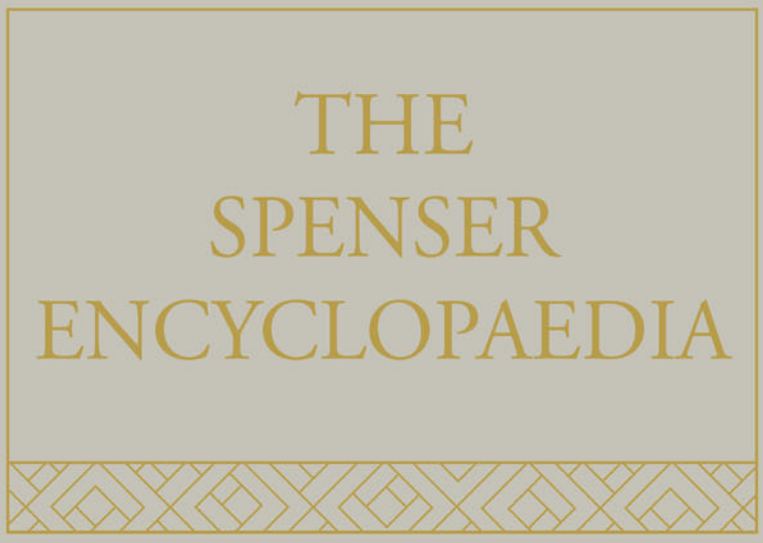
THE SPENSER ENCYCLOPAEDIA



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Thomas P.Roche, Jr
Princeton University

Humphrey Tonkin
University of Hartford

THE SPENSER ENCYCLOPAEDIA

A.C.HAMILTON General Editor

DONALD CHENEY Senior Co-Editor
W.F.BLISSETT Co-Editor

DAVID A.RICHARDSON Managing Editor

WILLIAM W.BARKER Research Editor

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Directions for Use

1. Articles are arranged **alphabetically** within the text of the encyclopaedia itself.

2. Related articles have been identitied within general categories in the **classification of articles**.

3. More specific topics may be located through the **general index**.

4. A parenthetical **asterisk** in the text of an article refers to another article which treats the subject at hand.

5. **Citations** within articles are given parenthetically in a short form, typically:
(author+date: page)
(author+date, volume: page)
(author+book. chapter or section)
(title+book. chapter or section)

6. The **reading list** at the end of an article tells the reader where to turn for further information. If an item is cited in only one article, a full description is given. If an item is cited in more than one article, a short form is used at the end of the articles and full bibliographic information is provided in the **bibliography**.

7. Unless indicated otherwise, **quotations** of classical sources are taken from the Loeb Classical Library. Spenser's poetry is quoted from the *Poetical Works* ed 1912, and his prose is from the *Variorum Prose* volume (i/j and u/v normalized).

Classification of Articles

Articles in the encyclopaedia are in alphabetical order. Relations among the articles are indicated in the classification system below.

General categories are shown in the first section; all the articles related to each general category are listed in the second section.

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Introduction

From its inception, *The Spenser Encyclopaedia* has been an entirely cooperative enterprise. When David A.Richardson first conceived the project and proposed it to me at a conference in 1977, the moment seemed to us opportune for two reasons.

First, there had been a Renaissance of sorts in Spenser criticism following an earlier period that had been monumentalized by the Johns Hopkins *Variorum Edition* of Spenser (1932–49). With pardonable exaggeration, John Erskine Hankins wrote in 1971 (he was addressing Spenser critics; others may recall that decade differently) that 'the 1960s will be remembered as a great period of Spenser scholarship, for then were published a record number of books about *The Faerie Queen*' With the new critical orthodoxies emerging in the 1970s, which would generate their own scholarship, the time had come to assess both what had been done and left undone in Spenser studies by gathering into one volume the best that the present generation of critics had to say about Spenser.

Second, *A Milton Encyclopaedia* was about to appear, and it seemed appropriate that a similar work be compiled for the poet whom Milton had acknowledged to be his 'Original,' especially since readers of Spenser lacked any companion or reference guide, and H.S.V.Jones' *Spenser Handbook* was half a century out of date.

Four prerequisites seemed to me essential to the successful completion of a Spenser encyclopaedia. First, an editorial team responsible for the extended labors that would be involved in its planning and execution. That prerequisite was satisfied when David Richardson agreed to be Managing Editor if I would be the General Editor, and Donald Cheney and A.Kent Hieatt agreed to be the two Co-editors.

The second prerequisite was the assurance of full cooperation by the community of Spenser scholars. At the International Conference on Cooperation in the Study of Edmund Spenser (Duquesne University, October 1978, funded in part by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities), a panel discussion was held on questions that exercised us: for example, is there any present need to alphabetize our knowledge of Spenser? would readers of his poetry be best served by an encyclopaedia? and (most important to us) if we undertook some such project, could we expect contributors to write articles?

Encouraged by a generally positive response to these three questions, especially to the last, we held another panel discussion at the Modern Language Association conference in New York in December 1978. At a number of subsequent meetings (notably the annual Spenser meetings at Kalamazoo and the MLA conferences), a debate was initiated about what topics should be included in an encyclopaedia to provide the kind of knowledge readers need to understand and appreciate Spenser's poetry.

By this time in our deliberations there seemed to be a consensus that an encyclopaedia was needed for several reasons: to compile essential scholarship for critics writing on Spenser, to provide an authoritative source of information for teachers in English studies, and to give students and general readers a comprehensive reference book about Spenser.

Being assured of cooperation, we turned to our third prerequisite: a publisher. We were greatly encouraged in December 1980 when the University of Toronto Press offered a contract to publish the projected work if it was approved by a review committee. Now we could assure potential contributors that they could expect their entries to be published by a major academic press.

The final prerequisite, funding, was essential for several reasons. It would allow the editors scattered at four universities to meet regularly during the early stages of planning in order to draw up a list of topics, decide on contributors, establish editorial standards for the many kinds of articles, and compose a style sheet. Also, it would allow us to employ a research assistant, graduate assistants, and a staff to copyedit and keyboard the articles. Finally it would pay for such essential expenses as copying, mailing, and telephoning. Most important, funding would allow us to use computers for all stages of editing to ensure accuracy and consistency for a work of about a million words.

My initial expenses were generously met by the School of Graduate Studies of Queen's University, and I wish to thank particularly Dr John Beal who served then as Dean of Research Services. In addition, beginning in July 1985, the University allowed me to teach half-time (at half-pay) in order to keep up with the editing. Cleveland State University supported David Richardson by setting up editorial offices in the university library.

Major funding for the Canadian and American teams was provided by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRCC) and the Research Tools Program of the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), respectively, from 1980 through 1988. We are deeply grateful to both funding bodies for their willingness to share support for an international project over most of a decade. Our editorial procedures, planning, and schedules profited much by the need to satisfy their stringent requirements, and also by the reports of their anonymous reviewers.

The decade of this project brought some changes among the editors. While the Editorial Board remained essentially the same, the Canadian Co-editor, A.Kent Hieatt, who had been most heavily involved in the onerous initial planning, accepted a less-demanding position as Editorial Consultant in order to devote his time to Shakespeare studies. William Blissett agreed to take his place. William W.Barker, who had been engaged as a research assistant to check the scholarship of entries and suggest revision, proved so valuable that in 1981 he became Research Editor.

Entries in the Encyclopaedia

Topics were selected chiefly on one basis: would the information in an entry help our implied reader—projected as an intelligent senior undergraduate—to understand and appreciate Spenser's poetry in the context of his age and our own? (This question has proven most difficult to answer, for just why and when would anyone turn from reading the poetry to reading the encyclopaedia?) An initial list prompted by our own reading of the poetry was supplemented by topics treated in critical studies of Spenser, and by suggestions from those who responded to invitations given at conferences and in notices and letters. The list was continuously amended: an entry would be added if a contributor made a reasonable case for its inclusion, absorbed if treated better elsewhere, and cancelled if there was no contributor who could meet the high standards set by the other entries.

The entries are designed to 'cover' Spenser's poetry, insofar as we could anticipate a reader's demands. Accordingly, there are separate entries on each of his minor poems and their genres, and on each book, major episode, and major character in *The Faerie Queene*. As the Classification of Articles indicates, there are entries on Spenser's life, education, friends, fellow poets, and the various influences on him. Topics that treat the 'backgrounds' of the poetry are quite selective, in part because we were not compiling a general Renaissance encyclopaedia. Often the choice depended on the competition for space and—perhaps regrettably—on contemporary interests. Thus, there is an entry on John Dee, who is referred to only three times in the *Variorum* Spenser, but none on Lazare de Baïf, who is referred to eleven times; there are two entries on number symbolism but none directly on the moral and spiritual allegory of *FQ* 1.

A special effort has been made to relate Spenser to earlier writers and especially to minor Elizabethan poets. Since he has long been known as the 'poet's poet'—though for hardly more than that title—a number of entries are included to place him in the English literary tradition through his influence on separate writers and his reputation in various literary periods. Most major writers and most literary periods are included. This kind of entry has been extended to include Spenser's reputation in other countries such as France and Japan, though there are surprising omissions which many dozens of inquiries could not rectify, for example, Spain. The final list of almost 700 entries represents a reasonable compromise among competing demands. While each entry aspires to include the best that is known on any topic, admittedly the best may not be good enough. But enough has been given to challenge the reader to 'make it new' by using the knowledge given in an article, supplementing or correcting or supplanting it. One must allow, though, that contributors faced an almost impossible challenge because of lack of space: in effect, they were asked to express clearly, comprehensively, and persuasively what should be known about any topic in one-tenth the space they regarded as the absolute minimum.

Contributors

The first two years of the project were largely taken up by the effort to match each entry with the most suitable contributor, that is, one who could write most knowledgeably and authoritatively on the topic, whether a senior scholar or recent Ph.D. But first we needed to learn what to expect of them, for none of us had ever read an article for a Spenser Encyclopedia. Accordingly, we asked a dozen Spenser critics to write on assigned topics so that we could learn what to ask for and what to expect. On the basis of this experiment, including our own efforts to produce a paradigm (which we immediately dismissed), I drew up guidelines for contributors.

To decide whom to ask, we first read the publications or doctoral dissertation of a potential contributor. After extensive correspondence, and with full agreement among the editors, I began to invite scholars to contribute. We were greatly heartened by their willingness to give generously of their time without remuneration, not even Costard's three farthings. Surely there are few professions or occupations in our society in which so many individuals are willing freely to contribute so much of their time and special knowledge. At final count, there are more than 400 contributors from some 20 countries.

Editorial Procedure

The articles have been as thoroughly edited as time and our ability have allowed. The first draft of each article was carefully researched by William Barker at the Robarts Library of the University of Toronto, and then edited by myself and one co-editor before being returned to the contributor with our suggestions. (While it may often have seemed so to contributors, there was no deliberate effort to make our commentary on an article longer than the article itself.) Until the pressure of time demanded a change in our editorial procedures, the revised draft was read by myself and a Co-editor before being sent to our editorial office for keyboarding at Cleveland State University. There, David Richardson, aided by Diane Droste, reviewed it most scrupulously for accuracy, clarity of exposition, and consistency with our editorial norms. The keyboarded version with its commentary was then returned either to Donald Cheney or myself before being submitted to the contributor with further suggestions. The amended article as approved by the contributor was then returned for a final review before being sent to Cleveland for final corrections and storage. At this stage—and for considerably less than half of the total number of articles because of Cheney's willingness ever to do more than anyone could expect of him I was aided by William Blissett.

Despite this elaborate editorial procedure, however, the contributor alone is finally responsible for what is said, as the name below each entry is meant to testify. Kent Hieatt persuaded us early in our editing that our own views had no place at all in the encyclopaedia; and if we deserve any praise at all for our labors, it is for our constantly and painfully exercised forbearance. The usual rubric applies without exception: the opinions expressed in the articles are those of the contributors alone—and so are any errors or omissions, for which the editors bear no responsibility. Three of us even decided not to contribute any articles ourselves, not because we endorse the Groucho Marx principle that we would never contribute articles to a work that had us as editors but because editing itself has taken most of our time for most of a decade.

A.C.Hamilton

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Albert C.Labriola

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Donald J.McGinn

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T.D.MacLulich

Millar MacLure

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M.B.McNamee, SJ

John MacQueen

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YOUNG, R.V.
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born
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Book of Common Prayer
BL
British Library
BMC
British Museum Catalogue
c
circa; century
cf
compare
ch(s)
chapter(s)
comm ver
commendatory verses
comp
compiled by
d
died
ded
dedication
diss
dissertation
DNB
Dictionary of National Biography
ed(s)
edited by; edition(s); edition of
EETS
Early English Text Society
eg
for example

emb(s)
emblem(s)
Eng
English
enl
enlarged
ep(p)
epistle(s)
esp
especially
facs
facsimile
ff
following
fol(s)
folio(s)
fig(s)
figure(s)
fl
flourished
Fr
French
Ger
German
Gr
Greek
ie
that is
IE
Indo-European
illus
illustrated, illustrator
Ir
Irish
Ital
Italian
KJV
King James Version (Bible)
L, LL
Latin, Late Latin
Library CC
Library of Christian Classics
ME
Middle English
ms(s)
manuscript(s)
no(s)
number(s)
ns
new series
OE
Old English

OED
Oxford English Dictionary
OF
Old French
OI
Old Irish
ON
Old Norse
op
opus
os
old/original series
PGr
Patrologia grecae
P(P)
Page(s)
pl(s)
plate(s)
PLat
Patrologia latina
PRO
Public Record Office
pts
parts
r
recto
ref(s)
reference(s)
Ren
Renaissance
rev
revised
rpt
reprint(ed)
RSV
Revised Standard Version (Bible)
Rus
Russian
ser
series
sig(s)
signature(s)
sonn
sonnet
Span
Spanish
SP
State Papers
STC
Short Title Catalogue (rev ed)
STS
Scottish Text Society

sv(v)
sub verbo(verbi)
tr
translated by; translation
univ
university
v
verso
Var
Variorum edition
vol
volume

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DS 8
To…Howard
DS 9
To…Hunsdon
DS 10
To…Grey of Wilton
DS 11
To…Buckhurst
DS 12
To…Walsingham
DS 13
To…Norris
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A

Abessa, Corceca, Kirkrapine

These figures appear among the representatives of evil whom Una confronts after Redcrosse has deserted her and allied himself with Duessa. In merely sixteen stanzas (*FQ* I iii 10–25), they illustrate the richness Spenser achieves through superimposed allusions to scripture and to contemporary religious issues,—through deft placing of episodes, and through patterns of imagery that forcefully express themes central to *FQ* I.

By having Una wander in 'wildernesse and wastfull deserts' (iii 3), Spenser reinforces earlier suggestions that she represents the true church (i 4–5, 12–13; iii argument) and links her with the woman of Revelation 12, 'clothed with the sunne.' Protestant readers usually identified this luminous figure with the church fleeing from Antichrist to find safety in a place that symbolized her first habitation among gentiles (cf the Geneva gloss for Rev 12.6: 'The Church was removed from among the Jewes to the Gentiles, which were as a baren wildernes, and so it is persecuted to and fro'). In her meeting with Abessa and Corceca, Una's identity is clarified by contrast, not with outright irreligion, but with vices that parody true religion.

The full significance of this parody becomes evident through scriptural associations. When Abessa first appears, she is following a heavily traveled path at the foot of an ancient mountain. She carries a 'pot of water,' cannot 'heare, nor speake, nor understand,' and dwells in an eternally dark 'cotage small' with her mother, Corceca (iii 10–14). The road she follows and her dwelling in the wilderness identify Abessa as a literary descendant of those Israelites who, having proved faithless, failed to reach the Promised Land (Num 14.20–35). The water pot recalls a similar vessel carried by the Samaritan woman who confronts Christ in John 4.7–30; this woman's sexual promiscuity, unorthodox religion, and initial blindness to Christ's identity reveal a fleshly mind. Like her and like the erring Israelites, Abessa clings to the flesh, defined both as pleasures of the material world (iii 18) and as a religion that retains superficial features of true worship but pollutes it with idolatry and reduces it to a system of arid forms.

Abessa's deafness, muteness, and intellectual blindness also associate her with various New Testament figures whose sensory deficiencies declare their need for the grace that roots out sin and enables perception of spiritual truth. Yet Christ heals these biblical figures, and the Samaritan woman of John 4 gradually recognizes that she has met the Messiah. In contrast, Abessa flees in terror of Una, whose beauty manifests Christ's alluring grace, and her lion, here a symbol of Christ's awesome justice manifested in earthly executors of his will.

Abessa's biblical progenitors imply that she embodies reprobation, the condition of men to whom divine truth presents itself but who lack the grace to comprehend it. Interpreted most broadly, her name suggests Latin *abesse* 'absence or deficiency of being'—the long-established theological definition of evil. Appropriately, this representative of evil deficiency is the offspring of Corceca, a coinage derived from Paul's references to the 'foolish heart…ful of darkenes' (Rom 1.21), to the veiled 'hearts' of Jewish readers of the Law (2 Cor 3.15), and to the gentiles who have 'their cogitation darkened…because of the hardenes of their heart' (Eph 4.18).

These allusions indicate that both mother and daughter share the spiritual ignorance which is a major characteristic of evil figures throughout Book I. Their affinity with darkness recalls that of the monster Error (i 14, 16), foreshadows the mental vacuity of Ignaro (viii 30–4), and allows us to foresee the emphasis Spenser will give to education in faith in the house of Holiness (x, esp 18–20).

Corceca dramatizes the state of spiritual blindness by confining herself in 'eternall night,' fasting incessantly, and engaging in perpetual prayer (iii 12–14). Her blindness of heart, suggested by her name (L *cor* heart +*caecum* blind), engenders a religion of obsessive ritual acts devoid of the essential elements of faith and love. Corceca's devotions present an exaggerated instance of a recurring evil in Judeo-Christian religion, an evil manifest in the Pharisees and, according to contemporary Protestant polemics, in the religious orders of Roman Catholicism.

Hence, Abessa's name also suggests 'abbess.' As head of the parodic religious house that harbors Corceca and Kirkrapine, she reflects the major charges such as licentiousness and ignorance that Protestants brought against monks. More important, because of their isolation within imprisoning walls, monks and nuns were also said to neglect the charity God's law demands while seeking salvation through obedience to rules that needlessly elaborate that law. Their legalism was thought to foster spiritual arrogance by implying that salvation could be achieved through human merit rather than through faith alone.

This monastic presumption is expressed by the magical cast of Corceca's worship, obsessed with the mystically potent numbers three and nine. Monasticism was also thought to instill an excessive and irreligious dread because trust in merit and the resulting failure to trust in grace breed fear of divine justice. Accordingly, fear is the dominant emotion Abessa and Corceca display in the presence of God's emissaries.

These spiritual defects appear not only in Corceca and Abessa, but in the Red Cross Knight as well. Because Una meets Corceca and Abessa in his absence, their deficiencies serve most directly to emphasize her strengths. Faithfully seeking the knight who has become her enemy (iii 15, 21, 30), Una embodies fidelity—issuing in the charity that 'suffreth long,' 'seketh not her owne things,' and 'doeth never fall away' (I Cor 13.4–8). By placing this episode shortly after Redcrosse becomes companion to Duessa (ii 26–7), who is another, more dangerous figure of Pharisaic and Roman Catholic errors, Spenser hints that Corceca's and Abessa's faults are the ones into which Redcrosse has himself fallen. As Redcrosse descends toward his collapse in canto vii and his relapse in canto ix, their characteristics become increasingly dominant features of his own spiritual condition: fear of divine justice, forgetfulness of God's grace, and vain self-reliance.

Spenser endows even Kirkrapine, who is present for only five stanzas (iii 16–20), with meanings relevant to *FQ* I as a whole. Appearing under Aldeboran because this star 'causeth the destruction and hindrances of buildings…and begetteth discord' (Agrippa

Occult Philosophy, cited in Brooks-Davies 1977:39), he embodies various active consequences of Abessa's and Corceca's legalistic superstition. His chief features are turbulent violence, lechery, greed, and cunning.

Kirkrapine's violence makes him a symbol of the political force that often supports false religion and benefits from the superficial legitimacy it confers. His greater relatives in Book I include Sansfoy, the giant Orgoglio, and the Dragon which is symbolic epitome and metaphysical source of all the rest. Each of these evil figures owes something of its nature to the 'Kings of the earth' who indulge and abuse the Babylonian whore (Rev 17). Kirkrapine is like those scriptural ancestors in being Abessa's violent lover. He feeds 'her fat with feast of offerings' gained through sacrilegious thefts which deprive churches of means to aid the poor and of ornaments that dignify worship; his name, appropriately, denotes 'church robber.'

Because he gives his plunder to Abessa, acquires it by cunning as well as force, and operates 'when all men carelesse slept,' Kirkrapine represents, primarily, the preReformation plundering of the church in England by Rome. More specifically, he diverts revenue from 'Churches' to Abessa; that is, from the (ideally) preaching, socially active secular clergy, to the cloistered and (according to Protestants and reforming Catholics) invariably corrupt and self-indulgent regular clergy who dominated the spiritually somnolent past.

Using 'cunning sleights' Kirkrapine enters churches through the window and so associates himself with another scriptural ancestor, the 'thief and robber' of John 10, who is contrasted with Christ himself, the true shepherd and the true door. Prciestant authors often attacked monasteries for establishing themselves as markets of merits earned by the labors of the inmates and available for purchase by donors. Kirkrapine acts as agent of such an institution, 'blind Devotions mart' (iii argument).

Such diversions of church funds represent particular instances of a timeless evil, for Kirkrapine's scriptural lineage also includes the sons of Eli (I Sam 2.22, 29) who grew fat on offerings of first fruits. This timelessness suggests that the corruptions he embodies may also refer to Henry VIII's wholesale plundering of churches, abbeys, and monasteries, and to thefts committed by Elizabethan bishops and lay magnates. Although such implications are secondary, a number of scholars argue for their primacy on the grounds that Tudor laymen and bishops were often criticized for holding plural benefices, allowing sees and smaller cures to remain vacant, and by various other 'sleights' diverting church revenue to private uses (see Falls 1953, Kermode 1964–5, Nohrnberg 1976).

DARRYL J.GLESS

Brooks-Davies 1977:37–9, on Kirkrapine; Mother Mary Robert Falls 1953 'Spenser's Kirkrapine and the Elizabethans' *SP* 50:457–75; Darryl J.Gless 1979 *'Measure for Measure', the Law, and the Covenant* (Princeton) ch 2; Hamilton in *FQ* ed 1977 (notes to I iii 10–25); Horton 1978:146; Kermode 1964–5; Nohrnberg 1976:208, 218 n 293, on Kirkrapine; O'Connell 1977:50–1.

Acidale

A fountain in Greece, reported by Renaissance mythographers to be the haunt of the Graces (Boccaccio *Genealogia* 1.16, Giraldi *De deis gentium* 13). The name appears in *Epithalamion* 310 as 'the Acidalian brooke' where Spenser reports (on his own authority) that Maia bathed before Jove lay with her: the brook suggests the vernal and virginal freshness of the June bride (Maia =May). The poet's beloved is again presented as Acidalian in *FQ* VI x, where silver waves tumble at the foot of Mount Acidale (7). This stream, where nymphs bathe, may derive from the nameless brook in *SC, Aprill* 35–7, since it too is the site of Colin's poetic inspiration to celebrate a fourth Grace; in both instances, song is tuned 'to the waters fall.' Earlier, in *FQ* IV v 5, Venus is said to have left her cestus 'On *Acidalian* mount, where many an howre/She with the pleasant *Graces* wont to play.' Venus herself can be 'the Acidalian.'

