenthetically.

48. *Hey for Honesty, Down with Knavery, Poetical and Dramatical Works of Thomas Randolph*, ed. W. Carew Hazlitt, 2 vols. (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1875). This and all subsequent quotations from this play are from this edition and are cited parenthetically. It must be noted that the cope was never part of Catholic Eucharistic apparel, and as a result, it continued to be worn (although far less frequently) by English clergy after the Reformation (Mayo, *History of Ecclesiastical Dress*, 70-71).

49. Shackerley Marmion, *A Fine Companion* (London, Printed by Aug. Mathewes for Richard Meigher [etc.], 1633).

50. Thomas Jordan, *The Walks of Islington and Hogsden* (London, Printed by Tho. Wilson 1657), 4.1.83-7.

51. Philip Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses* (London, Printed at London by Richard Jones 1583).

52. Ben Jonson, *Five Plays*, ed. G. A. Wilkes (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981). This and all subsequent quotations from Jonson are from this edition and are cited parenthetically.

53. White, "Theater and Religious Culture," 143.

54. Although frieze is understood to be a very inexpensive, unflattering fabric here, it was actually a woolen cloth that was made in several qualities and was worn by men and women in all classes of society. See M. Channing Linthicum, *Costume in the Drama of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1963), 76.

55. Thomas Heywood, *How a man May Chase a Good Wife from a Bad*, ed. A. E. H. Swaen (Louvain, Belgium: A. Uspuyst, 1912), 53.

56. Holden, *Anti-Puritan Satire*, 118.

57. William Prynne, *The Unloveliness of Lovelocks* (1628; reprint lists: Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum; Norwood N.J.: W. J. Johnson, 1996).

58. Jasper Mayne, *The City Match* (London, Printed by Leonard Lichfield 1639). This and all subsequent quotations from this play are cited parenthetically.

59. Mayo, *History of Ecclesiastical Dress*, 72.