The Acidale of *FQ* VI x is a culminating example of several related *topoi* of site, scene, scenario, and sanctuary found throughout the poem. (1) The *locus amoenus* or 'pleasant place' is a sensuously embellished refuge, resort, grove, glade, oasis, theater, island, or bower. The undertone is escapist, as the name suggests: *a+kēdos* 'without care' ('Ne ought there wanted…to banish bale… Therefore it rightly cleeped was mount *Acidale'* x 8; see Giraldi 1548:552). (2) A park or garden created by nature or an art of nature, preternaturally endowed with a full complement of representative species, and with an atemporal efflorescence or fruitfulness. Acidale includes 'a wood… In which all trees of honour stately stood,/And did all winter as in sommer bud' (6). (3) The scene of surprised or surreptitiously observed beauty or delectation: Cymochles in the Bower of Bliss (II v 28–34), Serena among the cannibals (VI viii 36–44), and Diana spied on by Faunus (VII vi 45–7). (4) The daemonologically charged and liminally fixed topography: a site whose shape is, as it were, cast by a spell, such as the circle made by Fradubio's tree, or the 'fairy ring' implied by the circular dance of Acidale's revelers. (5) The place of divine alignment: an earthly site oriented on an astronomically specific point or portal overhead, through which heavenly influence might pass, or on which the heavens turn, or a cynosure to be contemplated by an attuned mind. Examples are the New Jerusalem beyond the Mount of Contemplation, Venus' heavenly house overseeing the Garden of Adonis, the cell of the gods and heaven's gate over Arlo Hill in the *Cantos of Mutabilitie* (VII vi 37–9, vii 3–5, 45, 48), and Ariadne's stellar crown over the dance on Acidale.

The pleasance and park topoi link Acidale with the Garden of Adonis, pleasance and skeptophilic topoi with the Bower of Bliss. Skeptophilic, daemonological, and cosmographic topoi make for (6), the site of a hierophantic manifestation of the noumenon veiled by phenomena, such as Nature on Arlo Hill. Finally, Acidale is (7) the scene of a knight's instruction in (or initiation into) the mystery of his virtue. Because of its visionary disclosure, the Mount of Contemplation is a suggestive analogue. And because of the presentation and exposition of the symbols for Calidore's virtue—namely the Graces—Acidale stands for the educational or disciplinary institution (house, seminary, or shrine) where one typically finds the hero's official recognition, matriculation, or adoption by an alma mater. The general recognizability of Acidale in terms of topoi from the rest of the long poem is not irrelevant: the place is haunted not only by the fays, but also by the project of *The Faerie Queene* itself.

Various classical allusions, which enrich the Acidalian scenario mythographically, also analogize it to other parts of the poem. The allusions are polarized by two motifs: an epiphany or cynosure of divine beauty (for courtesy is an *aesthetic* of conduct), and a disturbance of divine harmony or agreement (courtesy is an art of making one's conduct agreeable to others). First is the analogy between the disruption of the Graces' dance by Calidore and the disrupt ion of Theseus' wedding by the Lapiths and Centaurs. With this we may compare the threatened nuptials of Florimell and Marinell, where the hundred knights stand in place of the *Cent*aurs, and Artegall like Hercules saves the day. Next there is the analogy between the exaltation of Colin's mistress and the stellification of Ariadne's wedding crown after her abandonment by Theseus to the satyrs. With this we may compare the revelation to the satyrs of the truth of the forsaken Una's beauty. Finally, there is the analogy between Calidore's immersion in the shepherds' world and the rustication of Paris on Mount Ida, where he sees the three goddesses (III ix 36; cf VI ix 36). With this we may compare Calidore seeing the three Graces on Mount Acidale (II vii 55; cf viii 6 for the Idaean goddesses and Graces). According to Colin (VI x 22), Jove begot the three Graces on the way home from the wedding of Thetis. That otherwise happy occasion was disrupted by the strife between the three goddesses; on his holiday Jove may have been reconceiving the three quarreling goddesses as the three harmonious Graces.

The Acidale-Ida analogy also invites us to compare the 104 Graces dancing on the Mount with the 104 authentic beauties competing for the prize at Satyrane's beauty contest in IV v—the belt Florimell acquired on Acidale (5). In Lucian's *Dialogues of the Gods* 20, Pallas insists that Paris judge Aphrodite without this prize's original, a love charm. Despite this handicap, the goddess of love prevails with 'partiall *Paris*' (*FQ* II vii 55), just as the false Florimell wins the chastity token, despite her inability to keep it on, and despite its being thought that Amoret 'should surely beare the bell away,' as Florimell once brought the belt away from Acidale (IV v 13, 5). On Acidale, the chastity of Colin's mistress is preeminent among her charms, and she 'above all other lasses beare[s] the bell' (VI x 26). If the belt is the bell, the bell may be the *ball,* the prize Venus bore away from Ida. As an acquired iconographical property, such a ball appears in the possession of Britomart. As an armed Venus who 'bore/The prayse of prowesse from them all away,' the martial maid is awarded the spoils of war, namely the prize beauty who wins 'beauties prize' in the subsequent contest (IV iv 48). Thus, in making his own belle one of the Graces from whom Venus herself borrows her vaunted gifts (VI x 15), Spenser returns the rhetoric in question to something like its original Acidalian-Idaean provenance.

The story of the rusticated Calidore also implies Idaean originals. His wrestling feats, his winning and awarding of crowns, his love affair with the local beauty and its timely fruit, and his defense of his pastoral hosts from marauders all conform to late-classical and medieval versions of Paris' sequestration in the countryside of Ida, before repatriation to Troy. Moreover, the traditional scene presented by the three goddesses is sometimes treated as a dream-vision. In Jean Lemaire de Belges' account of Paris' pastoral days, the sleeping subject also has a vision of many beautiful nymphs and fays who turn in flight upon his awakening; he chases and catches one of them, and begs to know their identity (*Les Illustrations de Gaule et singularites de Troye* 1.24). In Thomas Heywood's *Oenone and Paris,* Paris also views the fairies' merry round: Spenser has

Heywood's rhyme on *groom* and *broom,* the bagpipes' shrillness, shepherds dancing to fairy measures, local swains tuning their odes, and a Venus who is 'Acidalia' (52, 60, 66–8, 95).

Analogies between the gifts of the Idaean goddesses and of the Acidalian Graces also are pertinent here, especially gifts of fortune, body, and mind (*FQ* VI x 23; cf *Amoretti* 74). Jean Lemaire (1.35) cites the *Clementine Recognitions* (10.40) to the effect that Paris chose among the Venus of lust, the Pallas of courage, and the Juno of chastity. The identification of one of the Graces' aspects with virginity facilitates an interpretation of one triad into the other; Pallas herself was virginal. The three Graces of Juvenescence, Splendor, and Enjoyment thereby become the three virtues of Chastity, Beauty, and Love. In *Colin Clout* 464–71, Spenser praises his mistress as the union of all three, and adds a fourth Grace of 'peerlesse grace.' The celebration is restaged on Acidale, with the same modulation of the *dea certe* of *Aprill* ('surely a goddess') into the *dea quarta* (a 'fourth goddess,' eg, the new Diana of Peele's *Arraignment of Paris*).

An Idaean original for the matter of Troy compares instructively with a putative Acidalian source for the matter of Spenserian romance. With antecedents like the disappearing dance of the fairy-like ladies in Chaucer's *Wife of Bath's Tale* ('Vanysshed was this daunce, he nyste where' 991–6; cf 'vanisht…which way he never knew' *FQ* VI x 18), Calidore's vision reinvents Arthur's dream, thus realizing the foreconceit of Spenser's poem. Reappearing as the pastoralist of his original debut, the poet pipes in an Arcadia that his pastourelle fiction posits only to destroy. A potentially immodest self-introduction and querulous apologia turns out to be a self-effacing valedictory.

Besides Ida, two other source scenes from established poetic tradition inform the Acidalian scenario. Boiardo and Petrarch, resources already adopted and adapted by Spenser's more immediate predecessors, suggest Acidale's foreconceit in scenes that point us towards these poets' own great inventions. The knight who stumbles on his own allegorical situation at a daemonological site is a convention of chivalric romance and a favorite device of Boiardo's *Orlando innamorato*. At the time Calidore sees the Graces, he has fallen under the spell of love and beauty. Boiardo formalizes the enchantment satirically when he has the knight Ranaldo drink of the fount of disdain, while having the beautiful Angelica drink of the fount of love; spying Ranaldo asleep, the bewitched lady showers the knight with flower petals, but he is unmoved by this pass and flees her advances (1.3.32–50). At great remove from this occasion, Ranaldo is brought to his senses. Sleeping where he once rejected the lady, the kill-courtesy is now tormented by Cupid and the revengeful Graces. Flower-pelted by these unkindly ones, he thinks better of his former offense to love, drinks of its fount, and goes off in search of Angelica's grace and favor (2.15.43–63). Acidale also shows the Graces throwing flowers where an expression of love is meant, a knight who has offended the Graces, a lover confronting occasion in allegorical form, and the romance motors of attraction or infatuation and repulsion or disenchantment. Spenser's scene shares with Boiardo the cross-cultural encounter of mortal and goddess, knight and nymph, human and fairy, champion and damozel, Celtic and classical, Hobgoblin and Apollo.

In his first commendatory sonnet ('Vision'), Raleigh announced that the Graces had deserted Petrarch's tomb for the train of Spenser's Fairy Queen. If so, they should be found on Acidale. In Petrarch's *Bucolicum carmen* 3 and 10, the poet is allegorically depicted as surprising the scene of his own inspiration. His shepherd persona discovers

maidens dancing around a laurel deep in the forest; catching sight of the intruder, they invite him to gaze at their immortal faces. Then they bestow on him a laurel branch and send him back to his Daphne to tell her that he has seen the Muses—never beheld by the vulgar—dancing on the sacred hill where the Pegasan fountain gushes, singing chorally as each moved in her circle. With such a story he can hope to supplant Apollo as Daphne's lover. Spenser's reinvocation of this scene of vocation makes a point of his service to Petrarchism, or its service to the Fairy Queen. He rescues the Petrarchan métier from Elizabethan poetasters while maintaining their mythological conceits (see Watson *Hekatompathia* 33, Barnabe Barnes *Parthenophil and Parthenophe* 13; cf VI x 13, 26). Spenser no less than Petrarch implies the poet's authority to confer his laurels on himself. The inaugural scene for Petrarch's calling provides the valedictory for Spenser's: the poet who wins his laurels from others at the outset must nonetheless award them to himself in the dénouement.

Celebrating the poet's own poetry, Acidale's Colin also celebrates his mistress-muse in place of Venus, and so implies the Renaissance celebration of beauty itself. There are two related Acidalian topoi with which a poet praised the beauty of the mistress: the incomparability topos and the syncretic topos. The mistress would have won the judgment of Paris over the three original rivals; and being more or less beyond compare, she exhibits the goddesses' gifts as her graces. She is a pantheon, a Pandora ('all-gifts'), or Pasithea (the fourth 'all-divine' Grace, whom Giraldi says combines the other three; 1548:577). Thus when Ariosto comes to the topic of a beauty who would have shamed the three contesting goddesses, he follows it with the topic of a picture painted by Zeuxis, who chose five girls out of many as models for a single picture of Helen or Venus (*Orlando furioso* 11.70–1). Paris, confronted with a vision of three beauties, chooses among them, taking the part of the one representing the sensual part. Zeuxis, conversely, chose several models and combined their best parts to form the unified ideal of beauty—and to give back to Venus what various beauties had borrowed from her. Spenser cites the Zeuxian procedure (attributing it to Apelles) both at Satyrane's beauty contest (IV v 12) and in the final dedicatory sonnet To all the gratious and beautifull Ladies in the Court.' Thus the Acidalian Calidore is an unwitting Paris, surprised by beauty and a choice of lives; Colin is an unwitting Zeuxis, composing a beautiful unity from a multeity. The poet combines what the cannibals in this legend mentally divide: their fantasies each turn on the naked Serena's separate parts. Where the cannibal fetishistically honors one part of one woman, Calidore honors one woman of exceptional parts. But Colin honors one ideal embodiment in whom the beauties of many women are collected, as the true lover of beauty is bound to do, according to the culminating speech of Castiglione's *Courtier* (ed 1928:317–18).

Castiglione's spokesman is referring to this conceptualization of beauty when he says that 'Beautie is the true monument and spoile of the victory of the soule' (p 311). In the Bower, Cymochles fed his eye on 'spoyle of beautie' (II v 34). Regarding Pastorella, Calidore does the same thing (VI ix 12, 26). The cannibals, 'which did live/Of stealth and spoile,' come upon their sleeping beauty while they 'seeke for booty,' and the brigands are likewise 'fed on spoile and booty' (viii 35–6, x 39). Acidale is the true form of what all these lovers of beauty are seeking to possess.

If we could see virtue we would love it, according to Sidney's *Defence,* whose poet may hope to 'steal to see the form of goodness (which seen [men] cannot but love) ere

themselves be aware' (ed 1973b:93). Plato taught that every human soul has contemplated true being, but not every soul recalls this very clearly. Earthly likenesses of justice and temperance lack luster; with beauty the case is different. Wisdom one cannot see by the sense of sight—our desire for her had been passionate if we could. But for beauty alone is it ordained to be manifest to sense—the loveliest form of them all (*Phaedrus* 249D-50D after Hackforth tr). Acidale symbolizes the ultimate realization of the poet's will to give visible form to the ideate, and to disclose its beauty and attraction.

The form in question is a double circle about a central 'one,' the form of the Plotinian and Ficinian metaphysical universe, which sets the mental cosmos of soul in rotation about mind centered on the true and beautiful One at their center and as their source. Neoplatonic images of such a cosmic encirclement of a wellspring as a dance are found in Synesius' first hymn and Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* (3 metrum 9). Hence the importance of Ariadne's heavenly crown for Acidale. The use of this crown image to exemplify an encircling dance of nymphs footing it featly on the grassy ground occurs in Thomas Lodge's *Scyllaes Metamorphosis* II. But the figure of a choric round dance for the heavenly motions goes back to the choruses of the Athenian drama (eg, Euripides *Ion* 1074–86) and Plato's *Timaeus* 40c and *Epinomis* 982E. Spenser's figure is particularly anticipated in the triple zodiacal ring in Dante's heaven of the sun, where Dante says that we must reposition Ariadne's crown on the celestial pole to conceive his vision (*Paradiso* 13.1–27). The need to make Spenser's figure the focus of the same rotation suggests a similar transcending of the actualities of the physical universe in favor of the poetic or idealist heterocosm 'deepe within the mynd' (VI proem 5).

The link between Ariadne and the dance is originally from Homer (*Iliad* 15.590–2): the notable thing Daedalus built was not a labyrinth, but a dance floor for Ariadne. Later tradition (eg, Plutarch *Life of Theseus* 21) reports that when the hero led the youths out of the labyrinth he taught them a dance. Something like this happens to Spenser's reader, who enters *The Faerie Queene* by way of the labyrinthine Wood of Error, and leaves it by way of the circular configuration of the dance on Acidale: Spenser's poem is a mighty maze, but not without a choreographic plan. At the outset, his legends may suggest the difficulty of undertaking something new, of comprehending something we have not read. Near the beginning of his quest, the quester will be confronted with some sort of riddle; near the end, conversely, he will break some sort of spell. Calidore begins, he says, 'to tread an endlesse trace, withouten guyde,/Or good direction, how to enter in' (VI i 6), and his ending of the revels on Acidale signals the corresponding closure—the breaking of the dance (x II). *The Faerie Queene* also breaks off, but its Acidalian beauty is incapable of being forgotten. Because of this beauty, we may penetrate the poem's darkest riddles, and yet its spell remains unbro- ken.

JAMES NOHRNBERG

Acrasia

Her destructive passion first revealed in *FQ* II i, her Bower and damsels described in canto v, her wantonness anticipated by her servant Phaedria in canto vi, and finally

encountered in canto xii, Acrasia is the enchantress who is the great enemy of temperance. She has caused the death of Mortdant, the consequent death of Amavia, and the blood-stained hands of Ruddymane; Guyon therefore sets out on his quest to deprive her of her powers. After he and the Palmer travel through her Bower of Bliss, resisting its enchantments, they find her languishing on a bed of roses, with her lover Verdant sleeping with his head in her lap. Guyon entraps her in the Palmer's 'subtile net' (as Vulcan entraps Venus and Mars; see Ovid *Metamorphoses* 4.171–84), then binds her in 'chaines of adamant' (xii 81–2). He destroys her Bower completely and restores her lovers to their human forms from the bestial forms they had assumed under her enchantment (except for Grill, who chooses to remain a beast).

Her name derives from the medieval Latin *acrasia,* which combines Greek *acrāsiā* 'badly mixed quality' and *acrasia* 'incontinence' (*OED*—the latter sense analyzed in some detail in Aristotle *Nicomachean Ethics* 7). She is the antithesis of the temperate body revealed in the castle of Alma (ix), and, as Joseph Wybarne noted in 1609, 'each part of the body hath some disease sent from the Witch *Acrasia,* which is intemperance' (*Sp All* p 119). Her garden and the Bower of Bliss are patterned after Tasso's paradisal garden of the enchantress Armida (*Gerusalemme liberata* 15–16), who is identified as the concupiscible faculty of the soul, an emblem of libido, and (as with Guyon and the Palmer) successfully resisted by the two knights who come to rescue Rinaldo. Her fountain has a prototype in the fountain of Acratia (concupiscence) in Trissino's *Italia liberata*. The description of Acrasia herself owes much to *Gerusalemme liberata* 16.18 except for the translucent veil that covers her lower body. This detail was probably recalled from Chaucer's description of Venus in the garden of love (*Parliament of Fowls* 267–73); Chaucer in turn echoes Boccaccio's *Teseida*. Acrasia first appears as a seductress in the early tablet of Cebes (Steadman 1960). The classical model for her and many of the witches named above is Homer's Circe (*Odyssey* 10), whose poisoned cup changes men into beasts. In Homer, Odysseus receives from Hermes the herb moly (identified by early commentators as reason or wisdom) as an antidote; rather than succumb to her charms, he forces Circe to obey him and restore his transformed men to human shape.

Guyon first hears of Acrasia's mischief from the dying Amavia, who warns that 'Her blisse is all in pleasure and delight,/Wherewith she makes her lovers drunken mad' (i 52); in this state they become victims of her witchcraft. Mortdant had been poisoned by 'drugs of foule intemperance' (54); he is finally killed after escaping from her when he drinks from her enchanted cup (cf Duessa's cup at I viii 14, and its biblical source, the cup of the Whore of Babylon which contains 'the wine of the wrath of her fornication' in Rev 18.3, 6). The words on her cup say that death must follow if its contents are mixed with pure water from the fountain of the chaste nymph. When Mortdant drinks deeply, he falls dead.

This seems to mean that the internal shock of so much cold water causes hypothermia and death. But in terms of *psycho-machia,* both Mortdant (death-giving) and Amavia (love of life) are internal impulses of the soul. Long indulgence of unrestrained appetites finally disillusions a person and destroys any wish to live, leading to suicide unless evil passions are subjected to the restraining hand of temperance. Guyon (temperance) and the Palmer (reason) provide such restraint. They do not kill Acrasia (the concupiscible faculty) but subject her to the bonds of moderation. She loses her power to destroy the

soul when controlled by these bonds. Of those lovers who have tasted her charms, only Verdant seems to recover, and then only after Guyon applies 'counsell sage'; the others are not happy to be saved, some because of their shame for having been discovered, others because they are angry to see Acrasia bound. The implication is that temperance is hard to attain partly because few want it. Spenser's test is to convey a sense of the artificiality, passiveness, and obsessiveness of the intemperate spirit, while at the same time recognizing and depicting its considerable charms.

Unlike other enchantresses in *The Faerie Queene,* Acrasia never speaks. Her wiles are exercised through her physical beauty and her artfully sensuous environment. The song of the rose (xii 74–5), so exquisite an image of her charms, is not sung by her but by a distant 'some one,' apparently one of the 'lascivious boyes' who with 'Many faire Ladies' make up her court. Wrapped in chains and deprived of her environment by Guyon, she loses her power. At III i 2, she is sent to Gloriana's court 'With a strong gard'; yet this retinue is not to prevent her escaping so much as 'all reskew to prevent,' that is, to prevent others from freeing her in order to be bound by her. Her sensuality is marked by passivity rather than any strong passion, in contrast with the energy and action required of the temperate spirit.

JOHN E.HANKINS

Actaeon

Spenser's use of the Actaeon myth in *The Faerie Queene,* though not extensive, aptly illustrates the subtle relation between a learned Renaissance poem and its literary context. His chief model is Ovid, whose account provides the narrative and descriptive details which he transforms, adapts, and reinterprets: Diana's grotto in Gargaphie, her bathing with her maids, Actaeon's coming upon her naked, her wrath, his transformation into a stag, and his death by his own hounds (*Metamorphoses* 3.138–252).

(See **Actaeon** Fig 1.)

Spenser's most extended treatment of the myth occurs in *FQ* VII vi, where Faunus' spying on the naked Diana and his subsequent punishment recall Ovid's story. His avowed purpose here is to explain the presence of wolves and thieves in Ireland, but the episode is more than an oblique comment on the political conditions there. Faunus' intrusion on Diana and her abandonment of Arlo Hill are treated with deft irony and contrasted to Mutabilitie's assault on Cynthia, which carries overtones of Satan's rebellion and the Fall. Faunus' crime is similarly perpetrated against Diana, but being only an act of voyeurism, it appears harmless and ludicrous by comparison. Yet Faunus resembles Mutabilitie: like her he overreaches, and he corrupts the nymph Molanna with 'Queene-apples' and 'red Cherries' emblematic of the Fall (43). While her presumption is on a cosmic scale and is associated with the introduction of sin and death into the world, his is set in a pastoral milieu and related to the degeneration of the natural instincts into concupiscence.

In addition to parodying Mutabilitie's revolt, the Faunus episode also parodies Ovid, partly because Faunus is a much cruder character than Ovid's Actaeon; half man and half

goat, he is clearly related to Pan. He is a 'lover of fleeing nymphs' according to Horace (*Odes* 3.18), and he is first mentioned in *The Faerie Queene* as chasing a nymph who is rescued and metamorphosed by Diana (II ii 7). In the *Cantos of Mutabili-tie,* his animal lusts again get the better of him; his reaction on seeing Diana naked is an indiscreet guffaw 'for great joy of somewhat he did spy' (VII vi 46). Such wantonness distinguishes him from Ovid's Actaeon, who stumbles upon Diana by accident and is explicitly acquitted of any designs on her; Faunus by contrast is a deliberate voyeur. Spenser's deviation from Ovid on this point, though contributing to the parodic effect, is not unprecedented, since most medieval and Renaissance commentators claimed that Actaeon actively obtruded himself on Diana.

These commentators interpreted the myth in economic terms as unrewarded liberality (the dogs fed by Actaeon are ungrateful servants), in political terms as excessive curiosity (Actaeon tries to pry into the secrets of his superiors), and in moral terms as emblematic of sensual passion (Actaeon's dogs are his emotions which destroy him). The last of these interpretations is especially relevant to Faunus, for the 'conceit' which this foolish faun 'profest' to his sorrow links him to other literary texts where the figure of Actaeon is hounded by impulses ranging from simple concupiscence to spiritualized amatory suffering of the kind described by sonneteers from Petrarch to Daniel. Moreover, there are important differences between the conclusions of Spenser's tale and Ovid's: unlike Actaeon who, as a stag, is killed by his own hounds, Faunus is clad in a deerskin (cf Conti *Mythologiae* 6.24) and then only pursued by Diana's hounds, for The Woodgods breed…for ever live.' The Faunus-Diana episode is a playful conflation of three tales from the *Metamorphoses* (those of Actaeon, the brook Alpheus' union with the nymph Arethusa in 5.577–641, and Diana's banishment of her maid Callisto in 2.463–5) with *Fasti* 2.267–58, where Faunus tries to rape Omphale, fails, and is ridiculed. Spenser creates something new; yet the relevance of the Actaeon myth is central and indisputable (it is mentioned at VII vi 45), and there is no need to look for a source in *Daphnis and Chloe*.

Similarly, Calidore's vision of the Graces on Mount Acidale borrows and transforms motifs from the Actaeon myth: the paradisal character of the two places (one the haunt of Diana, the other of Venus), Calidore's spying and imprudent intrusion, and the Graces' abandonment of Mount Acidale (which parallels Diana's leaving Arlo Hill). There is no explicit verbal connection with Ovid, however, and the relevance of the myth to the Mount Acidale episode is indirect at best. In contrast, Spenser's account of Venus' intrusion upon Diana (III vi 17–19) borrows directly from Ovid to describe Diana's grotto and her attendant nymphs. The whole scene is rich in irony, as the goddess of love looks for her fugitive son among Diana's chaste attendants. Again Spenser transforms his classical source, for the outcome of Venus' intrusion, unlike that of Actaeon's, is propitious: Venus and Diana are reconciled, and there is no actual or figurative death.

In addition to narrative and descriptive motifs, Spenser borrows an important theme from Ovid's description of Diana's grotto: 'Nature by her own cunning had imitated art' (*Met* 3.158–9). This theme is integral to Renaissance treatments of the *locus amoenus* and is often associated with the contest between nature and art, as in II v 29, xii 59, and III vi 44. Sometimes the connection with Ovid is striking; sometimes it seems that associations derived from the Actaeon passage have begun to lead a life of their own. In II iii 20–42, where Belphoebe and Braggadocchio meet, there are similarities to Ovid's text: a

beautiful lady, described in sonneteer's language and accoutred as a huntress, is spied on by a rash beholder. Belphoebe is an embodiment of Diana's chastity; the poet does not know 'whether art it were, or heedlesse hap' that flowers entwine with her hair; finally, Braggadocchio's assault (like Faunus') results in flight, though this time it is Belphoebe who flees and not the male intruder. Like Spenser's other allusions to the Actaeon myth, the scene's transformation of earlier texts contributes to the poem's analysis of love and temperance, nature and art.

LARS-HÅKAN SVENSSON

Barkan 1980; Walter R.Davis 1962 'Actaeon in Arcadia' *SEL* 2:95–110; Doyle 1973; Friedmann 1966; Hawkins 1961; Holahan 1976; R.N. Ringler 1965–6; Svensson 1980:68–91.

Adicia, Souldan

In *FQ* v viii, Arthur and Artegall rescue Samient from pagan knights, then mistakenly fight each other. Samient's name may derive from ME *sam* (together) because she is the occasion for the two knights' meeting and because she seeks 'finall peace and faire attonement' (21). She says that her queen, Mercilla, has sent her on an embassy to the hostile Adicia (Gr *adikia* injustice), who with her husband, the Souldan (a variant of *sultan*), has tried to subvert the 'Crowne and dignity' of Mercilla's reign. Artegall dons the armor of one of Adicia's slain knights and gains entrance to her castle by pretending to bring Samient as a captive. Arthur challenges the Souldan, defeats him, and with Artegall's help takes the castle. Adicia flees to the woods, where she is transformed into a 'Tygre.'

This canto expands the scope of Book v as the two knights join to attack injustice on an international scale. Their mistaken battle ends in a standoff because they are equal; like Arthur, Artegall (*Arth*+Fr *égal* equal) incorporates all the virtues (a comprehensiveness attributed to justice since Aristotle). The Souldan suggests the purported despotism of Muslim rulers, and in the 'great wrongs' (viii 24) he inflicts through Adicia, he anticipates Grantorto, the 'great wrong' of canto xii. His maneating horses and raging wife represent qualities of an irrationally violent tyrant.

Adicia seems in part the idea of injustice and the Souldan its practical consequences. (A similar symbiotic pairing is that of Pollente and his daughter Munera in v ii.) Mercilla's negotiating with Adicia and not with her husband indicates the antithetical relation between justice and injustice. Adicia's animal savagery suggests a fundamental principle of injustice in fallen nature, in contrast to the merciful justice of redeemed humanity; images of pagan and Christian monarchy are similarly contrasted in v viii and ix. After Arthur overthrows her lord, the animal imagery associated with Adicia intensifies: she is likened to 'an enraged cow' and 'a mad bytch' before her metamorphosis into a tigress. She appears as a political variant of the Terrible Mother,' not unlike Shakespeare's savage Queen Margaret (a 'tiger's heart wrapp'd in a woman's

hide' *3 Henry VI* I iv 137; see Cirlot 1962 sv 'Mother,' Jung 1956:179–82). Her survival after defeat does not mean that Arthur and Artegall have failed, only that the principle she represents cannot be driven from this world.

Upton first noted in Arthur's fight with the Souldan an allusion to England's victory over Philip II and the Spanish Armada (*Var* 5:226–8). The Souldan's 'Swearing, and banning most blasphemously' (28) refers to Catholic cursing and excommunication of English Protestants. More specific attributes of the Souldan's chariot suggest the Armada: the height of the chariot reminds the reader of the high turrets, and the unwieldiness of his machine recalls the oversized Spanish ships so easily outmaneuvered 'with incredible Celerity and Nimbleness' by English ships (Camden, in the *Annals* for 1588, ed 1970:320), just as Arthur moves about and evades the Souldan. The 'yron wheeles and hookes' are common attributes of ancient chariots of war (see Upton's note to stanza 41 in *Var* 5:230, and cf the invaders' 'thre hundreth charets set with hookes' in 2 Macc 13.2); they enforce the image of the Souldan's cruelty while recalling images of Spanish instruments of torture or perhaps even the hooks on the sides of the landing craft prepared by the Duke of Parma (see Camden *Annals* for 1588, ed 1970:311). The light from Arthur's shield suggests the blinding action of grace by alluding to the English fire ships and the providential intervention that finally defeated the Armada.

(See **Adicia** Fig 1.)

A further historical reference is found in the simile comparing the Souldan's horses to Phaethon's (40). Philip II's well-known impresa was a picture of Apollo with the words *I am illustrabit omnia* (now he will illuminate all things); Spenser has turned Philip's Apollo into Phaethon, unable to control his horses (Graziani 1964b). Like Phaethon, who attempted to usurp the position of Apollo, god of justice, and was destroyed, the Souldan (whose name suggest a pun on *sol* 'sun'+*dan* 'master') is felled by Arthur, the true sun of justice he thought to control.

Furthermore, the image of Phaethon suggests the pagan aspect of the Souldan, who is compared to Diomedes (31) and to Hippolytus (43). Like the Phaethon image, each of these comparisons has a special force. For instance, in the comparison of the Souldan to Diomedes, Arthur is implicitly likened to Hercules who overcame Diomedes and thereby achieved a Victory over the tyrants of this world' (Dunseath 1968:193, following Bersuire 1509: fol 69v 'diomedes significat mundi tyrannos'). Arthur's rage at the Souldan (35) may be the noble madness or wrath expected of the Herculean hero.

In his Herculean victory over the Souldan, Arthur reenacts his victory over Orgoglio in Book I viii. Other correspondences between the eighth cantos of *FQ* I and v bear noting: in both battles, the special hero of the book is inside the castle; a virgin (Una, Samient) and her female nemesis (Duessa, Adicia) witness the battle; Arthur empties the castle; the villainess flees into the wilderness. Such parallels indicate a symmetry between the private and public virtues of the two books. The Souldan extends Orgoglio's pride into the body politic, his elevation in the chariot indicating overreaching pride. He embodies the lust for power that can tempt any prince, a lust that Spenser calls idolatry (19), recalling the idolatry of Orgoglio's castle (I viii 35).

RICHARD F.HARDIN

Aptekar 1969; Cirlot 1962; Fletcher 1971; Jung 1956 *Symbols of Transformation* vol 5 in ed 1953–79; *FQ* ed 1977.

Adonis, gardens of

In the ancient cult of Adonis, the death of the young vegetation god was ritually mourned in late summer at the so-called Adonia; urns of rapidly blossoming and wilting flowers or herbs, known as gardens of Adonis, were placed on his shrine. These became a proverbial expression for any rapid growth (and decay). Plato uses them as a symbol of the frivolity of those who write down their ideas and opposes them to the serious cultivation of philosophy by those who engage in spoken dialogue (*Phaedrus* 276–7). Pliny the Elder's remark that the gardens of kings Adonis and Alcinous were celebrated in antiquity led to the idea that there was an actual Garden of Adonis (*Natural History* 19.19).

In the Renaissance, the gardens of Adonis flourished anew, sometimes in guises that left their classical prototypes obscured. Pliny's Garden of Adonis was often regarded as a version of the earthly paradise (Adon and Eden were thought to be etymologically connected) and at times fused with the ephemeral gardens of the ancient religious festivals. Justus Lipsius, for example, advises the reader of his *De constantia* (1584; Eng tr 1594), 'Looke into the holie Scripture, and you shall see that gardens had their beginning with the world, God himself appointing the first man his habitation therein, as the seate of a blessed and happie life. In prophane writers the gardens of Adonis, of Alcinous, Tantalus, and the Hesperides are grown into fables and common proverbes' (ed 1939:13). The sixteenth-century reader would have found the nonscriptural gardens treated in a number of mythological handbooks; for example, Conti's entry on Adonis typically covers a wide range of topics from literature and history to proverb lore (*Mythologiae* 5.16). In the *Adages* (1.1.4), Erasmus cites many classical sources of the gardens of Adonis, and describes them as denoting brief and trivial pleasures. In *The Praise of Folly,* he likens the Fortunate Isles where Folly was born to gardens of Adonis. In his commentary on Plato's *Phaedrus,* Ficino treats the gardens as mere metaphor, an example of frivolous and fruitless play, though he adds that writing is the most beautiful of games (M.J.B.Allen in Ficino ed 1981:213). Shakespeare gives the proverbial gardens a positive and seemingly untraditional twist in the Dauphin's words to Joan of Arc, 'Thy promises are like Adonis' garden, /That one day bloom'd and fruitful were the next' (*1 Henry VI* I vi 6–7). For Jonson, the gardens are similarly ideal places of the poetic imagination and function as hyperbolic courtly compliment (eg, *Every Man Out of His Humor* 4.8).

The gardens of Adonis are also referred to in Greek pastoral elegy, particularly Theocritus' Idyll 15, The Women at the Adonis-Festival' (cited in Conti 5.16), where the Adonia is a living ritual celebrating the sacred drama of love, death, and anticipated resurrection enacted by Adonis and his consort Aphrodite. With its mythic-elegiac pattern and feminine ambience, the idyll seems a remarkable foreshadowing of some of the central motifs of *FQ* III.

Spenser refers three times to gardens of Adonis: at *FQ* II x 71, *Colin Clout* 804, and in the argument to *FQ* III vi. The elaborate account that follows this last reference, however, describes a single Garden of Adonis. In using both the plural and singular, Spenser clearly means to call up the idea of the cultic and proverbial gardens and to fuse these with the idea of an earthly paradise. All of Spenser's gardens of Adonis have at least this much in common: they are places of origin. In the first, the lone Elf finds his ideal female

or Fay, ‘Of whom all *Faeryes* spring, and fetch their lignage right.’ In the second, Cupid ‘his owne perfection wrought’ so that shortly he ‘was of all the Gods the first.’ In the third, most comprehensively, ‘there is the first seminarie/Of all things, that are borne to live and die’ where Amoret is ‘trained up in true feminitee’ until, like Cupid, she ‘to perfect ripenesse grew’ (III vi 30, 51–2).

In *Colin Clout,* Colin refers to the gardens of Adonis when he tells his fellow shepherds the philosophic myth of the origin and power of love: ‘For him the greatest of the Gods we deeme,/Borne without Syre or couples, of one kynd,/For *Venus* selfe doth soly couples seeme,/Both male and female, through commixture joynd,/So pure and spotlesse *Cupid* forth she brought,/And in the gardens of *Adonis* nurst:/Where growing, he his owne perfection wrought’ (799–805). Cupid’s ‘virgin birth’ from the hermaphroditic Venus apparently signifies the spontaneous growth of a cosmic eros, love in its widest, most impersonal definition as the mutual attraction of things animate and inanimate. In the gardens of Adonis, this eros becomes more than unconscious attraction: it becomes personified. As memorials to the dead or dying god, the gardens at the same time anticipate his rebirth: naturalistically and ritualistically they affirm the repetition that is manifest in the annual cycle of vegetation and the succession of generations of living things. In the terms of Colin’s Platonic myth-making, it is right that Eros should reach his perfection in these gardens, because there he learns to *remember* and ‘see’ the lineaments of divine beauty even when its outward manifestation decays.

The Cupid of the gardens of Adonis, Colin insists, is the love god of the shepherds, not of the court. One reason could be that the gardens represent a kind of elegiac epitome of a shepherds’ calendar, so that the love that is nursed and ripens there shares in the pastoral idea of care for persons, animals, and things, because of their physical and metaphysical frailty. As a philosophical counterpoise to the idea of the court, therefore, the gardens of Adonis bear on the central question of *Colin Clout,* the possibility of establishing ‘home’ in a place of exile, one comparable to the ‘paradise within’ with which the angel Michael seeks to console another about to be exiled at the end of *Paradise Lost*.

At *FQ* II x 70–3, the gardens of Adonis appear as part of a myth of poetic creation; they seem to be a prototype of what Spenser calls Fairyland, the imaginary space created and peopled by the poet’s imagination. According to the book Guyon reads in the castle of Alma, Prometheus created a man he called Elf, ‘the first authour of all Elfin kind:/Who wandring through the world with wearie feet,/Did in the gardins of *Adonis* find/A goodly creature, whom he deemd in mind/To be no earthly wight, but either Spright,/Or Angell, th’authour of all woman kind;/Therefore a *Fay* he her according hight,/Of whom all *Faeryes* spring.’ The Spenserian poet, then, is part Prometheus and part Elf—both a heaven-defying secondary creator punished for his insolence and an otherworldly displaced person wandering through the world until he unexpectedly arrives at a privileged place or moment (in the gardens of Adonis the two are the same) where he ‘finds’ his ideal creature who becomes the source of the Fairy lineage, that is, of his invention. His serendipity recalls Chaucer’s ironic self-portrait, Sir Thopas, who rides off to find his own ‘elf-queene’ in the ‘contree of Fairye’ but gets no further than a fight with the three-headed giant Olifaunt (*Sir Thopas* in *CT* VII 788, 802, 808, 842). Spenser’s luckier or more ambitious Elf has an Elfant among his descendants, as well as *‘Elfar,* who two brethren gyants kild,/The one of which had two heads, th’other three’ (II x 73).

By such indirections, Spenser acknowledges his 'elvyssh' poetic father (prologue to *Sir Thopas*).

The Fairy lineage that Guyon's book details is based largely on a series of puns, jokes, and rhetorical variations on the name Elf. At least in one of its dimensions, Spenser seems to hint, his fiction results from verbal exuberance or free play that will disconcert readers looking only for a serious mimesis of the worlds of history and nature. His gardens of Adonis may thus be regarded as a defense of the frivolous verbal play that Socrates, using the same image, condemns in the *Phaedrus*.

In *FQ* III vi, the way to the Garden of Adonis consists of another allegory of the genesis of the Fairy fiction, but this time in terms of a contrast between an original, harmonious state of nature and contrasting tendencies that threaten to disrupt this harmony. The canto begins with the story of twins conceived through spontaneous generation by Chrysogone ('golden birth'), herself daughter of the fairy Amphisa ('both natures'). For these Venus figures, reproduction is an untroubled, automatic affair without need of men; but this paradisal state of affairs is contradicted by Chrysogone's shame and bewilderment at her unplanned pregnancy and by Venus' anxious pursuit of her son Cupid. By running away from his mother's 'blisfull bowre of joy above,' Cupid shows that in the very bosom of a happy, self-sufficient nature there is the urge toward fission, individuation, and a separate destiny.

In her search for Cupid, Venus is joined by Diana; when they find the newborn twins in the wilderness, each takes one of the babes and names her. The goddesses here become representatives of Renaissance or Spenserian didacticism. Diana has her babe 'upbrought in perfect Maydenhed,/And of her selfe her name *Belphoebe* red'; Venus takes hers to the Garden of Adonis To be upbrought in goodly womanhed,/And in her litle loves stead, which was strayd,/Her *Amoretta* cald, to comfort her dismayd' (28). Without knowing it, Venus and Diana act out the educational project that is *The Faerie Queene:* the attempt to fashion a 'noble person.' Chrysogone's babes are the raw material to be so fashioned.

Venus' 'joyous Paradize,/Where most she wonnes, when she on earth does dwel,' has none of the features we might expect for the nursery and education of Amoret. The image is complex, heterogeneous, and difficult if not impossible to visualize as a single entity. The description alternates disconcertingly between the vividly concrete and the highly generalized or abstract. Just when the garden seems to be a definite place with a distinct topography, it fades into the no-place of a conceptual scheme, only to reappear later as an actual location. This alternation looks like Spenser's way of dramatizing the ever-problematic relationship between image and idea that his allegorical epic has undertaken to explore.

It is the Garden of Adonis as philosophical idea, 'the first seminarie/Of all things, that are borne to live and die' (30), that has received most attention in twentieth-century criticism. The principal concern has been to determine which conceptual system—Aristotelian, Platonic, Neoplatonic, Augustinian, to mention the chief ones—best accounts for the view of nature projected in the Garden. Discussion of this question has by no means ended, but in recent decades other questions have moved to the forefront. What kind of image or myth is the Garden of Adonis? What is its relation to other settings in *The Faerie Queene,* like the Bower of Bliss (II xii) or Mount Acidale (VI x)? How is it related to the narrative fiction and the main themes of Book III?

Despite the often illuminating responses to such questions, the enigma of Spenser's Garden remains largely intact. Perhaps it is one of those complex images, like Keats' Grecian urn, that is meant to tease us out of thought. Alternatively, it may be that our understanding of the Garden will advance again once its 'philosophy' and its symbolism are analyzed together. For example, the 'thousand thousand naked babes' waiting to be clothed before they leave the Garden may be 'seminal reasons' or Vegetal souls' (Milne 1973); but one must also consider their bearing on the Garden's narrativedramatic functions in Book III.

C.S.Lewis' idea of an 'allegorical core' in each book of *The Faerie Queene,* proposed half a century ago, still seems eminently useful for the Garden of Adonis. His suggestion—that the allegorical core 'shows us the Form of the virtue…not only in its transcendental unity…also "becoming Many in the world of phenomena'" (1936:334)—ascribes an excessively Platonist poetics to *The Faerie Queene,* but is valuable for its insistence on the connection between the core and the surrounding narrative. For the Garden of Adonis, we could invert Lewis' formula so that the Garden becomes a symbol of the Many, and the narrative (in the traditional sense of the story-line) becomes the realm of the One, that is, the path on which the type moves towards the achievement of individual identity.

In such a view, the philosophical and strictly mythic elements of the Garden would accordingly emphasize its collective nature, the way it encompasses ever-larger classes of beings and areas of experience. Contrariwise, at those points where the Garden picks up a narrative thread or even hints at a known narrative, individuality is implied, or at any rate the beginnings of individuation. Examples of narrative thread are the story of Venus and Adonis, continued from the tapestry in Malecasta's castle (III i 34–8), and the story of Amoref's infancy. Stories alluded to but not continued from elsewhere in the poem include that of Cupid and Psyche, which is brought to a happy ending in the Garden (vi 49–50). The reference to the flower Narcissus 'that likes the watry shore' (45) hints at a familiar story. In each case, but with varying degrees of ambiguity, we sense a striving towards an individual destiny separate from the collective.

In simplest terms, there is Amoret, one babe among thousands in the Garden. She is distinct from the others, though just how distinct is a question that only her narrative will answer. Then there is Adonis. As vegetation god, he is part of the great seasonal cycle of which the gardens dedicated to him are a miniature epitome. But as a beautiful boy beloved of Venus and resistant to her blandishments, he suggests the beginnings of chastity that in Book III is the way of individuation, because it means not doing what comes naturally and having a strong sense of one's separateness from others. Adonis' story suggests the largely negative aspects of chastity; for him, as for Shakespeare's Adonis, love is 'a life in death' (*Venus and Adonis* 413). Only from the perspective of his mysterious resurrection in the Garden (46–9) does this 'life in death' take on positive meaning, becoming part of the paradox of human love, where the self loses itself to the other only to be miraculously restored to itself. The Garden, finally, is that landscape of the soul—it might just as well be named the Garden of Psyche—from which the soul thought itself an exile or fugitive, but which it rediscovers once it understands that world and soul are not mutually antagonistic but aspects of one reality.

RICHARD T.NEUSE

Bennett 1932; Berger 1960–1; Cheney 1966; Comito 1978; Ellrodt 1960; Ficino ed 1981; Giamatti 1966; Hankins 1971; Justus Lipsius 1939 *Two Bookes of Constancie* (tr John Stradling 1594) ed Rudolf Kirk and Clayton M.Hall (New Brunswick, NJ); I.G.MacCaffrey 1976; Milne 1973.

Aemylia

The young woman whom Amoret meets in Lust's cave (*FQ* IV vii). When Amoret escapes, she remains behind with the old hag until released when Belphoebe slays Lust. Aemylia then accompanies the wounded Amoret until the two, 'in full sad and sorrowfull estate,' are aided by Arthur. They stay overnight with the railing Sclaunder, and the next day encounter Placidas pursued by the giant Corflambo, whom Arthur defeats. Placidas is the look-alike friend of Amyas, a 'Squire of low degree' who was to have eloped with the high-born Aemylia, but was captured at their trysting spot by Corflambo and imprisoned in his castle where Poeana, the giant's daughter, fell in love with him. (It is at this same trysting spot that Aemylia was captured by Lust.) Placidas had managed to join Amyas in prison and had then offered to go in his place to Poeana, at which point he escaped. Now he leads Arthur and the ladies to Amyas. Aemylia and Amyas are reunited and perhaps married (the text is unclear on this point) as are the 'reformd' Poeana and the 'trusty Squire' Placidas (ix 15–16).

Aemylia's story of love and a thwarted elopement—the self-sacrifice of friendship which, in turn, leads to a tetrad combining love, friendship, concord, and forgiveness—is the stuff of medieval romance. It consists of two distinct narrative prototypes: the tale of friendship (as in the Middle *English Amys and Amiloun*) is turned to the theme of love, that of love ('the squire of low degree') is adapted to a narrative of friendship. While the two commonly appear together, with one or the other accorded a 'privileged' status, in the Aemylia episode Spenser's strategy of narrative indirection avoids any hierarchy. Instead, he gives his narrative a dual focus, so that they assume equal weight. The last-minute union between Placidas and Poeana introduces a relationship which may be identified as concord rather than as love or friendship, and thus assimilates the episode into the larger themes of Book IV.

Spenser achieves this dual focus by introducing Aemylia's story *in medias res,* through the framing narrative of Amoret, and then developing it chronologically both forward and backward. The effect is to supplant Aemylia from the center of her own story and make her an aspect of Amoret. As the narrative moves backward in time to tell us of Aemylia, it takes for granted those inner sexual desires which drove her to ignore the advice of family and friends, and stresses instead the public consequences of her decision and how it may be judged by others, including the reader. Her crime is indiscretion rather than wantonness. Spenser gives her desire but no soul or psyche to torment her, and her shallowness contrasts with Amoret's psychological complexity. The often confusing connection between appearances and inner desire in Aemylia's story unfolds as Placidas tells how the captive Amyas becomes subject to Poeana; how, out of pure friendship, he fills his friend's place in order to help him escape; and then how,

when trying to free his friend, he himself escapes while Amyas remains imprisoned. Spenser intentionally multiplies the superficial parallels between the stories of Amyas and Aemylia.

In the last phase of Aemylia's story, Spenser achieves a kind of narrative *concordia discors* that reinforces his praise of friendship at the opening of canto ix. Structurally and thematically, it echoes the episode of Cambell, Triamond, Cambina, and Canacee, and the image of the interlinked relationships between erotic, kindred, and friendly love presented in canto iii. The two episodes comprise two quaternions of Book IV, illustrating the idea that love must harmonize four rather than two sets of personalities, each set comprising complementary opposites (Nohrnberg 1976:621).

But, unlike its mirror episode, all the thematic and narrative details of the AemyliaAmyas, Placidas-Poeana quaternion are designed to stress diversity rather than affinity. Most noteworthy is the absence of all kindred ties: the two men look alike but are friends and not twins. Instead of using mistaken identity to complicate his plot (the conventional use of such twins, as in Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*), Spenser withholds the detail of their physical resemblance to make it the culminating recognition for the reader. But as the confusion of names in the argument of canto ix illustrates, it is a recognition that is based on circumstantial appearances and emphasizes the unknown as well as the known. The statement that the 'Squire of low degree' marries 'Paeana' (ix 9 in *FQ* 1596) makes no sense unless we accept that the chivalric name applies to Placidas as well as to Amyas; or that one of the two names, Poeana or the Squire of low degree, is an error; or that Spenser meant for us to see that this tetrad really consists of two people with dual personalities rather than four individuals. Whichever way, the 'recognition' is one that reveals similarities without denying individuation. These details, compounded by the episode's narrative circuitousness and its repeated emphasis on the problem of judging appearances and the meanings of events, stress the eventual recognition of harmony among unrelated individuals rather than point to an underlying oneness that unites people.

If we accept Camden's readings of their names (*Remains* ed 1984:58), Amyas and Aemylia are themselves almost doubles: *Amias* 'beloved' derives from Greek *amulios* 'Faire spoken' (also the root of 'Aemili-us[a]'): here, lovers depend on being beloved, which is a concordant version of Corflambo's corrupt mutuality. Placidas and Amyas also suggest by their names the kinship between concord and friendship that enters the allegory of the Temple of Venus. These, however, are affinities that Spenser discovers rather than develops, although his technique of belated discovery leading to final recognition is itself part of the theme of the episode.

Unlike the Cambell and Triamond sequence, the harmony here is one which can ignore uncertainty and doubt. The episode leaves unexplored the relation between virginity (or its loss) and virtue. Each of the four characters has moral shadows that are never illumined, although the concord among them is conclusive and convincing. Amoret and the reader, however, learn a healthy suspicion of appearances. It is little wonder, then, that this episode is most often likened to Shakespeare's comic vision: characters consent to their mates in spite of some moral imperfections. Lighter than a dark comedy, it is perhaps a gray one—even to the extent that the last act, the acceptance of Poeana (punishment, expiation) as Paeana (praise, healer—the typographic change occurs at ix 9, in the 1596 edition), makes it a comedy of conversion and forgiveness.

W.H.HERENDEEN

Aesculapius

The name Aesculapius is a Latin form of *Asklepios,* an early Greek physician who by the fifth century BC was worshiped as the god of medicine. He is the 'farre renowmed sonne/Of great *Apollo,'* god of the healing sun, and the mortal Coronis (see *FQ* I v 36–44). Following Boccaccio (*Genealogia* 7.36), Spenser makes him a brother of Tryphon, 'soveraine leach' and 'surgeon' of the sea gods, and father of Podalyrius (III iv 43, IV xi 6, VI vi I). Aesculapius was reared by Chiron, a centaur, from whom he learned the art of medicine (see Pindar *Pythian Odes* 3, Ovid *Metamorphoses* 2.630). The most famous temple in his honor, surrounded by sanatoria, was at Epidaurus. While stories developed of his miraculous cures, most early accounts suggest that his medical priests' methods of therapy were chiefly scientific and natural, though with occasional recourse to music, as was customary in Greece and Rome. Statues and Roman coins usually present him as a kindly bearded figure holding a caduceus, or staff, around which is wound a sacred snake, symbol both of wisdom and of rejuvenation since it sloughs its skin. Cooper writes that he is 'honoured in the fourme of a serpent' (*Thesaurus* 1565; see also Cartari 1571:84–90). Whitney's *A Choice of Emblemes* includes his portrait (1586:212).

(See **Aesculapius** Fig 1.)

Spenser read in Virgil how Jupiter, incensed by Aesculapius' presumption in restoring Hippolytus to life, hurled him into Hades by his thunderbolt (*Aeneid* 7.761–73). The tale is retold in Renaissance works on mythography by Boccaccio (*Genealogia* 5.19) and Conti (*Mythologiae* 4.11), and in Charles Estienne's *Dictionarium*. In accord with medieval tradition, which contrasts spiritual healing by the divine with mere therapy of the body by physicians, Spenser further developed and Christianized the legend, perhaps directly influenced by commentaries on Virgil.

Chained for ever in a dark and comfortless cave in hell by the wrath of God, Spenser's Aesculapius continually and vainly strives to restore his health with salves and to slake the eternally raging fire (i v 36, 40). Having ignored the welfare of his soul, he is incapable of fulfilling the biblical injunction, 'Physicion, heale thy self' (Luke 4.23), however great his medical skill. He reluctantly agrees to attempt to cure Sansjoy's wounds (44), but we learn nothing more of Sansjoy's fortunes, since none returns from hell 'without heavenly grace' (31). Spenser contrasts Aesculapius both with Christ and Arthur as physicians of the soul, and with Phoebus the sun who 'recure[s]' himself (44); and also Aesculapius' infernal therapy with the holy therapy Redcrosse receives from Patience (x 23–8) and from the Well of Life (xi 48–50)

F.DAVID HOENIGER

Emma J.Edelstein and Ludwig Edelstein 1945 *Asclepius: A Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies* 2 vols (Baltimore).

Agrippa

(Henricus Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim, 1486–1535) Famous in the sixteenth century as an evangelical humanist, a bold and aggressive satirist, and a magician who reputedly came to a bad end. His life and his writings abound in paradoxes. He was an ambitious courtier who wrote vehemently against the corruption of royal courts. From 1510 until his death, he was involved in violent controversies with the preachers, inquisitors, and theologians of the Franciscan and Dominican orders, who drove him from several positions and condemned his books; yet, while his polemics earned him a reputation as a pre-Lutheran reformer, he never broke with the Catholic church. Although a lifelong student of magic and the occult, he also proclaimed that the Scriptures and a pure faith in God offered the only way to truth.

His two major works, *De occulta philosophia* (ms version 1510, expanded version pub 1533) and *De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum et artium* (1530; Eng tr *Of the Vanitie and Uncertaintie of Artes and Sciences* 1569, rpt 1575), were known throughout Europe and were drawn upon by many Elizabethan writers, including Sidney, Greville, Harvey, Nashe, Marlowe, and, almost certainly, Spenser. *De occulta philosophia* incorporates material from many sources, most notably the texts attributed to Hermes Trismegistus, the Cabala (which Agrippa knew through the works of Giovanni Pico and Reuchlin), medieval magical texts such as the *Picatrix,* and a wide range of classical and patristic texts, especially those of a Neoplatonic bent. *De vanitate* is encyclopedic in a different sense. With a mixture of evangelical high seriousness, sly paradox, witty abusiveness, and shrill invective, it sets out to show that all human arts and sciences are false and of no use for salvation: only through faith in God can spiritual regeneration and true knowledge be obtained.

These two works may appear to contradict one another. But the magical HermeticCabalistic-Neoplatonic syncretism of the former and the loosely skeptical fideism of the latter are both based upon an Hermetic doctrine of regeneration and deification which Agrippa also found in Christian, Cabalistic, and Neoplatonic texts, and which he understood as the central principle of both magic and the Christian religion. Moreover, while *De vanitate* does not spare such disciplines as logic, dicing, prostitution, and scholastic theology, it attacks only the most obviously demonic forms of magic, and actually praises others. To Spenser's generation, the attractiveness of Agrippa's two major works (and of *De vanitate* especially) seems to have lain in their unstable but persuasive fusion of apparently Protestant doctrines with occult and Neoplatonic ideas.

Spenser certainly knew of Agrippa, perhaps through Gabriel Harvey, who wrote in 'A New Yeeres Gift': 'A thousand good leaves be for ever graunted *Agrippa*./For squibbing and declayming against many fruitlesse/*Artes,* and Craftes, devisde by the *Divls and Sprites,* for a torment,/And for a plague to the world: as both *Pandora, Prometheus,*/And that *cursed good bad Tree,* can testifie at all times' (*Three Letters* 3 in *Var Prose* p 465). Whether Spenser read *De vanitate* as closely as did Sidney remains in doubt (see Hamilton 1956). But his account of the Ape's court in *Mother Hubberds Tale* (659–716, 794–921) suggests indebtedness to Agrippa's chapter 68, which describes life at court as 'wholye voyde of shame, and what naughtines so ever in any place is found in cruel beasts, al this seemeth to be assembled in the route of courtiers, as in one body: there is

found…the deceit of the Foxe…the scoffinge of the Ape.' The jests of chapter 3 (eg, 'it is saide of a Prieste…who when he had many burnte offringes, to the ende he mighte not offende againste Grammar, he consecrated them with these woordes, *Haec sunt Corpora mea,* that is, these are my Bodies… From whence came that Opinion of the *Waldenses*…and of others of later time, about the *Eucharist,* but of this woorde, *is*?') are echoed in lines 385–9 of the same poem: 'Of such deep learning little had he neede,/ Ne yet of Latine, ne of Greeke, that breede/ Doubts mongst Divines, and difference of texts,/From whence arise diversitie of sects,/And hatefull heresies, of God abhor'd.'*De occulta philosophia* is one possible source of Spenser's knowledge of Neoplatonic doctrines, of numerology, and of the Cabala; other aspects of the work, such as Agrippa's chapters on talismanic imagery (2.35–49), may also have been of interest to him. His contemporary reputation as an arch-magician *(archimagus)* may have contributed to Spenser's portraits of the learned magicians Archimago and Busirane.

MICHAEL H.KEEFER

There is a modern rpt in 2 vols (Hildesheim 1970) of a sixteenth-century ed of the Lyons *Opera* (c 1600). The standard study is Charles G.Nauert, Jr 1965 *Agrippa and the Crisis of Renaissance Thought* (Urbana). See also A.C. Hamilton 1956 'Sidney and Agrippa' *RES* ns 7:151–7; Michael H.Keefer 1988 'Agrippa's Dilemma: Hermetic "Rebirth" and the Ambivalences of *De vanitate* and *De occulta philosophia*' *RenQ* 41:614–53; Eugene Korkowski 1976 'Agrippa as Ironist' *Neophil* 60:594–607; Paola Zambelli 1976 'Magic and Radical Reformation in Agrippa of Nettesheim' *JWCI* 39:69–103.

Alabaster, William

(1568–1640) In *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* (1595), lines 400–15 are devoted to praise of Alabaster and his *Elisaeis,* which Spenser must have read in manuscript during his 1589–91 sojourn in England. Among the dozen poets mentioned by Colin, only Alabaster and Daniel appear under their own names—the rest are assigned pastoral disguises—and none is praised at greater length than Alabaster. Spenser's enthusiasm for Alabaster and his poem may have come in part from their sharing friends at Cambridge (Spenser at Pembroke, Alabaster at Trinity: matriculated 1584, BA 1587–8, fellow 1589, MA 1591). But more importantly, they shared a poetic subject: in 1590, Spenser had just brought out *FQ* I–III, which he dedicated to Queen Elizabeth and asserted was in a veiled way about her rule and her realm. The younger poet also intended to dedicate his Latin *Elisaeis* to the Queen and to celebrate her career in a more explicit way. It may be this sharing of subject matter and genre that causes Spenser to praise Alabaster by name; he does not see his young competitor in epic as a threat but warmly commends him to the Queen's notice and favor.

Spenser's remark that Alabaster, though a skilled poet, was 'knowen yet to few' would prove prophetic. Alabaster is known—yet to few—not for his anti-Catholic epic in Latin but for a small collection of English devotional sonnets. (Samuel Johnson praised also his Latin tragedy *Roxana* as the finest Latin verse written by an Englishman before Milton.) The *Elisaeis* was never completed. Alabaster had projected in his title a 12-book epic on the model of the *Aeneid,* but finished only a first book of 753 lines of hexameter verse. It treats Elizabeth's sufferings early in Mary's reign, her estrangement from Mary, her being taken to London from her sickbed at Ashridge, and her imprisonment in the Tower in spring 1554. Elizabeth is portrayed as the innocent victim of powerful evil forces who must endure what is thrust upon her with stoic fortitude. Most of the book is taken up with mapping the progress of evil through a series of fictional encounters. Satan appears before the papacy, personified as the Whore of Babylon, to stimulate her to promote the Catholic cause and to sow dissension in England. She flies to England and appears in sleep to Stephen Gardiner, Mary's Lord Chancellor, to stir him to bring Elizabeth into Mary's disfavor. When Gardiner accuses Elizabeth of complicity in Wyatt's rebellion, evil has emanated from its source to encircle the Protestant princess. Though the poem has some local descriptive successes, it does not sustain sufficient narrative interest. Alabaster's real concern was style: florid descriptions and similes, punctuated by terse epigrams, alternate with heavily rhetorical speeches.

Though Spenser alludes to events in Mary's reign in Book I, there is no very obvious influence of *FQ* I–III on the *Elisaeis*. Nor does the *Elisaeis* appear to have exerted any direct influence on *FQ* IV–VI. Alabaster's poem remained in manuscript until 1979. The young Milton, however, appears to have read it and made use of it in composing his own miniature Latin epic on the Gunpowder Plot, *In Quintum Novembris*.

In view of the virulent anti-Catholicism of the *Elisaeis,* there is some irony in the course of Alabaster's life. He went as chaplain to Essex on the Cádiz expedition in 1596, then the following year suddenly converted to Catholicism. After being detained in London, he escaped and went to Rome and Spain. The next decade of Alabaster's life is a perplexity of diplomatic intrigue, repeated imprisonment, release, escape, and a series of recantations and reconversions to Catholicism. Finally in 1618 he returned decisively to the Anglican fold, married, and became known through a number of Latin treatises as a divine learned in mystical and cabalistic lore.

Alabaster commemorated Spenser in a Latin epitaph. It has been suggested that these verses were among those Camden says were thrown into his grave by mourning poets, but since Alabaster was on the continent at the time, they were surely composed later.

> In Edouardum Spencerum, Britannicae poeseos facilè principem
> Hoc qui sepulcro conditur si quis fuit Quaeris viator, dignus es qui rescias. SPENCERUS istic conditur, si quis fuit Rogare pergis, dignus es qui nescias.

('On Edward Spenser, easily the prince of British poetry. If thou askest, passerby, who he was who is buried in this tomb, worthy thou art to learn: Spenser is buried here. If thou proceedst to ask who he was, worthy thou art never to learn.')

MICHAEL O'CONNELL

William Alabaster 1979 *The Elisaeis* tr and ed Michael O'Connell *SP* Texts and Studies 76; Alabaster 1959 *Sonnets* ed G.M.Story and Helen Gardner (Oxford). Verses on Spenser are contained in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms Rawlinson D.293. For Alabaster's life, see the introduction to the Story and Gardner edition; Louise Imogen Guiney 1939 ed *Recusant Poets* (London) 1.335–49; and Mark Eccles 1982:4–5.

Aladine, Priscilla

The story of Aladine and Priscilla (*FQ* VI ii–iii) is interlaced with that of Tristram, whom Calidore discovers slaying a 'proud discourteous knight' (ii argument). The dead knight's lady narrates the first part of this story, telling Calidore that they had happened upon a pair of lovers (Aladine and Priscilla) 'in joyous jolliment/ Of their franke loves' (16), and that her knight, desiring this new lady, had attacked and wounded her unarmed lover. When he could not find Priscilla, who had fled into the woods, the discourteous knight went on his way, battering his own lady in frustration until Tristram challenged him.

After an interlude in which Calidore dubs Tristram as his squire and leaves him in charge of the discourteous knight's lady (ii 24–39), Calidore finds the wounded Aladine and the grieving Priscilla in a 'covert glade.' He helps her carry her lover to his father's house, where Priscilla cures Aladine by watching over him all night and washing his wounds with her tears. Since she is overcome by fear of shame (being of higher rank than her lover), Calidore accompanies her to her father's castle, bearing the head of the discourteous knight and telling her father an equivocal version of the story: that Priscilla was 'Most perfect pure, and guiltlesse innocent/Of blame… Since first he saw her' and rescued her from the knight whose head he is carrying (iii 18).

Elements in this episode invite comparison with other incidents in the Legend of Courtesy. The intrusion of the discourteous knight upon trysting lovers provides an early instance in Book VI of the vulnerability of the pastoral retreat or private vision; it anticipates Calidore's interruption of Calepine and Serena and of Colin's vision on Mount Acidale, as well as the hostile intrusions of the Blatant Beast, Turpine, the cannibals, and the Brigands. It recalls as well the interruption of Redcrosse and Duessa by Orgoglio (I vii) and that of Aemylia by Lust (IV vii q-18). Book VI recurrently emphasizes practical problems of courteous behavior between persons of different social rank: Tristram must justify his combat against a knight (ii 7); Priscilla must be persuaded by Calidore to help carry her lover ('let it not you seeme disgrace,/To beare this burden on your dainty backe' 47). Some of the participants show skill in putting the best construction on their own situations. To cheare his guests,' the wise old Aldus tempers his grief by means of a philosophical generalization about 'the weakenesse of all mortall hope' (iii 5–6); somewhat less generously, the proud knight's lady finds words to honor Priscilla's beauty while salving her own wounded self-esteem: 'Faire was the Ladie sure, that mote content/An hart, not carried with too curious eyes' (ii 16). For a book in which 'comely guize… And gracious speach' (i 2) will be seen as essential means to forge courteous bonds, it seems fitting that this early episode should suggest the name of Aldus

Manutius, the humanist publisher of Aldine texts: 'And *Aldus* was his name, and his sonnes *Aladine*' (iii 3).

RICHARD MALLETTE

Alanus de Insulis

(Alain de Lille) (c 116-c 1202) Author of a number of theological works which gained for him the title 'doctor universalis,' Alanus was a central figure of the twelfth-century Neoplatonic revival of learning in France. He is best known for his two Latin allegories, *De planctu Naturae (The Complaint of Nature)* and *Anticlaudianus*. In sixteenth-century England, he was also reputed to have written commentaries on the prophecies of Merlin.

Of particular importance to Spenser is *De planctu,* which had been a major source both for Jean de Meun's continuation of the *Romance of the Rose* and for Chaucer's *Parliament of Fowls*. Referring directly to Alanus' text, Spenser calls *De planctu* by a mistranslated Middle English title, *Plaint of kindes* (*FQ* VII vii 9; Chaucer correctly titles it *Pleynt of Kynde* in *PF* 316). As a result, and because of the coyness of Spenser's final alexandrine ('Go seek he out that *Alane* where he may be sought'), readers have doubted whether Spenser actually knew *De planctu*. No printed editions of the poem were available in sixteenth-century England. However, given the striking congruity of concerns in Alanus and Spenser, it is useful to assume that Spenser was familiar with manuscripts of *Deplanctu* (several were available to him, of which nine are still extant; see Quilligan 1983:162).

De planctu is an allegorical debate between a poet-narrator and a personified figure of female authority, Natura, who wears an elaborately described garment representing all of physical creation. The subject of their debate has been widely assumed to be sodomy, but the strange grammatical terminology in which Natura phrases her complaint suggests an overriding concern with the impact of poetic language on human sexuality. (In the complaint, '[man] is subject and predicate: one and the same term is given a double application. Man here extends too far the laws of grammar' Alanus ed 1980:68.) This complex debate, echoed by the similar debate in *Romance of the Rose* between the dreamer and Reason, stands behind Spenser's redefinition of the language of sexuality in *FQ* III, where Genius, another character from *De planctu,* plays a prominent part in the Garden of Adonis (vi 31–2).

Of equal importance for Spenser's allegory in *FQ* VII is Natura's correction of the poet's too-literal way of reading Ovidian fable. Alanus' Natura teaches the poet to interpret allegorically a tear in her garment at the place where man had been figured. It is to this garment that Spenser refers in his description of the ineffable numinousness of his Dame Nature's veil. In Natura's lessons on interpretation, we see the shared allegorical concerns between Alanus' emphasis on the right reading of a text (*textus* a woven thing, a garment) like Ovid's, and Spenser's remythologizing of Ovid's story of Actaeon (Quilligan 1983:161–6).

MAUREEN QUILLIGAN

For the Latin text of *De planctu Naturae,* see Alanus 1978, ed Nikolaus M.Häring in *SMed* 3rd ser 19.2:797–879; also *PLat* 210:431A-82C and Thomas Wright, ed 1872 *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the Twelfth Century* vol 2, Rolls Series 59 (London). The English translation by Douglas M.Moffat (New York 1908) has been superseded by that of James J.Sheridan (Toronto 1980). See also Guillory 1983:62–6; Quilligan 1977; Quilligan 1983

alchemy

The literature of alchemy, with its suggestive symbolism of transmuting base metals into gold and of creating a life-preserving elixir and a magical philosophers' stone, was a rich source of allusion for Renaissance poets like Shakespeare, Donne, Henry Vaughan, and the English Spenserians. Aiming at the perfection of matter, the sincere practice of alchemy generally inspired positive metaphors of transformation, though some skeptical authors saw even the honest alchemists as misguided or foolish. The charlatans and counterfeiters who pretended success at transmuting base metals into gold were, along with their greedy or gullible victims, a common target of satire and ridicule, as in Jonson's *Alchemist*. Given the wide currency of both positive and negative uses of alchemical reference throughout Renaissance literature, Spenser's canon contains surprisingly few direct allusions to the so-called Royal Art.

While Spenser exhibits a general knowledge of cosmogony, he has little interest in theories of matter. The general notions of the universality of material substance and the changeability of material form in the Garden of Adonis (*FQ* III vi 37–8) are consonant with alchemical theories, but he ignores metals and minerals and confines himself to living bodies. This omission is odd, because the Garden is called the seminary of 'all things, that are borne to live and die,' but no reference is made to the ubiquitous belief that the 'seeds' of metals 'grow' towards perfection in the earth. Guyon's argument against mining may characterize Spenser's own attitude toward precious metals and stones (II vii 16–17): while not evil, they are no more than earth or mud, and not only inspire greed but tempt man to ally himself with formless, inert matter and so lose sight of his spiritual nature (see Kendrick 1974). Since material (exoteric) alchemy seeks to change the forms of base metals and thereby produce gold, it is even less defensible than mining metals found in nature. Predictably, then, Spenser's direct references to alchemy are either conventional in application or negative in tone.

The most common alchemical term in Renaissance literature is *distill*. Often it carries no alchemical association but merely describes the appearance of drops of moisture, as in the drops of sweat on Acrasia's breast (II xii 78). The potentially alchemical analogy here is realized in Donne's 'The Comparison' 1–6 (Thomson 1977). Spenser himself, however, does invoke a visual image of alchemical distillation in the description of Winter as an old man whose breath freezes on his hoary beard: 'And the dull drops that from his purpled bill/As from a limbeck did adown distill' (VII vii 31). The limbeck (alembic) is the cap or 'beak' of the alchemist's still, which collects the vapor from the

lower vessel (the cucurbit) and conveys the condensed droplets to a receiver. As when he uses *transmewed* for *transmuted* (II iii 37), Spenser here employs alchemical terms in their conventionally figurative sense, though Winter's purple 'beak' enlivens the image with humor. More puzzling perhaps is the simile that describes the drying up of Timias' inner organs by his undisclosed passion for Belphoebe: 'As percing levin [lightning], which the inner part/Of every thing consumes, and calcineth by art' (III v 48). *To calcine* is a specifically alchemical term meaning to dry out and thus reduce (a metal) to a fine powder by heat; 'by art' suggests the art of alchemy. Yet there seems to be a contradiction between the artificial process of calcination and the natural phenomenon of lightning, which was commonly believed to consume the insides of those it struck (Heninger 1960:79). Throughout *The Faerie Queene,* formlessness of the body is emblematic of moral corruption; and here Timias' 'alchemical' consumption underscores the negative view of his self-destructive passion.

Other, more indirect, allusions to alchemy appear in *The Faerie Queene*. These are invariably negative, though there is no direct satire of alchemy itself. Mammon's forge may parody an alchemist's furnace (II vii 35–6); and if it is meant to contrast the orderly kitchen (stomach) of Alma's castle (II ix 29–32), it represents the diseased belly of the avaricious man as a horribly distorted gold-producing machine. The soot-covered Mammon himself (II vii 3) is the very caricature of the begrimed empiric common to Renaissance art and literature. Another parody, this time of alchemical transmutation, may be implied in a further portrait of avarice, Munera, who is so enamored of her 'mucky pelfe' that her hands have turned to gold and her feet to silver (v ii 9–27).

The creation of false Florimell by the Witch is also reminiscent of an alchemical process (III viii 5–8). Her body is made of 'purest snow' and 'tempred with fine Mercury,/And virgin wex'; 'golden wyre' is substituted for the true Florimell's 'yellow lockes,' and a satanic 'Spright' is inserted 'to rule the carkasse dead.' Quicksilver or mercury was one of the main alchemical ingredients; but it was also a theoretical principle of matter, accounting for a substance's volatility, fluidity, and malleability. The 'virgin wex' may be an ironic glance at the mysterious but wonder-working *lac virginis* (virgin's milk) of the alchemists. (An unpublished Elizabethan alchemical poem explains that 'Lac virgynen/[is] cauled virgins wax in our englysh tonge' [Ms Ashmole 1480, fol 72a].) Furthermore, the process of 'making' gold is commonly described as the infusion of a 'spirit' or 'seed' into the 'prime matter' (or 'chaos') to which the base metal has been reduced, thus giving it the 'form' of gold. If Spenser had these alchemical notions and terms in mind (and they were common enough that no unusual knowledge would be required), he would be playing on the alchemical *associations* of these terms (and of the 'golden wyre') in order to deepen the resonances of 'counterfeisance' and deception in the false Florimell. Moreover, all the main elements of this created figure (snow, wax, and mercury) share the property of fusibility, and the form that each takes is temporary and therefore undependable. Her fickleness is perhaps symbolized by her body's unstable constituents: she is a counterfeit 'fool's gold.'

The Faerie Queene is full of stories of transformation; but when Spenser compares physical, moral, or psychological changes to changes in matter, he turns not to alchemical transmutation for his imagery but simply to the four elements (earth, water, air, fire). Thus Redcrosse's defeat by Orgoglio can be seen as a descent from the highest element (fire) to the lowest (earth) (Hamilton 1961a:76); but this interpretation seems to depend

on the pervasive notions of hierarchy and mutability rather than on alchemy. More relevant to alchemy perhaps, Medway's vesture is presented as *argentum liquidum* or mercury (IV xi 45; see Fowler 1964:173).

Some readers, however, have suspected that alchemy is more than a source of incidental metaphor or allusion in *The Faerie Queene*. For example, Northrop Frye connects Redcrosse's red and white (silver) shield 'not only with the risen body of Christ and the sacramental symbolism which accompanies it, but with the union of the red and white roses in the Tudor dynasty' and also with the 'chymical marriage' of the 'red king' and 'white queen,' allegorical figures that stand for Sol and Luna, the 'red' and 'white' stones, or the alchemist's theoretical sulphur and mercury. All this symbolism presumably culminates in the betrothal of the 'red' knight and the 'white' Una (Frye 1957:144, 195). Although Frye claims Spenser is 'clearly acquainted' with alchemical allegory, he makes no more of this pregnant suggestion. What could have motivated Spenser to invoke these alchemical associations, if indeed he does?

One answer lies in reading certain episodes of *The Faerie Queene* as esoteric alchemical allegories, accessible only to those steeped in the subject. Occultist contemporaries of Spenser such as Jacques Gohory (d 1576) and alchemists like Elias Ashmole (1617–92) interpreted medieval romances such as the *Romance of the Rose* and *Amadis of Gaul* as alchemical allegories, and the German Michael Maier and others read classical myth in the same way. The only hint of such an approach to Spenser by a near-contemporary is found in Sir Kenelm Digby's famous *Observations* on the difficult numerological stanza at *FQ* II ix 22 (c 1628, rpt in *Var* 2:472–8). Parenthetically, he asks whether the three angles of the triangle referred to in this stanza might not be 'resembled to the 3 great compounded Elements in mans bodie, to wit, Salt, Sulphur and Mercurie…?' These 'tria prima' are the three elements of all matter which Paracelsus (d 1541) substituted for the more traditional four. Later, Digby refers to the 'three dimensions, to wit, Longitude, Latitude and Profunditie,' of all solid bodies. These 'three dimensions' of matter, deriving ultimately from Aristotle's *De caelo,* are found in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century English alchemical poems and prose texts; they are fully expounded in Roger Bacon's version of the *Secreta secretorum,* which also celebrates the sphere as the most perfect form (see Schuler 1978:55n). Digby's other notes on Spenser (*Sp All* p 211) contain no further alchemical information, and these few comments in *Observations* hardly render *The Faerie Queene* an alchemical allegory. Another alchemist, George Starkey, wrote in 1678 a commentary in both prose and Spenserian stanzas upon Sir George Ripley's fifteenth-century poem *The Compound of Alchymy* (see *Sp All* p 270); but his use of Spenser's poetic form is as far as he goes. It is quite possible, of course, that some as-yet-unknown alchemists may have found hidden meanings in *The Faerie Queene* as others did in the medieval romances and classical myths.

Perhaps convinced that an absence of overtly expressed esoteric beliefs can itself be construed as evidence of such beliefs (see Mulryan 1972), some modern scholars have gone beyond the tentative hints of Digby and Frye, and have claimed that Spenser himself intended his poem to be an elaborate alchemical allegory. Recently, for example, C.G.Jung's influential theory, that throughout its history material alchemy was really an external manifestation of an inner quest for psychic wholeness, has led to a major revaluation of alchemical writings and of literary works containing alchemical elements. In Jungian terms, the 'alchemical' allegory of Redcrosse shows how the process of

individuation effects the 'psychological transformation of a "clownishe younge man" into a perfected Saint George of England' (Rockwood 1972: x). Here the 'alchemical wedding' cited by Frye becomes the union of the Jungian *animus* and *anima*. Moreover, *FQ* I is said to describe a 'psychotherapeutic discipline' by which the reader's own personality can be integrated.

Another attempt to find esoteric meanings in *The Faerie Queene* also relies on the alchemical interpretation of certain symbols and events, but it rests finally on a suggestive but unproven link between Spenser and the Hermetic 'mystical politics' of Bruno (Brooks-Davies 1983). Here, the alchemical wedding of Redcrosse and Una is but the most important of several 'alchemical plots' in Book I; and in Book v Elizabeth/Mercilla, the descendent of another alchemical marriage (between Britomart and Artegall), becomes the 'Mercurian monarch' par excellence. Some of the political ideas in this view (eg, the 'king's two bodies' and the 'world emperor' as applied to Elizabeth/Astraea) can be documented, but the connection with an esoteric alchemical tradition (and hence this whole reading of the poem) remains speculative.

Any alchemical interpretation of *The Faerie Queene* as a whole is beset by several major problems. Alchemy was an occult activity whose chief secrets, so the alchemists always claimed, were transmitted orally from one adept to another. Secondly, alchemical texts, usually in the form of obscure allegories that freely appropriate religious and literary symbols, are (for the noninitiate) notoriously difficult to understand; even more tentative, then, must be any identification of arcane alchemical meanings in a complex work of literature that is itself eclectic and polyvalent. Further, a comprehensive alchemical 'reading' of *The Faerie Queene* would have to examine all episodes and images which are potentially alchemical and explain their relevance: such details as the killing by Arthur (a solar figure) of the brothers Pyrochles (fire) and Cymochles (water) so that Guyon can be reborn (see *FQ* ed 1977, notes to II iv 41 and xii 78), Chrysogone's impregnation by the sun (III vi 1–9), the *ouroboros* serpent (IV x 40, discussed by Brooks-Davies, but not in terms of alchemy; cf Taylor 1949:55 and Frye 1978:129), and the caduceus (whose alchemical significance goes beyond that suggested by Brooks-Davies; eg, see Martinus Rulandus the Elder 1612:344; Burland 1967:134, 162). Finally, if one finds alchemical motifs used positively (as even Frye does in the alchemical wedding), one must also account for the apparently negative associations of alchemical allusions elsewhere in the poem (for an attempt to reconcile opposing attitudes in Milton, see Lieb 1970:229–44).

Given the esoteric nature of the subject, it is likely that a complete understanding of Spenser's imaginative use of alchemy will remain almost as elusive as the philoso- phers' stone itself.

ROBERT M.SCHULER

For alchemy, both generally and in relation to Donne, Paracelsus, Digby, Starkey, and Jung, see Alan Pritchard 1980 *Alchemy: A Bibliography of English-Language Writings* (London). On Gohory, see D.P.Walker 1958:96–106. On Maier, see John Read 1936 *Prelude to Chemistry: An Outline of Alchemy, its Literature and Relationships* (London) pp 228–54. On alchemical poetry, see Robert M.Schuler, comp 1979 *English Magical and Scientific Poems to 1700: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York).

On esoteric alchemy, see Schuler 1980 'Some Spiritual Alchemies of Seventeenth-Century England' *JHI* 41:293–318.

Brooks-Davies 1983; C.A.Burland 1967 *The Arts of the Alchemists* (London); Northrop Frye 1978 *Northrop Frye on Culture and Literature: A Collection of Review Essays* ed Robert D. Denham (Chicago); Heninger 1960; Walter M. Kendrick 1974 'Earth of Flesh, Flesh of Earth: Mother Earth in the *Faerie Queene' RenQ* 27:533–48; Michael Lieb 1970 *The Dialectics of Creation: Patterns of Birth and Regeneration in 'Paradise Lost'* (Amherst); Mulryan 1972; Robert J.Rockwood 1972 'Alchemical Forms of Thought in Book I of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*' diss Univ of Florida; Martinus Rulandus the Elder 1893 *A Lexicon of Alchemy* (1612) tr A.E. Waite (London); Robert M.Schuler, ed 1978 *Three Renaissance Scientific Poems, SP* Texts and Studies 75; Szönyi 1984; F.Sherwood Taylor 1951 *The Alchemists: Founders of Modern Chemistry* (New York); Patricia Thomson 1977 'A Precedent for Donne's "The Comparison"' *N&Q* 222:523–4; Julia M.Walker 1985 "'Advice Discrete": The Catalyst of Unity in Book I of *The Faerie Queene*' *SpN* 16:45–6.

Alciati, Andrea

(1492–1550) In 1522, this renowned Italian professor of jurisprudence produced the first and most famous Renaissance emblem book—a manuscript of Latin epigrams describing things from history or nature and symbolizing things elegant and useful for painters, goldsmiths, or sculptors. He continued to add new emblems for subsequent editions printed during his lifetime until the number reached 212. At the time of Spenser's death in 1599, more than 100 editions had appeared, including translations in French, German, Italian, and Spanish. Spenser could have known any number of editions of Alciati's emblems, including those with Claude Mignault's commentary which were published by the Plantin press from 1573 on. Also he would have known the first full-scale English emblem book, Geoffrey Whitney's *Choice of Emblemes* (1586), which contained at least 87 adaptations of emblems by Alciati.

(See **Alciati** Fig 1.)

Alciati's 212 emblems (cited here from ed 1621) were useful for many poets, including Spenser (see *Var* index, Freeman 1948, Roche 1964, Nohrnberg 1976). *The Shepheardes Calender,* with its mottoes (here called 'emblemes'), woodcuts, and longer verses, reflects in form the emblematic triad. The fable of the Oak and the Briar in *Februarie* is reminiscent not only of Aesop and Chaucer but more especially of Alciati's Emblem 124, *In momentaneam felicitatem* [on momentary happiness]. In the *Visions of the Worlds Vanitie,* the account of the Eagle and the Scarabee (4) and of the ship whose course is stopped by the Remora (9) may be from Emblem 169, *A minimis quoque timendum* [even the smallest must be feared], and Emblem 83, *In facile a virtute desciscentes* [on those who deviate easily from virtue], Indeed, the theme of the entire cycle may have been suggested by these two emblems.

The Faerie Queene abounds in examples of the ingenious ways in which Spenser adapted the emblematic method to epic form by using a full verbal description to replace the visual image with moral elucidation. Among the most striking examples are the images of Una (the true faith) seated on a 'lowly Asse' (I i 4) and of false Duessa (the Church of Rome) atop a seven-headed beast (vii 17); these correspond to Emblems 7, *Non tibi sed religioni* [not for you but for religion], and 6, *Ficta religio* [false religion].

VIRGINIA W.CALLAHAN

Alciati ed 1581; Alciati ed 1621; Henry Green 1872 *Andrea Alciati and Books of Emblems* (London); *Index Emblematicus* 1985 ed Peter M.Daly and Virginia W.Callahan, 2 vols (Toronto); Nohrnberg 1976.

Alençon

François, Duc d'Alençon, and (from 1576) d'Anjou (1554–84). Catherine de'Medici first proposed the marriage of her youngest son to Queen Elizabeth early in 1572, after the failure of the previous negotiations for a match with his brother, the Duc d'Anjou (the future Henri III). The offer was renewed regularly during the following years, but neither Elizabeth nor the English council showed much interest in it. Their attitude changed in the summer of 1578, after Alençon had offered to assist the Netherlands in their revolt against Spain. If he were serious and could obtain the backing of Henri III, then it appeared to men as diverse as Lord Burghley and William of Orange that a marriage might be the means of forging an alliance between England and France to support the Dutch Revolt. Less enthusiastic were the Earl of Leicester and Sir Francis Walsingham, who had advocated an Anglo-Protestant intervention in the Netherlands the previous autumn. By 1579, the negotiations had proceeded sufficiently for Alençon to send his confidant Jehan de Simier to England, and then to arrive there himself (15 August).

What is surprising about the courtship is the extreme ardor exhibited by the ugly, pockmarked, 25-year-old Duke and the 45-year-old Queen, who may have viewed this as, her last chance to bear children and so create a dynasty. Simier was the perfect courtier and master of love-play; remarkably astute in cultivating Elizabeth's confidence, he soon became her favorite. On one occasion, he stole her nightcap from her bedchamber and with her permission sent it to Alençon, who had already obtained her handkerchief. She bestowed on both Simier and Alençon nicknames, terms of endearment such as were reserved for her closest associates. Playing on his name, she called Simier her 'ape'; and on the basis of his appearance, Alençon became her 'frog.' Simier, in return, vowed to be 'the most faithful of her beasts' (Greenlaw 1932:114).

Elizabeth's desire to marry Alençon provoked widespread discontent and protest. Preachers found scriptural precedent to denounce it; ballads and pamphlets warned of its consequences. In May 1579, the privy council objected to the 'great confusion' that would be generated by the 'coming hither of Catholics, and above all Frenchmen, who were their ancient enemies.' In particular, English hostility to the match had been fueled by the slaughter of Huguenots in the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre (24 August 1572), which was widely believed to have been plotted by Alençon's mother. His own

reputation as a religious moderate was discredited by his involvement in the execution of the surrendered Huguenot garrisons of La Charité and Issoire in the spring of 1577.

Affairs had become critical by the time Alençon stealthily arrived at court in 1579. Two attempts had been made to assassinate Simier, and rumor blamed Leicester. In retaliation, Simier informed the Queen that although the Earl objected to her marriage and pretended to be her disconsolate lover, he had secretly wedded her cousin Lettice Knollys, Countess of Essex, a year earlier on 21 September 1578. The Queen was said to have placed Leicester temporarily under house arrest, after contemplating sending him to the Tower. During August, the Puritan John Stubbs published *The Discoverie of a Gaping Gulf,* a vitriolic attack on the proposed marriage, for which he and his printer, Hugh Singleton, were sentenced to have their right hands cut off at a public ceremony in November 1579. At this time, Leicester's nephew Philip Sidney, perhaps at his uncle's insistence, wrote a letter to Elizabeth strongly urging her to abandon Alençon. Sidney's absence from court during the first half of 1580 was probably a result of the disfavor he incurred for voicing this opinion.

It has been suggested that the *Shepheardes Calender* eclogues comment extensively on the French match (McLane 1961); but E.K.'s copious annotations and commendatory letter were finished by 10 April 1579, and no clear evidence exists for the theory that the *Calender* reflects political events concerning Alençon which developed several months later.

Virgils Gnat has been interpreted by Greenlaw (1910) as Spenser's explanation to Leicester (the shepherd) that he (the gnat) had merely tried to warn of the dangers posed by Alençon (a poisonous snake), for which he was discredited and dispatched to Ireland (the underworld). By this interpretation, the poet's warning would have been *Mother Hubberds Tale,* a political allegory probably first written in 1579 as a reaction to the French match, and revised in 1591 (shortly before publication in *Complaints*) to reflect Spenser's horror at the prospect of James' succession, currently being engineered by Burghley. Both periods of crisis left traces in the poem; but topical analysis of it as a commentary on the French match is complicated by the updated allusions of 1591, as well as by Spenser's extremely fluid method of historical allegory, whereby one character can represent different people, each defined by a specific context.

The Ape in *Mother Hubberd* appears to have been initially created in response to the Queen's pet name for Simier. At the beginning of the poem, he is a ruthless schemer who seeks advancement 'Abroad where change is' (101); later, he is the perfect model of the false courtier, skilled in 'thriftles games' and 'costly riotize' (794–810), as Simier was portrayed by his enemies. Other passages, however, reflect the revisions of 1591; and Robert Cecil, Burghley's son, becomes the target of Spenser's wit. The Ape who stands 'uprearing hy/Upon his tiptoes' (663–4), wearing 'an old Scotch cap' (209), now mimics the diminutive Cecil, a supporter of the Stuart succession.

The Fox of Spenser's beast fable also represents two historical figures in different contexts. At the beginning of the poem, Alençon is parodied not as a frog but as the wily fox of the Reynard cycle; in a satire of the Duke's ambition to seize his brother's throne and become King of France, the Fox voices a long complaint concerning his exclusion from 'our fathers heritage' (124–72), before resolving with the Ape to become 'Lords of the world.' But in most of the poem, the Fox strongly alludes to Burghley. When, for instance, the poet remarks that the Fox has 'loded' his children with so many 'lordships'

that ‘with the weight their backs nigh broken were’ (1156–8), a reference to Robert Cecil’s hunchback is likely.

In *The Faerie Queene,* Belphoebe’s brief encounter with Trompart and Braggadocchio may provide a second glance at the French match, as Trompart (Simier) excessively praises his cowardly master (a crude parody of Alençon), only to see him spurned by Belphoebe (Elizabeth), who disdains his ‘filthy lust.’ Numerous similarities between Braggadocchio and Trompart (in II iii 21–46) and the Fox and Ape (in *MHT* 951–1018) may thus stem from a common source—the perception of Alençon and Simier as frightened, ineffectual braggarts. Before Braggadocchio meets Belphoebe, Archimago has promised to steal Arthur’s sword for him (iii 18), just as the Fox and Ape purloin the sleeping lion’s scepter and crown—‘those royall signes’ (1016) signifying British rule. Belphoebe’s subsequent meeting with Timias (Raleigh, Spenser’s patron) contrasts the true courtier with his false counterpart (III v 28–50).

The Alençon courtship significantly affected Spenser’s professional career. His dedicatory sonnet to the deceased Leicester in *Gnat,* declaring that he had been wronged, hints that the angry Earl had mistreated him. The plot of *Gnat* suggests that as a subordinate he had presumed to offer an unsolicited warning, which Leicester deemed impudent. When Spenser embarked for Ireland in August 1580 as Lord Grey’s secretary, he may have felt remorse for opportunities that vanished along with Leicester’s patronage, even as he resolved to make the best of his present life ‘In savadge soyle, far from Parnasso mount’ (*FQ* Grey Sonn). It seems unlikely that Leicester terminated Spenser’s service merely because he had indiscreetly satirized Burghley, Alençon, and Simier in the early version of *Mother Hubberd*. That theory is based in large measure on the mistaken premise that the poem was ‘called-in’ after creating a scandal in 1579; rather, it was suppressed in 1591, the year of its publication (see **Complaints; Var* 8:580–5). However, Mother *Hubberd* was presented as having been written ‘long sithens…in the raw conceipt of my youth’ (*MHT* epistle); and it does epitomize the kind of outspoken support that Leicester spurned, so it may have contributed to Spenser’s Irish exile. The threat to the nation that Spenser perceived in Elizabeth’s marriage to Alençon gave rise to a fable of deposition, linked to an invasion by ‘a warlike equipage/Of forreine beasts’ (1118–19). When revising the poem for publication in 1591, he apparently saw the same danger posed by James and his retainers.

JAMES P.BEDNARZ

Doris Adler 1979 ‘The Riddle of the Sieve: The Siena Sieve Portrait of Queen Elizabeth’ *RenP 1978* pp 1–10; Adler 1981 ‘Imaginary Toads in Real Gardens’ *ELR* 11:235–60; Greenlaw 1910; W.T.MacCaffrey 1981; Conyers Read 1925 *Mr Secretary Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth* 3 vols (Oxford) ch 2, 5, and 8; John Stubbs 1968 *John Stubbs’s ‘Gaping Gulf’ with Letters and Other Relevant Documents* ed Lloyd E.Berry (Charlottesville, Va).

alexandrine

The twelve-syllable line (six-stressed in English verse), as basic to French poetry as iambic pentameter to English, was named for the twelfth-century *Roman d'Alexandre*. Its use in concluding the *Faerie Queene* stanza, as well as elsewhere in his work, made it almost a Spenserian trademark, and its subsequent deployment in English poetry seems ever conscious of this. In early Tudor verse—as a pair of trimeters run together—it constituted the first line of the rhyming couplet form called by Gascoigne the 'poulter's measure.' It was first independently used by Surrey in a psalm translation and, as an occasional variation, in his important blank-verse Englishing of *Aeneid* 4 (pub 1554). The first original poem to use it is Turbervile's *Of Ladie Venus* (1567). Sidney frequently employs alexandrines in the *Old Arcadia,* as well as in the opening sonnet, and five subsequent ones, of *Astrophil and Stella*.

Spenser's first alexandrine is apparently inadvertent, in a translation from Marot in *Theatre for Worldlings:* interestingly, it embodies—as if in an over-determined slip—another Spenserian trademark. It describes nymphs 'That sweetely in accorde did tune their voice/Unto the gentle sounding of the waters fall' (epigram 4). Its first avowed use in Spenser is, characteristically, at a moment of closure, at the end of *Januarye* of *The Shepheardes Calender* (it also occurs as the first line of each stanza of the lament in *November*). Alexandrine couplets are used to close the whole of the *Calender,* in the verse envoy ('Loe I have made a Calender for every yeare') which recasts the 144 syllables of the 6 tetrameter triplets of the opening invocation ('Goe little booke') into 144 syllables in 6 alexandrine couplets, reinforcing a sense of modality of closure in the 12-syllable line. Also the 12 lines each of 12 syllables make 144, the measure of a man in the wall of the New Jerusalem (Rev 21.17).

It is this mode which is engaged in the *Faerie Queene* stanza. Here, the final alexandrine is used in such a wealth of ways as to suggest a synecdoche of the variation in structure, tone, and function of the stanza form itself, described so elegantly by Empson (1947:33). The alexandrine can be divided syntactically into 6+6 syllables to frame opposition, contrast, or parallels, or 4+4+4 to envelop some triad or narrational unfolding; it calls attention to its own summary and fundamental nature, as in The gentle warbling wind low answered to all' (II xii 71) at the end of the famous and widely imitated stanza about the music in the Bower of Bliss. It can become more or less transparent or opaque as its internal structure, like that of the whole stanza, is locally made more or less apparent.

When successive stanzas are used as strophes in an inset lyric, the alexandrine can seem more refrainlike. The great refrain of *Epithalamion* (variations on 'sing/That all the woods may answer and your eccho ring') manifests the skill with which Spenser pulls the alexandrine together (rather than allowing the disjunction between two trimeters to point up antithesis). The fourth foot has the less prominently stressed 'and' which tends to break down such a division at the same time that the paired terms 'answer' and 'eccho' might tend to enforce the binary structure.

The recognition of Spenser's imprint on the alexandrine, particularly as an instrument of closure in a pentametric context, is evident not only in the work of his immediate

followers but, in the wake of Dryden's use of it in occasional triplets, well into the eighteenth century.

JOHN HOLLANDER

John Hollander 1988 *Melodious Guile: Fictive Pattern in Poetic Language* (New Haven) pp 164–79.

allegory

(Gr *allēgoria* other speaking) An allegory is a fiction told in such a way as to indicate, by 'aptly suggestive resemblance' *(OED),* a clear structure of nonfictional ideas. It is presented, therefore, as being secondary to a meaning that the reader must try to recover by engaging the text in interpretative play.

Allegory differs from the related forms, parable and fable, by including in its narrative conspicuous directions for interpretation (such as naming the serpent of *FQ* I i 18 'Errour'). Whereas in parable or fable we are offered a complete (and sometimes surprising) interpretation when the story is over, in allegory we find only the iconic rudiments of an interpretation we must build for ourselves, within certain constraints, as we proceed. This has two important consequences: it allows an allegorical narrative to develop at much greater length, and it promotes a sustained interaction between reader and text that has many of the features of a game.

Letter to Raleigh In describing *The Faerie Queene* as a 'continued Allegory, or darke conceit' (Letter to Raleigh), Spenser joins two distinct notions of allegory derived from antiquity, one having its origin in the technical analysis of figures of speech, the other in philosophical interpretations of Homer.

According to the first, or rhetorical, notion, allegory is defined as a metaphor carried on at unusual length, as when troubles in the state are described in terms of a ship in a storm. Its proper pleasure is in recognizing clearly how each thing in a narrative wittily corresponds to some other thing in its meaning. Thus Puttenham writes, in *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589), '*Allegoria* is when we do speake in sence translative and wrested from the owne signification, neverthelesse applied to another not altogether contrary [which would be *irony*], but having much conveniencie with it' (3.18). This account is closely modeled upon that of Quintilian (1st century AD), whose famous definition of allegory as 'continued metaphor' Puttenham repeats (*Institutio oratoria* 9.2.46; cf 8.6.44).

According to the second, or hermeneutic, notion (Gr *hermēneia* interpretation), allegory is seen as a code by which philosophical and spiritual ideas are hidden in mythical tales: 'there are many mysteries contained in poetry,' Sidney confides, 'which of purpose were written darkly, lest by profane wits it should be abused' (*Defence,* ed 1973b:121). Here the proper pleasure is in obscurity, sublimity, and fullness: the sense that the truth beyond the veil of narrative would not be sufficiently valued unless gotten with effort (Augustine *De doctrina christiana* 2.6.8); that this truth, at its highest, is

incomprehensible except through indirect images and tales (Dante *Epistolae* 10.29, ed 1966:193); and that no interpretation can state the meaning in full because the truth of the book is, finally, the truth of the world (Boccaccio *Genealogia* 14.10, 12, 17).

Because Spenser's phrase 'continued Allegory, or darke conceit' recapitulates traditional ideas of allegory that are themselves in need of critical analysis, it should be taken not as an objective description of the poem before us but rather as an indication of how the poet would like us to respond. Spenser is not telling us how to classify his poem: he is telling us how to enjoy it.

To see allegory in the terms proposed in this article, as a game designed by the writer and played by the reader, will elucidate another remark in the Letter: that *The Faerie Queene* is intended to 'fashion' its reader in 'vertuous and gentle discipline.' The reader is to be morally changed not just by seeing examples of admirable conduct but by becoming engaged, through the play of interpretation, in the theory of virtue. Spenser's allegorical writing, like Dante's, fashions an intellectual habit.

interpretative play Traditionally, critics have set out to define what allegory *is* in isolation from how it is engaged by a reader; and they have sought, in consequence, to locate its doubleness of sense inside the text. Even Coleridge thinks of the allegorical text as controlling two carefully articulated lines of development: one set forth explicitly as narrative addressed to the eye while the other, having primary authority, is 'folded in,' or implied, by analogies addressed to the mind. Such a definition tries to be more objective than it is here possible to be. For by focusing on the work in itself, and its presumably inflexible meaning, the most salient feature of allegory is ignored: its deliberate and continuous provocation of what has been called 'the restructuring of the text by each reader' (Honig 1959:29).

Although we are expected to think of the 'darke conceit' as a presence hidden inside the text, more detached analysis will show that it is a convention or rule governing information around a circuit: the narrative is accompanied by iconic details suggesting a deeper meaning inside it, these details are used by the reader to incorporate other elements of the narrative into a comprehensive structure of meaning, and this structure is in turn modified and enriched by further reading. Thus it seems as if the reader, by reorganizing the experience of the narrative into a more coherent pattern of ideas, draws closer to truth while reading further.

The illusion that the meaning of an allegory resides somewhere inside its text is most persuasive, however, when the range of possible interpretations is narrow. For this reason, allegorical poets often will begin with a fairly obvious conceit so that we will imagine an objective meaning throughout, even when we cannot see what it is. Langland, for instance, tells a fable of rats who discuss hanging a bell on the cat, but tells it in such a way that we recognize easily his political subject ('Prologue' 146–207). Spenser likewise keys our expectations of *The Faerie Queene* as a whole by showing, in its first episode, a knight and a woman-serpent engaged in a struggle that can easily be interpreted as the conflict of holiness and spiritual error.

Episodes such as these may persuade us, by extension, that a work conceals inside itself a clear train of thought that is carried through from beginning to end. In complex allegories, notably those of Dante and Spenser, we seem to be directed, through the process of interpretation, toward a point where all mystery is dispelled in the presence of truth. But what we encounter instead is a point where all further progress is blocked by

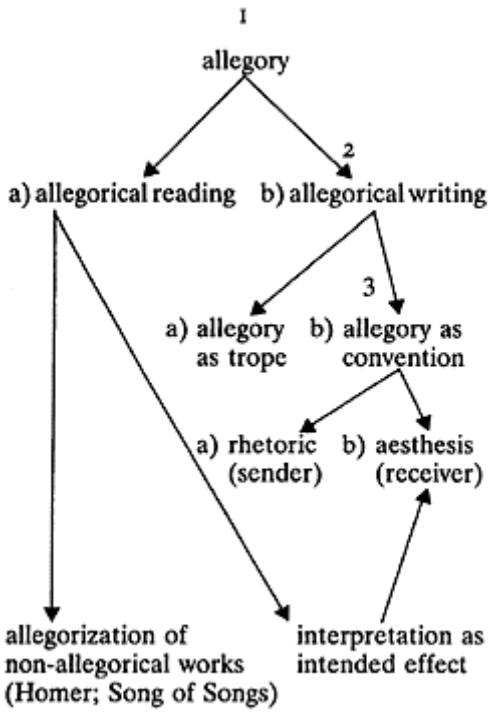
the inadequacy of language to express something that is always beyond it. It is here that the allegorical poet will stage the breakdown of language into paradox (*FQ* VII vii 13) or will insist that to get past the barrier it is necessary to resort to 'shadowy prefaces' (*Paradiso* 30.78) directing the mind of the reader beyond them. Such images are presented as the steps of a ladder that will be discarded when we have climbed it. Thus the effect of 'secondariness' which is cultivated by allegory is at once sublime (because we seem to participate in the essence of meaning) and frustrating (because we cannot express it).

The existence of an ineffable center of meaning where all interpretations seem to converge is something that the reader is encouraged to accept in order to enjoy the process of trying to get there. Even in cases where the meaning is clear, as in satirical allegories such as Swift's *Tale of a Tub,* Arbuthnot's *History of John Bull,* or Addison's allegory of true and false wit (*Spectator* 63), what gives pleasure is the opportunity of playing with the terms of the comparison, and not the prospect of discarding the narrative once we have laid bare its hidden kernel of truth. While the object of chess is to checkmate the opponent's king, the purpose of the game is rigorous, combinative play—which is a fair description also of how an allegory compels us to read. To engage in this sort of play we must enter into a *convention of secondariness* wherein it is assumed that the allegorical text exists only to reach toward something outside its reach.

three distinctions Any narrative, from the Song of Solomon to *Alice in Wonderland,* may be made to mean something other than itself by fanciful interpretation, even when its author could not possibly have intended, or understood, the new meaning. Some narratives, however, are written to encourage readers to interpret in a particular way: hence the first distinction between *allegorical reading* and *allegorical writing*.

The second distinction shows the two aspects of *allegorical writing: allegory as convention,* where an entire work is presented as being secondary to a meaning that is always outside it, and *allegory as trope,* a more limited, rhetorical device forming the texture of narrative in allegorical works. Allegorical tropes can appear also in works, such as the epics of Homer and Virgil, that are not allegorical throughout. Typical kinds of allegorical tropes are personified abstractions such as Furor in *the Aeneid* (1.294), extended metaphors such as the lame Prayers who come after swift-footed Atē, or Madness (*Iliad* 9.502), and significant buildings such as Spenser's house of Alma (*FQ* II ix).

The third distinction separates *allegory as convention* into *allegorical rhetoric* and *allegorical aesthesis*. *Allegorical rhetoric* includes everything a writer may do to make the reader interpret the narrative in a particular way. *Allegorical aesthesis* describes how that process of interpretation actually works in the reader, who translates the narrative into conceptual form.



In practice it is hard to make *allegorical rhetoric* and *allegorical aesthesis* stand clearly apart because the distinction between them accounts only crudely for what is really an uninterrupted circuit of play between reader and text. A gap in the text—between, for instance, the image of a serpent vomiting books and the notion of theological error—is first taken out of the narrative by the reader and then reconstituted abstractly as an opposition between a sign and its meaning. In so doing, the reader is sensitized to a new gap that has been opened between this interpretative opposition and the rest of the narrative from which it has been taken. The reader therefore uses that opposition to absorb further experience of the text into a larger structure of meaning wherein no gap or inconsistency between narrative and truth will be felt. Yet while the goal of interpretation is to eradicate all signifying difference in a motionless ideal, the very work of moving toward that ideal opens more spaces than it can close. The true purpose, therefore, of that increasingly problematic structure of meaning which we accumulate as we read is not to capture the truth but to engage us in further, and more powerful, interpretative play.

This is most apparent in allegories like *The Faerie Queene* and Dante's *Divine Comedy,* which provide more scope and flexibility for the process of interaction between reader and text. By introducing traditional ideas and symbols into the narrative and leaving precise relations between them unstated, several broad contexts of meaning are offered within which the reader may construct several interpretations of the same passage; and for any or all of these responses the reader will find confirmation by reading further. It thus becomes possible to think that there are, beneath the surface of the text, discrete levels of meaning that will eventually converge on the truth.

To understand how allegory works as an imaginative system—that is, to construct a *poetics* of allegory—we must detach ourselves from this belief in a definitive meaning so that we can observe from outside how it regulates the loop of interpretative play. In short, we are concerned not with the truth of the belief but with how it works as a convention.

allegory as convention When an allegorical trope appears in a nonallegorical work, its purpose is to clarify an argument (as in the fable of the belly in Livy 2.32.9) or to intensify our perception of something described. In the *Iliad* (4.440), a personification of enmity (Eris) strides between the armies as they move to attack; and though she is small when we first see her, as the space narrows between the armies she grows larger until her head strikes the sky.

There is nothing ambiguous about this, and no reason to hold the image in mind as we read further. By intensifying our experience of the narrative at one point, it has done its job. This is not the case, however, in allegorical works where it seems as if every image or trope, however clear in itself, communicates mysteriously with all the rest in bending toward truth. In such works there seem to be two kinds of meaning: that which can be deciphered at any point in the text, and that to which all such localized meanings incline.

In Guillaume de Lorris' portion of the *Romance of the Rose,* for example, the significance of each of the arrows that the God of Love shoots at the narrator is clearly explained; yet we are told shortly after that the work as a whole is a mystery with a *senefiance* (significance) that is not to be revealed until the conclusion: The sothfastnesse that now is hid,/Without coverture shal be kid [shown]/Whann I undon have this dremyng,/Wherynne no word is of lesyng [falsehood]' (lines 2071–4 in ed 1965–70; tr Chaucer, lines 2171–4). In Jean de Meun's continuation we are told the same thing—that the poet will 'gloss' and 'expound' the meaning of his text at the end—even as we find allegorical tropes that are easily deciphered as the stages of seduction (15,115–23, 15,291–430 in ed 1965–70): Franchise (bold forwardness), carrying a shield escutcheoned with promises and a lance sharpened with sweet implorings, beats back all resistance from Dangier (forbidding coldness). And when we finally reach the conclusion, which is transparently bawdy, the promised revelation turns out to be not a disclosure but another sequence of images—the pilgrim trying to push his staff into a small hole in the shrine—pointing to a reality outside the text.

The specifically literary aspect of Jean de Meun's wit is lost on us if we fail to appreciate this conclusion as a parody of the circumstances in which allegories typically end (the gteatest example, from our point of view, being Dante's *Divine Comedy*). For in such endings, instead of being offered a disclosure of what all the previous signs mean, we are confronted with a new collocation of symbols indicating that the truth to which they point is too sublime ever to be apprehended directly. Jean de Meun's conclusion points to an act that we recognize but that propriety rather than mystery forbids him to describe openly. Thus while preserving the formal structure of an allegorical conclusion, he reverses its affect so that the transcendental signified is no longer ineffably sublime but unspeakably carnal. In a purely structural sense, there is little difference between this and the sequence of astonishing visions with which Dante's *Paradiso* is brought to an end. In both, the promised end remains outside the work, even though it seems as if we have come through a labyrinth of signs to a point where the gap of 'secondariness' between the work and its referent is asymptotically small.

It is precisely this irreducible 'secondariness' that makes the reading of allegory more active than what we normally experience in other narrative forms, such as romance or epic. For there is an intriguing connection, as we can see in the novels of Thomas Pynchon, between allegory and paranoia: both cause us to build a network of connections behind a visible array of unconnected things. We may refer to this impulse as *hermeneutic anxiety,* the feeling that superficially independent events are wired together under the narrative surface and that it is the business of the interpreter to discover the connections between them.

Allegorical writers often will arouse this anxiety by expressing contempt for anyone who finds the enigma hard to decode (*FQ* II proem 4). But the division of the audience into those who understand and those who do not is really a division inside the experience of each reader, who feels at some moments as if the play of signifiers will never find its end in the presence of truth and at other moments as if it may be possible finally to draw back the veil and grasp what is hidden behind it.

This dialectic is kept in motion by the complementary relationship, in *allegory as convention,* between rhetorical stimulus and aesthetic response. It is not a case of the interpreter recapturing something already thought out by the poet, but of engaging the system of meaning that the poet has made. The reader might suspect an occult correspondence, for instance, between the 'Rich strond' on which Marinell is wounded and the seashore to which Florimell is driven several cantos later, even though no specific connection between them is indicated in the text (Hamilton in *FQ* ed 1977, note on in vii 25). And when the reader has made enough connections of this kind a structure of meaning will seem to emerge from behind the narrative surface. But there is no authoritative structure, worked out in advance by the poet, against which any interpretation might be tested to see how close it comes to the truth. The poet instead uses allegorical rhetoric to suggest contexts of meaning (holiness, temperance, chastity, etc) within which the interpretative game can be played. Thus, while specific interpretations cannot represent what the poet intended to mean, they do represent what the poet intended his readers to do.

The commentaries by Kenelm Digby and Upton on the numerological stanza describing the house of Alma at *FQ* II ix 22 are good examples of how allegory as convention sets up a dynamic interaction between reader and text. It is clear from the stanza itself—a tour de force of allegorical rhetoric—that Spenser has created the conditions of meaning which are then actualized in ways he could not have foreseen. For while both commentators assume that what they find in the text has been put there beforehand, what in fact they are doing is engaging a rhetorical system in learned, readerly play.

mental space To read is to follow a sequence of words through time and to construct, as one reads, a unified idea of the whole. But because this process is largely unconscious, we tend to think of the unity we build into narratives as being inherent in them. Only when a plot is poorly organized, or extravagantly diffuse, is it necessary for the reader deliberately to subordinate inessential detail in order to follow the story.

Allegorical narrative is unusual in this respect because it intentionally violates our sense of causal relations and natural setting—our sense, that is, of the believably real—and forces us to unify what we read according to some other standard: we search for its meaning. Hence allegorical narratives are often, in Aristotelian terms, badly constructed:

paratactic, digressive, episodic, and replete with iconographic details that have nothing to do with the story. Yet it is precisely this operational disorder that allows us to construct any number of meanings.

For this reason, a complex allegorical work is likely to offer some rudimentary gestalt that we can use to direct the otherwise unlimited freedom of interpretative play. The most sophisticated example of this is in the *Divine Comedy,* where the reader is prompted to construct an elaborate spatial model so that the experience of reading may be organized into a pattern that makes interpretative sense. Although this is not true to the same extent of *The Faerie Queene,* we *are* made to feel as if its action is taking place within a comprehensive, spatial design: the unfolding of twelve quests from a center at Cleopolis, to which everything refers back for its meaning.

When we examine Spenser's allegorical rhetoric more closely, we can see that it is designed to provoke the reader, at every level, to conceptualize spatially a narrative experienced in time. Redcrosse's adventures with Error and Archimago, for instance, fall out of sequence to arrange themselves laterally as opposite evils: open heresy on the one side, devious hypocrisy on the other. Orgoglio's dungeon is situated by the reader not before the Mount of Contemplation, but beneath it, thus making a contrast between purified vision and the blindness of ignorant pride.

Allegorical places, such as the house of Holiness and the house of Pride, the gardens of Adonis and Acrasia, Mount Acidale and Gloriana's court, break free of sequence and pair off in the mind as binary conceits; and the train of events through which these places are joined becomes peripheral commentary on them. Even when we come down to the level of diction, Spenser's use of orthographic signifiers, iconic names, and complicated puns encourages us to read the words semantically 'inward' (as we must, more radically, in *Finnegans Wake*), instead of attending exclusively to their syntactic purpose of advancing the narrative line (see Craig 1959 and 1967, Quilligan 1979).

These effects are processed by the mind in such a way that it seems as if every part of the work eventually can be coordinated with every other in one complex, synchronic design. Yet even at this stage, the existence of difference as a necessary component of structure gives the impression that the truth remains incomplete: the full significance of any part cannot be known without understanding the whole, which in turn is unknowable without knowing the parts.

This dilemma, known to modern critics as the 'hermeneutic circle,' causes the reader to imagine its resolution in a centered and luminous point where the mind can enter completely into what it has sought and where no further interpretation is necessary, or possible, because all signifying difference is gone. The Neoplatonists, with whom allegorical poets have much in common, call this point, simply, the One; and Dante describes it, with characteristic precision, as a point into which the scattered leaves of the universe are gathered. (In religious allegory, the image of the heavenly Jerusalem is traditionally the threshold to this point of truth.) We may call it the *singularity*.

It has been noted, however, that our response to this interpretative endgame is contained by an economy of rapture and frustration, since we cannot express the truth we think we have found. This is registered by the poets themselves, who emphasize the difference between their encounter with the presence of meaning and the 'colourd showes' with which they are compelled to express it (*FQ* III proem; Dante *Paradiso* 1.1–12, 33.121–45). When we think of the singularity as if it were behind the surface of the

text, and direct all lines of interpretation toward it, its effect is not unlike that of the 'vanishing point' in linear perspective: we feel that we are not so much following a sequence of words as penetrating into the center.

from interpretation to practice It is natural to think of *allegorical reading* as a symmetrical reversal of *allegorical writing,* where the interpreter simply loosens the knot the poet has tied. In fact, allegorical interpretation, chiefly of the Homeric epics, began well in advance of any sustained allegorical works and played a significant role in their emergence.

The earliest allegorical interpretations of Homer were made in roughly the same period that literacy became pervasive in Greece. By mapping an elegantly limited system of graphic signs onto the acoustic field, writing made it possible to think of a text as containing, inside its visible letters, an invisible but infinitely more various and meaningful sound. From this distinction of sign and breath, where the breath is authentic and the sign its derived and imperfect container, it is natural to proceed to a distinction between the 'outer shell' of the story (now referred to, by analogy, as its 'literal' meaning) and the hidden truth, or 'undermeaning' *(hyponoia),* that the author really intended.

Allegorization of nonallegorical works arose when this conception of a poem as a'text'—a collection of secondary marks referring to a presence inside it—worked together with the natural tendency of people to make earlier works of literature relevant to present concerns. And because these concerns were, broadly speaking, scientific and moral, many events in the Homeric poems were given scientific or ethical meanings. Thus the adultery of Ares and Aphrodite, which is exposed when they are caught in the net of Hephaestus, was interpreted as an allegory of the divine creator binding the forces of opposition and concord in the net of the logos.

Like the *Aeneid* for its medieval interpreters, the Homeric epics were seen, through the veil of allegory, as providing a complete education. Homer thus became all things to all readers: a physicist, a Stoic, a Pythagorean, a Neoplatonist, even an oracle to Byzantine Christians for whom Odysseus at the mast was a figure of Christ on the Cross. It is from this tradition of encyclopedic commentary on the Homeric epics (and eventually on the Scriptures and the poems of Virgil and Ovid) that allegorical works derived their claim 'to give us all knowledge' (Sidney ed 1973b:121). Early examples are Macrobius' *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* (late 4th to early 5th c AD) and Martianus Capella's *Marriage of Mercury and Philology* (5th c AD), the latter being an allegorical treatise on the seven liberal arts that had many imitators, from Alanus de Insulis in the *Antidaudianus* (12th c) to Hawes in the *Pastime of Pleasure*. While the greatest encyclopedic descendant of Martianus' work is the *Divine Comedy,* we can see the influence of this drive for complete mental structures in Spenser's idea of organizing his poem according to the twelve private moral virtues.

An important factor in the birth of Christian hermeneutics, and therefore of Christian allegorical poetry, was the influence of Homeric hermeneutics on the interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures by Philo Judaeus, who in turn influenced Origen, the first important Christian interpreter of Scripture. Origen used the methods of the interpreters of the poets to read the Old Testament, seeing the story of Eden, for instance, not as literally true but as an allegory of the original state of the soul before it is tainted by sin in the world. It is

this application to the Bible of an Hellenic exegetical method that produced the Christian tradition of meaning.

Although ancient interpreters found several kinds of meaning in the Homeric poems (moral, cosmological, philosophical, and mystical), the idea that a narrative might conceal several distinct but related meanings was slow to develop. It is indicated in Servius' commentary on Virgil's *Aeneid* (late 4th or early 5th c), where the word *polysemus* ('having many significations') is used to describe how Virgil's narrative works (ed 1878–87, 1:6). But Servius does not pursue this in the commentary itself, even though he claims that the mysteries of the philosophers, the theologians, and the Egyptians are unified allegorically in *Aeneid* 6 (2:1). Although its roots are to be found in Stoic hermeneutics, Alexandrian Neoplatonism, and Hebrew prophecy, the idea of an organized structure of meaning operating through different but logically related senses would appear to be a Christian achievement. It is to be found in one of the most remarkable and influential examples of allegorical interpretation: the commentary on Genesis in Augustine's *Confessions* (late 4th c), where it is said that God has given us not only the power to express one idea in several ways but also to understand in several ways that which has been obscurely delivered in one (13.24).

The allegorical interpretation of pagan myths had been active for about a millennium before what is traditionally regarded as the first thoroughgoing allegory appeared: Prudentius' *Psychomachia* (late 4th or early 5th c). The old assumptions that were used (and would continue to be used for Virgil and Ovid) to justify fanciful interpretations of nonallegorical works eventually influenced the poets themselves to become the basis of a new kind of imaginative writing—one in which the work is presented as being secondary to a truth that is somewhere beyond it.

early allegories Although ancient authors wrote no extended, allegorical narratives, they produced many allegorical tropes that influenced medieval and Renaissance authors. There are philosophical myths in the Platonic dialogues (which Ficino and the Neoplatonists imagined to be rich in hidden significance), political allegories in the comedies of Aristophanes, personified abstractions such as Power and Madness in the Greek tragedians, and a poem by Alcaeus describing the state under the figure of a ship in rough seas. This last was imitated by Horace (*Odes* 1.14) in a version cited by Quintilian (*Institutio oratoria* 8.6.44) and has since been the standard rhetorical example of allegory.

The most notable example of an allegory from the pre-Christian era is a narrative by Prodicus of Ceos (reported in Xenophon *Memorabilia* 2.1.21), in which the young Heracles must choose between two maidens personifying Virtue and Pleasure. This is carried over into Latin literature in a close imitation by Silius Italicus (*Punica* 15.18–128), although the choice now is given to Scipio. In general, however, the main contribution of ancient writers to the later allegorical tradition was in the nature of instantiated universals such as—to choose examples from the early Christian era—Boethius' Lady Philosophy, Statius' hall of Sleep (*Thebaid* 10.84–117), and Claudian's goddess of Nature (*De consulatu Stilichonis* 2.424–48). One significant exception is the more elaborate, and in some respects strikingly medieval, allegory of life presented in the 'Tablet of Cebes' (1st c AD).

In the Hebrew Scriptures, the most notable allegorical tropes are the image of Israel as a vine in Psalm 80 (cf John 15.1–6) and the allegory of the giant of metals in Daniel

2.31–5. The latter is a complex political allegory that is transformed brilliantly by Dante into the Old Man of Crete (*Inferno* 14.94–120) and skillfully adjusted to new political circumstances by Gower in the prologue to his *Confessio Amantis*. (See also Judges 9.8, 2 Kings 14.9.)

Although the *Psychomachia* is traditionally regarded as the earliest allegory, a case could be made for the Book of Revelation (late 1st c) because it deliberately engages the reader in interpretative play by presenting itself as a mysterious text. The influence of this work on the later allegorical tradition (including Prudentius) is complex and profound, and its imagery pervades every major allegorical work up to Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* in the seventeenth century.

One interesting feature of Revelation that occurs in many later allegorical visions, such as Addison's 'Vision of Mirzah' (*Spectator* 159) and Johnson's 'Vision of Theodore' (ed 1825, 9:162–75), is the presence in the work of two figures: a narrator interpreting the things that he sees and a guide (in Revelation, an angel) who helps him to decode the symbols. (The most famous guides of this kind in allegorical literature are Virgil and Beatrice in the *Divine Comedy*.) The dialogue that takes place between narrator and guide suggests to the reader a range of interpretations that is authorized (and limited) from inside the text, thus providing the reader with a model of how to respond.

The title of the *Psychomachia* means a battle of virtues and vices for the soul, an idea that is probably derived from psychological interpretations of the Homeric *theomachia,* or 'battle of the gods,' in *Iliad* 20. Set battles of this kind between figures such as Chastity and Lust become, after Prudentius, a permanent fixture of allegorical writing as late as Phineas Fletcher's *Purple Island* and Bunyan's *Holy War*. But it is the conclusion of the *Psychomachia* that shows most clearly how this work differs from the allegorical tendencies of poets such as Claudian. Having defeated the vices, the virtues build for the soul a temple that is modeled on the heavenly Jerusalem of Revelation; and the poem then moves to its close in a sequence of increasingly mystical images that suggests we are penetrating into the center of truth. This effect of mystical penetration at the conclusion characterizes later allegorical writing with remarkable consistency, and is achieved with unsurpassed force at the end of the *Divine Comedy*. In Spenser, it occurs at the end of the *Cantos of Mutabilitie* and can also be felt in moments of interpretative centering such as the house of Holiness, the Garden of Adonis, and the dance of the Graces on Mount Acidale.

Prudentius' achievement—the composition of a full-scale allegory in which all of the parts seem to refer to a single, transcendent presence—is a reflection of the larger achievement of his age. For medieval Christendom, everything in nature could be thought of as part of a book written by God, in which the smallest detail is engaged in the larger signifying movement of the whole toward the original Word. The assumptions necessary for the allegorical interpretation of Homer and Virgil had expanded to become, in effect, a complete metaphysics wherein a habit of thought previously restricted to texts became a system for reading the world.

In these circumstances, it was natural for poets to imitate the divine creator by implying that there is a logos, or originative presence, behind the literal surface, and that it may be approached only by interpreting the signs of the text. Allegorical literature flourished, therefore, in a remarkable variety of forms from celestial journeys, such as Alanus' *Anticlaudianus,* to a 'bestiary of love' by Richart de Fournival.

biblical exegesis Biblical interpretation influenced allegorical writers in two ways: it generated a rich store of traditional images carrying widely familiar interpretations (images used with extraordinary originality by Dante, Langland, and Spenser), and it reinforced those general assumptions about texts that are necessary to allegory as convention. A gigantic biblical commentary, such as the *Glossa ordinaria,* by extracting innumerable and unexpected meanings from apparently simple stories, establishes a normative conception of how serious texts are to be read.

The central idea of biblical interpretation is that history follows a symbolic plan organized by God: events recorded in the Old Testament have been made to happen so as to foreshadow incidents in the life of Christ as these are set down in the New Testament. Abraham's sacrifice of a ram instead of his son, Isaac, thus is a *type* (Gr *typos* stamp) of the crucifixion where Jesus (the *antitype*) is the victim who suffers in place of mankind. St Paul actually uses the word *allegory* ('Which things are an allegory' KJV) to de-scribe how Isaac and Ishmael—one born to a slave-woman, the other born free—symbolize the difference between the economies of law and grace (Gal 4.24). It should be noted that *typology* is a procedure of interpretation that was devised for reasons not unlike those that gave rise to Homeric hermeneutics: to incorporate texts into a structure of meaning quite alien to what their authors could have intended. 'What is Plato,' asked Numenius the Pythagorean, 'but Moses speaking Attic Greek?' (Clement of Alexandria *Stromata* 1.22.150).

Medieval interpreters included these typological relations in a more complex structure of levels explained in the mnemonic distich cited in the prefaces to the *Glossa ordinaria:* 'Littera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria,/Moralis quid agas, quo tendas anagogia' ('The *letter* teaches the events, the *allegory* what you should believe, the *moral* [sense] what you should do, the *anagogy* where you are headed' *PLat* 113: cols 280 and 33c; Lubac 1959–64, 1:23).

All three levels beyond the literal are called *allegorical* in a general sense. But the typological relation between Old Testament events and their fulfillment in Jesus ('those things which are to be believed under the new law,' as Nicholas of Lyra puts it in the *Glossa ordinaria*), is accounted for on the *allegorical* level strictly so-called. The *moral* or *tropological* level works in the same way as ancient moralizations of Homer (the drunken Noah as the intemperate man), instructing us in the conduct of life without reference to history. Finally we have the *anagogical* ('going up') or, as it sometimes is called, the *eschatological* level ('last' or 'highest things'), which refers to what Nicholas calls 'those things that are to be hoped for in the future state of blessedness.' Here the temporal character of the system is resumed as events in the text are referred forward now not to the ministry and Passion of Jesus but to his second coming at the Apocalypse. Thus the last book of the Bible, Revelation, discloses the highest level of meaning.

A passage frequently interpreted according to the fourfold scheme is the crossing of the Red Sea by the Israelites and the destruction of Pharaoh's army when it tries to follow. Literally it is an event in the history of God's people; allegorically it prefigures the baptism of Christ in the desert; morally it is the triumph of virtue over an army of sins; and anagogically it typifies, as part of the quest for the Promised Land, the entry of the elect into Jerusalem, when the sea gives up its dead. (For Dante's application of the four levels to the exodus from Egypt, see the *Epistle to Can Grande, Epistolae* 10.7, ed

1966:173, here assumed to be authentic; for an important discussion of the significance of the order of levels, see Lubac 1:168–9; *Bible.)

Typology has been seen by some modern scholars not only as a handy system of interpretative contexts but as a procedure of composition actually followed by poets who 'imitate,' in a phrase adopted from Hugh of St Victor, 'God's way of writing' (Singleton 1965:112). Even for interpretative purposes, however, the medieval application of levels was haphazard and inconsistent—more so, perhaps, than in its modern adherents (Tuve 1966:3). It is one thing to say that typology influenced the poets in the two general ways mentioned (ie, by creating a store of images and by conditioning attitudes to texts); it is something else again to say that the poets followed its logic implicitly.

Such claims have been made most vigorously for Dante, who does indeed indicate, in the *Epistle to Can Grande,* that the *Divine Comedy* should be read in this way (though it is surely suspicious that to demonstrate this he cites from his poem a quotation of Scripture). What Dante intends to supply in this epistle, however, is a general framework of meaning, a gestalt for coordinating on a large scale the complex play of associations that the poem calls forth. Yet the fourfold system has sometimes been supposed to be a much more specific exegetical technique providing the key to each episode in turn (R.Hollander 1969:51). Reading the *Divine Comedy* is not so conveniently managed.

Another modern use of the term *typology,* and one that bears more directly on Spenser, is to denote any relationship where signifier and signified are held apart by time. To call Britomart a 'type' of Elizabeth, however, bears only a superficial resemblance to Joshua's role as a type of Christ. And it obscures the dynastic meaning and classical provenance of Spenser's conceit, which is Virgilian rather than Pauline. Typology is a specialized kind of allegorical reading that should not be confused with allegorical writing.

narrative structure Although allegories seem to divide into narratives of conflict (Bunyan's *Holy War*) and narratives of quest (Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*), the two principles are usually found working together, with one playing the dominant role. Conflict, in which Spenser's knights are frequently engaged, provides a frame for sharply pictorial, allegorical tropes: 'God helpe the man so wrapt in *Errours* endlesse traine' (I i 18). And a quest, such as Arthur's, brings the larger conventions of allegory into play so that the narrative seems to move inward, as it moves forward, toward a center of meaning.

A typical example of how these principles organize narrative is the Old French *Tourneiment Antichrist* of Huon de Meri. At the center of the poem there is a psychomachy, in the manner of Prudentius, that is presented as an elaborate chivalric tournament: as the virtues joust against the vices, the tropological sense of each fight can be worked out from the decorated shields of the fighters. This pattern of individual and distinct conflicts is arrayed, however, along the line of a story in which the narrator moves from the city of Despair on the night before the tournament to the city of Hope on the night after. And the latter is identified, as we should expect, with the celestial Jerusalem of Revelation. Very few medi eval allegories fail to conform to this pattern.

Though conflict is the most typical form of allegorical trope, the effect that it typifies can be achieved in a number of ways: by dialogue between characters with significant names (such as Bunyan's Mr Worldly-Wise or Spenser's Crudor); by iconic structures such as Spenser's house of Pride or Dante's colored stairs leading up to Purgatory's gate;

and by suggestive ordering, as when Redcrosse meets Sansfoy after abandoning Una, or when Dante meets Matelda after entering Eden. What one notices first about these is their curiously episodic character: rather than being joined by any evident and necessary structure of causes, individual events are joined only by the fact of the narrator's passage through each on his journey. The connections between events must be supplied by the interpreter who brings them together in a structure of meaning: after abandoning Una, Redcrosse meets Sansfoy not purely by chance, as it seems in the text, but because loss of faith follows loss of the truth.

Allegorical tropes cause readers to think inward, or across the narrative line, by encouraging them to investigate how many things a single episode or place, such as the Garden of Adonis, may be taken to mean. But attention is realigned with the direction of the narrative by another interpretative concern: that of building a linear sequence not at the level of cause and effect, but of meaning. We cannot perceive logical development from one episode to the next—in Dante, Langland, Spenser, or Bunyan—without engaging the text thus in interpretative play.

Allegorical writers will often provide at the outset an image of the goal to which interpretation is directed so that the unity of the narrative will appear to subsist in that goal. In Canto I of the *Divine Comedy* Dante hears from Virgil of the celestial city he will reach at the end of the *Paradiso*. In the prologue and first passus of *Piers Plowman* we see the tower of Truth to which the dream-quest of Piers is directed; and at the beginning of *Pilgrim's Progress* we see the heavenly Jerusalem to which the pilgrim makes his way throughout the work. For the greater part of *The Faerie Queene* the goal of the quest is Cleopolis, to which Arthur is headed and the knights must return. We imagine that our understanding of the poem will be complete at the moment its narrative ends: when the twelve virtues are united in Arthur and the space separating him from Gloriana is closed.

Renaissance epic and romance Much discussion of allegory in the sixteenth century is centered on Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*. The purpose of such discussion, as with Homer before, is to make the poem morally innocuous and philosophically profound when in fact it is neither. One commentator, Simone Fornari, compares the enchantment of Ariosto's narrative to the Homeric sirens, whose pleasant singing lures men to their deaths; and he warns that the reader is safe only when bound to the mast of an allegorical truth that the narrative conceals. While it is unlikely that Spenser would have shared this notion of the *Furioso* as a 'continued Allegory,' it is likely that he found the notion attractive and intended, in precisely this way, to 'overgo' Ariosto.

Another reason for allegorizing the *Furioso* was to give it that structural unity which had become, with the recent enthusiasm for Aristotle's *Poetics,* an important criterion of value in a heroic poem. The single, unified action of the *Furioso,* it was said, is the war of the pagan king, Agramante, against Charlemagne. But since that conflict takes up only a small portion of the action, some way must be found to make all other episodes and stories conform. This could be done by regarding the adventures of the various knights as moral allegories referring to the unifying theme: the pagan knights represent vices in Agramante, the Christian knights virtues in Charlemagne.

No such comprehensive scheme troubled Ariosto, and those parts of his poem that are allegorical stand out just as clearly as those that are not. The problem of determining how much of a work is designed to elicit allegorical reading becomes more complicated with Tasso, who was himself undecided as to whether or not his *Gerusalemme liberata* is an

allegory. (In one of his letters, no 76, he admits to being unable to recall having written his poem allegorically, yet feels he must have done so because he now finds so many allegories in it; ed 1853–5, 1:185.)

In 1576, Tasso wrote a 'Prose Allegory' (printed in 1581) in which he justifies those elements of romance for which he had been criticized on moral and aesthetic grounds. The whole army besieging Jerusalem (that city being the traditional image, as we have seen, of the *telos* of allegory) now represents for Tasso one man in pursuit of the good; and the romance adventures that take place when the Christian paladins are separated by the enchantress Armida are to be seen as allegories of the private moral virtues. Only when the army is united and subordinated again under Goffredo (Reason) in a state of 'natural justice' can the concerted effort for 'political felicity' begin (*GL* 1581).

The influence of this piece of critical jerry-building is apparent in Spenser's initial conception of *The Faerie Queene* (see Letter and I xi 7): twelve knights representing the twelve private moral virtues refer, throughout their adventures, to Arthur. Only when their quests are accomplished can the public virtues be shown in a concerted war against the Pagan King. Although this scheme acts as a gestalt for the interpreter to organize his responses to the poem, Spenser himself was not confined by it.

the picture theory of language We have seen that allegory as convention generates commentary in its audience and at the same time regulates the play of such commentary within a clearly defined set of contexts: politics, morality, cosmology, and religion. At first this may seem to confine the reader to a procedure of mechanical decoding that will stop when the meaning is clear—an impression that accounts for the hostility of the Romantics to allegory. But because the interpreter, in seeking to close up the gaps perceived in the text, only opens up more, and because the work is designed precisely to sustain that effect, the goal of a complete interpretation always recedes beyond grasp. In the quest to stabilize meaning, the number of analogies it seems necessary to bring in actually increases with time until the allegorical work can come to seem strangely voracious, drawing all knowledge into its margins.

This may be accounted for in part by the conventions of the form. But it is also a consequence of a theory of language of which allegory is the most extreme expression, a theory in which meaning, at some ideal level of visual form, always floats free of any acoustic involvement with words. Words, therefore, are thought of as imperfect pictures of meanings that exist in their purest state, outside the linguistic requirement of sound, in icons and symbols. These may be combined, like pixels, into larger pictures of states of affairs. We may then think of language as an organized whole composing a universe of signs in a total picture that is a 'mirror of nature.'

A further property of these visual signs, according to the theory, is that they acquire, when abstracted from sound, a certain universality of reference that connects them to the underlying reason, or *logos,* of nature; and it is this universality that makes them polysemous. As Fornari, following Pico della Mirandola, explains, the universe is so organized that *fire* at one level of creation will correspond with the *sun* at the next level up and beyond that with the *angelic intellect* burning with love. Creation is ordered thus by an intricate pattern of correspondences from which all allegorical meaning is derived and on which, as a consequence, the polysemy of language is based (Fornari *Spositione* 1549–50, 2:3–4; Pico *Heptaplus* 2nd preface, ed 1572–3, 1:6–8). As words depend less on their acoustic medium and more on the images they call up in the mind, they can

signify more things. And instead of referring in all directions at once, the signifying traffic moves in an orderly and gradual way in one direction: up toward the One which is the source of the *logos*. When we read an allegory, we have the impression of following the same path: we identify correspondences between different parts of the text, correspondences not explicitly signaled in it but called forth by analogy, and we see the network as tending ultimately toward a presence of meaning that is the center and the source of the whole.

One critical point of strain in this theory is the scant provision it makes for things not normally pictured as objects: holiness, temperance, anger, or justice (see *personification). Allegorical imagery appears to fill in this lack, and thus to support the picture theory of language at a critical point, by confining abstract universals to visual forms. The figure of a maiden called Shamefastnesse, who is herself more intensely shamefast than what she stands for in others, makes a descriptive function curve back on itself so that we have a description of a description in which nothing is described, or what has been called a 'self-predicating universal' (Nuttall 1967:42). The absurdity is then hidden by converting the abstract universal into a physical source that is as yet uncontaminated by the actual world where it must flow into objects: 'She is the fountaine of your modestee,' Alma tells Guyon, 'You shamefast are, but *Shamefastnesse* it selfe is shee' (II ix 43).

When we think about language in this way—and it is the way allegorical poets must think about it, as Dante suggests in the *Epistle to Can Grande*—we imagine that what is really true exists only in an empyrean of visual forms transcending language and cleansed of acoustic impurity. Because these assumptions about language are bound to the process of reading, and therefore to texts, it is hardly surprising that the allegorical interpreters, from Clement of Alexandria to Natale Conti, believed the poets to have learned the secrets concealed in their poems from the Egyptian hieroglyphics. Nor is it surprising that Renaissance mythographers were so important to poets such as Chapman and Spenser.

By placing absolute meaning beyond words, the picture theory of language organizes writing into a hierarchy that may be imagined on three levels. At the top, we have the singularity to which all interpretation aspires: a point where the mind is at one with what it contemplates, as an insect turns green on its leaf. Beneath this full presence of meaning, on the second level, is the allegorical work, which we are encouraged to interpret in order to reach for that presence: a poetic text, bristling with ambiguous symbols and complicated tropes, which it is at least theoretically possible for the poet to complete. But while we can imagine *The Faerie Queene* coming to an end after twelve books, with all of its parts numbered and governed in a comprehensive design, we think of commentary about it as having no conceivable end in sight. For by entering into the margin where commentary takes place we have stepped down to the third level of the hierarchy, where language is less pictorial, because farther from truth, and where discursive syntax is more important than symbolic form.

An explanation we would read here on, say, the Garden of Adonis, is easier to follow at any particular moment than what we find in the text; but it seems forever unfinished. Thus the space of commentary suggested by the edge of the page is extended until it seems as if the world is gathered into the margins of the poem and encyclopedically organized by it.

information When we detach ourselves from the picture theory of language to consider allegorical imagery in informational rather than semiotic terms, this hierarchy can be turned on its side and seen as a continuum. And whether we move toward the ineffable at one end of the continuum or the copiously talkative at the other, what we are engaged in at every point is a trade-off between precision of statement and economy of signs. The longer a message is, the more certain we can be of its meaning because there is more redundancy in it: what the sender wishes to say is expressed in several different but mutually confirming ways, and the message gains clarity as alternative meanings are excluded. Cognition, from this point of view, is not a measure of how much is held in the mind, but of how much is excluded by means of further qualification. To say more than is necessary, however, is to waste information; and as soon as we begin to economize on information (as in a telegram), we become more ambiguous because we rely increasingly on the receiver to fill in the gaps of our message.

When we are told that a knight has been caught in the folds of a serpent, we can complete the message in several ways: by saying that the serpent is Satan and the knight humanity in general, that the serpent is the Church of Rome and the knight the Christian church in the sixteenth century, that the serpent is the Roman Empire and the knight the Christian church in the first century, that the serpent is the Passion and the knight Jesus, that the serpent is Lust and the knight Chastity, and so on. We cannot say which of any number of substitutions applies until we have more information to exclude those that do not—or until we are given enough information at least to exclude some, as when the serpent is identified as 'Errour' (I i 18). It is not a question of all possibilities being simultaneously true, but of all being equally uncertain. Yet it is characteristic of allegory to assume the former and to encourage us to think that the image somehow contains all imaginable meanings in all plausible contexts: uncertainty is conceived of as polysemy.

When we seek to unpack some of these meanings, we do so by commentary, which may seem like the work of excavating an inexhaustible store. From an informational perspective, however, we may see commentary as specifying one possibility at a time to the exclusion of others: that is, it adds redundancy to the message to achieve greater specificity on one particular point. The movement in the opposite direction—toward economy of signs and increased ambiguity—is precisely what we find in moments of allegorical 'infolding' such as the Garden of Adonis. We can understand what the commentator is saying, though we fear he will go on forever; we must interpret and complete what the poet is saying, though we sense now that there is some rational limit to how much he will say; and when we are finally drawn into the singularity where all difference is stilled in the unity of truth, we find it means too much to mean anything whatever (see *closure).

The natural response to this blockage is to draw back into the surrounding movement of images and to resort to commentary on *these* in order to explain *it:* in short, to add redundancy to the message. (We explain, for instance, the mystery of Spenser's goddess of Nature, and the enigma she speaks at VII vii 58, by referring back to the cycle of seasons and then turning again to refocus on her, and so on indefinitely.) Thus the singularity is itself inescapably a part of the movement it promises to escape; or, to put it in less autonomous terms, the idea of absolute meaning is but one of the signs we employ in the effort to get beyond signs.

What would happen if an allegorical poet were to realize this with full conviction and then seek to exploit it in a self-conscious and writerly way? Such a poem might exemplify the conception of allegory championed by Paul de Man as a 'rhetoric of temporality.' According to de Man, allegory is at all times aware of the contradictory structure of the assumptions on which it proceeds: on the one hand, the author appears to assume that everything he says emanates from, and ultimately returns to, an ideal meaning that is beyond the figurative distortions of language; and on the other hand, the author recognizes this assumption to be false because, in assuming one can return to an original point and find it unchanged, the reality of time is denied. Such writing tries to recapture temporality by dramatizing its own failure to break out of time; and it is characterized, therefore, by the stylized reiteration of a gesture that is always unfinished. In this way, it forces upon us an awareness of time because time itself is, in de Man's intriguing apothegm, 'truth's inability to coincide with itself (1979:78). Something of this perspective on allegory, as writing that turns back on itself to dramatize the futility of its aim, emerges at the end of the *Cantos of Mutabilitie*.

But it is much more characteristic of allegorical poets to proceed under the assumption that truth can indeed coincide with itself, when the work of interpretation has been done, in a comprehensive folding together of signs. By inciting the interpreter to pursue such a moment of complete understanding, and to pursue it reiteratively through time, allegory achieves its distinctive effect, which is to regulate the scope of interpretation without coming to any definitive end. It establishes an aesthetics of temporality—an encounter with meaning as a process in time—inscribed within a rhetoric of absolute truth. By believing conventionally, that that truth can finally be reached, the interpreter keeps meaning in play.

GORDON TESKEY

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allegory, historical

In his major poetry Spenser devotes significant attention to symbolic portrayal of the contemporary world and to moral comment on its political and religious issues. This dimension of his poetry has generally been called the 'historical allegory.' The term is misleading, however, especially if it suggests to readers that such concerns are frequently expressed in topical allegories that parallel the moral allegory. In fact, Spenser more often refers to the contemporary world allusively, through momentary indications of a moral relationship between the poem and its political context. At certain points, particularly in the second half of *The Faerie Queene,* this concern for contemporary events and issues does grow into full-scale allegorization. But it is more accurate to speak of the historical dimension of Spenser's poetry, a term that includes the full range of allusion, satire, symbolic characterization, historical catalogue, and topical allegory.

The historical dimension of *The Shepheardes Calender* and *The Faerie Queene* derives from Spenser's ambition to be the acknowledged laureate poet of Elizabethan England (see Helgerson 1983). He wished his voice to be heard by those in power, especially the Queen. His celebrations of Elizabeth and his concern about her policies are of a piece with his desire to create a poem of moral engagement, concerned not only with private behavior but with a larger sense of England's moral and political identity. To a nation arrived at the edge of empire, Spenser hoped to provide a vision of accomplishment and possibility.

Because of the fragmentation of Italian politics in the sixteenth century, Spenser could not find such a vision in his Italian models, Ariosto and Tasso. The model for his engagement with history he found rather in Virgil, whose *Eclogues, Georgics,* and *Aeneid* are vitally concerned with questions of national identity and morality. Spenser's most profound debt to Virgil remains the latter's redirection of pastoral and epic toward history. What he found most attractive was the way Virgil confronted his age—and his ruler—with a complex vision of celebration and judgment.

Spenser read the historical dimension of Virgil refracted through the late-fourthcentury commentary of Servius. Though Servius sees topical allegory in the *Eclogues,* he describes the treatment of history in the *Aeneid* as purely allusive. Equally significant is his insistence that Virgil celebrates all of Roman history from the arrival of Aeneas in Latium down to his own day, but in a concealed and fragmented way. In this, he distinguishes Virgil's weaving of history into the fictional fabric of his poem from Lucan's direct representation. In describing the allusive nature of the *Aeneid,* Servius defines a relationship that can be most aptly called typological: Aeneas is both ancestor and prophetic type of Augustus; historical events are made to appear fulfillments of things caused or shadowed in the epic fiction, as Dido's tragedy stands behind the tragedy of Carthage. For Spenser the significance of such an understanding of history in the *Aeneid* lies in the model it provides of an epic typologically connecting fictional past with historical present. Virgil's example may also suggest why Spenser did not begin with topical allegory in the early books of *The Faerie Queene* but initially treated history more allusively.

In *The Shepheardes Calender* Spenser follows Virgil's precedent by directing several of the eclogues toward his own political world. Arguments have been made that the entire

Calender is a topical allegory (most notably McLane 1961 who sees the poem as a multifaceted warning to the Queen of the dangers of marrying Alençon). But few readers have been persuaded. Certainly *Aprill, Maye, Julye,* and *September* are concerned in a primary way with contemporary issues. *Aprill* celebrates Elizabeth's rule through iconographic details that point to the peace and contentment of her reign. By placing the eclogue fourth, Spenser enforces the parallel to Virgil's celebratory Eclogue 4. The other three, however, are critical of Elizabeth's policies toward the church. In these pastoral dialogues, Spenser gives the interlocutors names that suggest contemporary churchmen; and by exploiting the gospel metaphor of shepherd, he is able to address such questions as Elizabeth's suspension of her independently minded Archbishop of Canterbury (Edmund Grindal, shadowed in *Julye* as 'Algrind') and depredations of church livings by venal courtiers *(September)*. The political comment in the three eclogues grows increasingly specific until in *September* Hobbinol warns Diggon Davie to speak less plainly about the corruption from which the reader understands Diggon's prototype had suffered (102–3). Taken together, and in the context of the poetic coming-of-age represented by *The Shepheardes Calender* as a whole, the four eclogues show a poet determined to direct his work toward the public world, yet aware of the consequent dangers and difficulties. Also evident is the way Spenser moves between the poles of celebration and critical judgment in his engagement with history.

The historical dimension of *The Faerie Queene,* though more complex, remains true to this beginning. In the Letter to Raleigh, Spenser calls attention to the way Gloriana and Belphoebe are used to celebrate the Queen; Una, Britomart, and Mercilla also partake of such celebratory aims. Each book of the poem except the sixth contains a figure who mirrors Elizabeth in some fashion and ties the virtue in question to her accomplishments as Queen. The proems to the first three books in particular play suggestively with the idea that the attentive reader will discover the Queen in the fiction. *FQ* II proem 4 asserts that by following 'certaine signes' in the poem Elizabeth will find not only herself but a mirror of her 'owne realmes in lond of Faery.' But the poet also sits in judgment of his world; the poem is saved from becoming mere flattery by the moral scheme into which these celebrations of royal accomplishments are set. On occasion he will even hint at negative royal images, implying not so much satire as caveats for the Queen. One such example is the image of the proud and ambitious Lucifera, suggestively called 'A mayden Queene' and linked to images of the sun that Elizabeth also used (I iv). In *FQ* IV, he constructs an episode that advises the Queen to take the disgraced Raleigh back into her favor (vii 23–viii 18).

How exactly the poem reflects history has been a tantalizing question for readers. One consequence of Spenser's assertion that Elizabeth's England is mirrored in the poem has been the temptation to claim detailed and explicit allegorical connections. Indeed, several of the dedicatory sonnets appear to hint that prominent noblemen or their ancestors are to be found in the poem. In his *Discourse on Satire* (1693) Dryden claims that 'the original of every knight was then living in the court of Queen Elizabeth; and [Spenser] attributed to each of them that virtue which he thought most conspicuous in them.' In his edition of 1758 Upton makes specific identifications, though he generally considers them as more allusive than allegorical. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this tendency led critics to discover detailed historical allegories which were frequently more indebted to the learning and imagination of the writer than to the poem. (For Book I, for

example, Lilian Winstanley constructed a detailed allegory of the Reformation under Henry VIII; see also *Dixon.) Later arguments for detailed historical allegories include Kermode 1962 and 1964, and Hankins 1971.

But it is important to consider whether the narrative surface of the poem does in fact gesture toward an historical reality beyond it, and how the narrative makes such gestures. What we discover in answering these questions is that the poem points toward history intermittently and then by means of particular devices. Sometimes the narrative will suggest a reference, particularly when a character is meant to allude to the Queen. At other times, an allusive name or an iconographic element will indicate the reference. Occasionally the reader is alerted by a curious narrative detail, as when the mention of 'divine *Tobacco*' suggests Raleigh (III v 32). Through such moments, the reader comes to understand that the historical world does not impinge constantly upon the poem but is rather an impending presence that in a general way pervades its moral reality.

Although Spenser did come to write historical allegory in the second half of *The Faerie Queene,* in the first three books the historical dimension is conveyed by allusions that point to a typological relationship between poem and history. Book I most consistently and successfully creates this Virgilian sense of a fictional world set in an undefined past which finds its fulfillment in the present. The Book of Revelation is the principal medium through which Spenser defines the relationship. He depends on the historical reinterpretation of Revelation by the Reformers, in which the symbols of the Roman Empire were redefined as the Roman church; in this way, he points to a specifically English fulfillment of the spiritual mythos of Revelation. Typically, when the pressure of the moral allegory is somewhat lessened, the poem will gesture allusively toward the contemporary progress of the Reformation in England as an analogous battleground of spiritual forces. Most of the allusions are concentrated in the reign of Mary, when England, like Redcrosse, strayed from the path of Protestant faith. For example, the narrative suggests that Una, separated from Redcrosse and driven out into the wilderness like the woman of Revelation 12.6, may be seen as a version of Elizabeth in her sufferings under Mary (I iii 2). Indeed, the name Una was used as a cult title of Elizabeth, alluding to her virginity. The effect of this relationship between Una and Elizabeth is to indicate the Queen's role in guiding England back from apostasy and despair to spiritual strength. The reader is thus to understand that the sacred archetype of Revelation is relevant both to the individual and to history.

In Books II and III, the historical dimension is more intermittent. Belphoebe is used in both books to connect temperance and chastity to Elizabeth's political character. In Book III, Britomart also bears a typological relationship to Elizabeth as her fictional ancestor; the stanzas that relate her progeny and her Trojan ancestry tie her to Elizabeth as a prophetic example of female strength (iii 21–50, ix 44–51). These historical catalogues and the one contained in the book Arthur reads in *FQ* II x are drawn from Tudor chronicles that themselves show the popular fascination with national history. In the context of the poem, the catalogues are concerned to demonstrate the tumultuous processes of history that will lead to the peace of Elizabeth's reign. Both Britomart and Elizabeth embody an historical *discordia concors:* Britomart early, fictional, prophetic; Elizabeth present, actual, fulfilling. In *FQ* II x, Spenser contrasts Arthur's *Briton moniments* with the idealized history of Guyon's Elfin chronicle; he thus indicates that the order of history the poem projects is an ideal held up to his age.

Spenser's method of treating history alters significantly in the second half of the poem. Here we find narratives specifically fashioned to reflect historical situations, narratives which can be properly described as historical allegory. The first of these portrays Raleigh's disgrace over his marriage and the deception he practiced on the Queen (IV vii 23–viii 18). In the earlier allusive reference to Raleigh, Spenser had portrayed the love of Timias and Belphoebe as a general and idealized image of the relationship of courtier and queen (III v 13–55). But in Book IV, the episode is clearly designed to comment on a specific situation, and its purpose is to plead the cause of Raleigh's return to favor. Such historical allegories come to dominate the poem in Book v, especially in its second half. There are many references to contemporary political issues in the early cantos (eg, the issue of monopolies in the episode of the tollbridge, ii 5–19, or the threat of insurrection in the Giant with the scales, ii 29–54); but in the second half, the primary purpose of such episodes (eg, the trial of Duessa in canto ix, the rescue of Belge in x, and Burbon's recovery of Flourdelis in xi 43–65) is to portray and justify particular events.

One consequence of this historical allegory is a blurring of moral focus in the poem. Since the fictional episodes are designed to reflect historical events, they tend to assume their morality from history. At its best *The Faerie Queene* moves on a moral and psychological plane in which poet and reader seem imaginative collaborators in interpreting experience. The allusive approach to history in the early books contributes to this collaboration, since contemporary events are admitted more as an illustrative adjunct to the moral dimension. But historical allegory appears to reverse the order and make history primary; as a consequence, the moral vision of the poem must wait upon the ambiguities of the actual world. Some readers have felt that the historical allegory, besides giving Book v a more apologetic character, diminishes the poem's imaginative vitality.

In its final completed book, the poem draws back from history. Unlike the previous books, Book VI contains no figure who represents the Queen. Though it begins by finding the etymology of *courtesy* in the word *court,* its narrative never comes close to portraying the Elizabethan court. It has been suggested that Calidore shadows Sidney or the Earl of Essex but in fact no heraldic or narrative details support such an identification. The allegorical core of the book, Colin's vision of the Graces, substitutes personal for political sources of inspiration as Colin begs Gloriana's pardon for singing the praises of a fourth Grace, his own love, instead of hers (in *SC, Aprill,* the fourth Grace had been Eliza). The historical dimension of *The Faerie Queene* essentially ends with Book v; in the final completed book, Spenser turns inward, away from history.

Among Spenser's minor poems, only *Mother Hubberd's Tale* can be said to have a significant historical dimension. Though scarcely his most polished or consistent work of political comment, it may well be his most daring. In its first two-thirds, the poem is a traditional estates satire and appears to share with *The Shepheardes Calender* certain political concerns, especially over the church. Some commentators have also seen in it a covert warning about the Alençon marriage, which would place it close to 1579. Yet the heartfelt lament about the trials of a suitor at court (892–914) appears to derive from Spenser's own experience in 1589–90; and in its final third, the poem turns into a beast fable which oddly redoubles the earlier court satire. Here the political cunning of the Fox is portrayed in terms that refer to Burghley, the powerful Lord Treasurer, with surprising

boldness (1137–1204). The supposition that the Fox satirizes Burghley is strengthened by the contemporary belief that *Complaints,* in which *Mother Hubberd* was published in 1591, was 'called in,' that is, suppressed by the government; and it is true that the poem was not reprinted until after the death of Robert Cecil, Burghley's son. If the poem is Spenser's most daring piece of historical comment, it may also be the one he had most cause to regret: in the last stanza of *FQ* VI, he complains feelingly that some unspecified verses had brought him 'into a mighty Peres displeasure.' No peer's displeasure was less to be invited than Burghley's.

MICHAEL O'CONNELL

Cain 1978; Fichter 1982; Greenlaw 1932; Hankins 1971; Frank Kermode 1962 'Spenser and the Allegorists' *PBA* 48:261–79, and Kermode 1964–5 (both essays rpt in Kermode 1971); McLane 1961; O'Connell 1977. See also the summaries of earlier criticism in the *Variorum* 'Historical Allegory' appendices.

Alma, castle of

Alma represents the immortal, God-given, rational soul that 'doth rule the earthly masse, /And all the service of the bodie frame' (IV ix 2). Spenser refers to her as 'the soule' and to her castle, the temperate body, as 'the fort of reason' (II xi 1). The immediate source of the name may have been current Italian usage: John Florio defines Alma as 'the soule of man.' It is both a poetical contraction of the original Latin and Italian *anima,* whose meanings evolved from 'breath' to 'the vital principle' to 'the soul,' and the feminine form of Latin *almus,* 'that [which] norisheth: fayre: beautifull,' as in the common phrase *alma mater* (T.Cooper 1565; cf *FQ* II ix 18–19; and see Florio ed 1611 and others from 1578 on).

The soul has been figured as a woman in Christian culture since the early Middle Ages, and so appears in Dante's *Divine Comedy* (Beatrice), the Middle English *Pearl,* Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499), and, more recently, in Jung's concept of the image of the male soul as female 'anima.' Spenser's characterization of Alma as the much-sought-after virgin in whom heaven rejoices (ix 18–19), identifies the human soul as bride of Christ. His description beginning with her 'robe of lilly white' and ending with her head crowned with roses, suggests that virginity (the lily; cf Una in I xii 22 and Belphoebe in II iii 26) can develop its potential for both human and divine love (the rose, sacred to Venus; cf Belphoebe, III v 51).

The castle of Alma belongs to a long tradition of allegorical castles, such as the Castle of Anima in Passus 9 of *Piers Plowman* B-text (c 1377), and the castle in du Bartas' *Divine Weeks* 1.6 (1578). Spenser describes it enigmatically in *FQ* II ix 22. In the earliest extended commentary on a single stanza of *The Faerie Queene* (1644), Kenelm Digby interprets the circle, perfect and without beginning or end, as the mind or soul; the triangle, imperfect and the first of the geometrical figures, as the body. The quadrate he

interprets as the four humors uniting body and soul (choler, blood, phlegm, and melancholy). The proportions, seven and nine, refer to the created world (the seven days of Creation, the seven known planets) and to the immortal world beyond (the nine hierarchies of angels). It has been pointed out that these lines may be read 'either as an architectural description of Alma's Castle or as a geometrical description of the human body, or as generally allusive arithmology, or as step-by-step instructions for a specific geometrical construction or arithmetical operation' (Fowler 1964:260). The stanza may also convey an image of the universe—the lower regions, the earth with its four elements, and 'the circle set in heavens place'—as well as of the music of that 'worke divine' with its three parts created as *discordia concors* ending in the great diapason.

Literally it is a castle; the primary allegorical reference is to the human body with its basic parts of legs (triangle), chest (quadrate), and head (circle), as the introductory stanza suggests in its celebration of the temperate human body (ix I; cf xi 1–2). As the subsequent description implies, however, the castle of Alma is not merely the body inhabited by the soul but also the house that is the soul, traditionally divided into three parts: the vegetable soul of nourishment and growth (the triangle of the lower functions), the sensitive soul (the quadrate of the breast), and the intellectual soul (the circle of memory, judgment, and imagination). Bartholomaeus Anglicus had earlier used triangle, quadrate, and circle to image the three functions of the soul in his *De proprietatibus rerum* (see ed 1582:14r).

The functions of the vegetable soul are presented in a simple tour of the castle (ix 24–32). The terms of the description are concrete details that indicate their referents immediately: the lips appear as a porch, the mustache as a vine over it, the teeth as 'Twise sixteen warders,' the throat as a hallway, the stomach as a kitchen, and so on. The rather startling metaphorical juxtapositions create indirect humor which finally becomes direct, in puns on the 'Port Esquiline' through which waste matter 'was avoided quite, and throwne out privily' (32).

The functions of the sensitive soul are presented differently, in a single scene set in the parlor of the heart (33–44), where implications are conveyed by the characters' actions and reactions rather than by static images. In a sophisticated courtly scene out of medieval romance, Spenser describes the diverse passions of the heart as dames and courtiers. Arthur and Guyon pay court to ladies and discover things about themselves. In an ironic contretemps, Arthur discovers that the lady he courts is Prays-desire, an image of the desire for glory that motivates him; in a similarly comic encounter, Guyon finds that his lady is Shamefastnesse, an image of the fear of shame that is at the center of his character.

Returning to description again for a presentation of the functions of the intellectual soul in the castle's 'Turret' (45–60), Spenser stresses not simple images or a scene but rather a set of generalized and abstract characterizations that call upon the heroes' abilities to understand and make distinctions. The focus is on Alma's three counselors: the young Phantastes (imagination) who foresees the future (both true visions and lies), the mature unnamed counselor who comprehends present events, and old Eumnestes (memory) who records the past. Taken together, they suggest prudence, the practical wisdom needed to govern the body so as to preserve the whole in temperance by learning from the past, considering the consequences of action in the future, and judging and acting accordingly in the present (see Panofsky 1955:149–51).

The progress of Arthur and Guyon through the three regions of the castle of Alma suggests an education whereby they come to know their own souls, as they move from sensation to feeling to understanding, from youth to maturity to age. The three regions may also suggest the four traditional levels of exegesis of the Bible. The journey itself is the literal level. The vegetative region may represent the allegorical or historical reflection of things we know; the sensitive region, the moral sense of what choices we must make; and the intellectual region, the anagogical sense of what things mean in the fullness of time.

The castle of Alma may be contrasted detail-by-detail with the vision of intemperance in the house of Mammon in II vii (Nohrnberg 1976:327–31, 343–51). It should also be compared with the vision of temperance in the house of Medina in canto ii, where Medina frantically tries to keep the perilous mean between excess and defect. Alma's castle is the image of achieved temperance figured as the fitting together of parts (L *temperare* to mix equally): harmony among parts of the body, among parts of the soul, between body and soul, and between human and divine.

WALTER R.DAVIS

Barkan 1975; Hopper 1940; Jordan 1980; Panofsky 1955

Amadis of Gaul

A composite romance that describes the life and adventures of Amadis of Gaul and his descendants. Deriving ultimately from French prose stories about Arthur, a romance of Amadis of Gaul existed in the fourteenth century, but the redaction by Garci Rodriguez de Montalvo (4 vols, 1508) introduced the hero to Spanish readers. When a fifth book, an original addition also by Montalvo, was published in 1510, a pattern was established. Other Spanish writers added further books. The romance grew in both size and popularity first in Spain and then, after 1540, in France and other countries until it finally reached 24 volumes and was known in most major European languages. Since the process of translation into English did not start until 1590, most Englishmen knew it in the French version which, because it added language and episodes from the *Orlando furioso* and other romances, is often quite different from the Spanish. Sidney, who borrowed the main plot of his *Arcadia* from episodes in Books 8 and 11, praised *Amadis* for its ability to move readers 'to the exercise of courtesy, liberality, and especially courage'—even though it 'wanteth much of a perfect poesy' (ed 1973b:92).

Spenser's debt is much harder to establish in detail. The general features of *Amadis* and *The Faerie Queene* are common to many romance narratives, and both works draw upon a similar chivalric tradition. In addition both incorporate, in different degrees, elements of pastoralism and allegory. Many set scenes in both works are also standard in romance: the bed in Dolon's chamber (*FQ* v vi 27) has a counterpart in *Amadis* (3.6, 15.23), as does the seven-headed beast of Revelation (*FQ* I vii 18, *Amadis* 14.31). Since

these and other parallels are common to romance narrative, they are probably best regarded as analogues.

Yet at least one part of *The Faerie Queene* suggests that Spenser read *Amadis*. The house of Busirane contains motifs of the wall of flame (III xi 21), the exposed heart (xii 21), and the procession of Cupid (xii 3ff). All three occur separately in *Amadis* but are found together in the episode of Amadis and Zahara (8.85ff). Despite a major difference in the outcome—the romance counterpart of Amoret dies when her enchanter is killed by Amadis of Greece—Spenser seems to have derived the idea and many of the details from *Amadis*.

JOHN J.O'CONNOR

Citations given above are to the books of the French *Amadis,* published as 21 separate volumes in Antwerp, Paris, or Lyon from 1548 to 1581. Book I has an edition by Hughes Vaganay (Paris 1918). See O'Connor 1970:287–9.

The Ancient, Famous, and Honourable History of Amadis de Gaule 1619 (Books 1–4; Book I first pub 1590, Book 2 in 1595) tr Anthony Munday (London); Al. Cioranescu 1963 *L'Arioste en France* (Paris); John J.O'Connor 1970 *'Amadis de Gaule' and Its Influence on Elizabethan Literature* (New Brunswick, NJ).

Amavia, Mortdant, Ruddymane

At *FQ* II i 35, Guyon and the Palmer come upon the dying Amavia and her recently dead husband Mortdant beside a well or spring, with their child Ruddymane, who sits in her lap playing in the blood flowing from her self-inflicted wound. She accuses fortune and the heavens of injustice, commends her child to fortune, and bids him live and testify by his bloody hands that she died guiltless of any crime. When she was pregnant with this child, she informs Guyon, her good and beloved husband left on a knightly quest, in the course of which he was drugged by Acrasia and seduced into an adulterous liaison. Taking the guise of a palmer, and undergoing en route a painful childbirth in a wood, Amavia found a Mortdant who had ceased to reason and reformed him. Then Acrasia slyly gave him a drink designed to kill him when 'Bacchus with the Nymphe does lincke.' The pair departed in apparent safety; but on their way home, Mortdant happened to drink of this well, thus catalyzing instead of tempering the delayed-action poison within him, and fell dead, whereupon Amavia stabbed herself—from which she now dies. Guyon and the Palmer reflect sadly on this overthrow of reason by passion, they give the couple a pagan funeral (see *hair), and Guyon vows vengeance. According to the otherwise erroneous synopsis in the Letter to Raleigh, this vow is 'the begin-ning of the second booke and the whole subject thereof.' In canto ii, Guyon tries unsuccessfully to wash Ruddymane's 'guiltie' hands in the nymph's well. His explanations of why he cannot are 'corrected' by the Palmer: the indelibility arises not from any fault, either in

the well, whose feminine shape and soil-resistant property originated in its nymph's resistance to the lustful Faunus, or in the blood, valuable as a 'sacred Symbole' of vengeance and of Amavia's innocence and chastity. Satisfied, Guyon gives Ruddymane to the Palmer and takes up Mortdant's bloody armor; they leave for the castle of Medina.

In part, Amavia's story exemplifies passion with such pathos as to enlist the passions of the reader. The reader then participates in Guyon's quest for its control by temperance. The reader is irresistibly reminded of original sin: the love triangle of Mortdant, Acrasia, and Amavia somehow refers psychologically to that inner conflict between concupiscence and moral law described in Romans 7, and typologically to Adam's fall (eg, Acrasia as conflation of both tempters, Eve and the Satan-serpent)—the original cause of this concupiscence as well as of the inherited guilt manifested in Ruddymane. These two biblical subtexts are connected both in their own exegesis and in the poem, particularly in the situation of Mortdant recounted in canto i. The four alternating evil and good forces that impinge upon him—Acrasia, Amavia, the cup, and the well (especially the first three as described by Guyon in stanza 57)—correspond to the four 'laws' in Paul's summary of his story (Rom 7.22–5). In terms of selfknowledge, Paul says he progressed (as does Mortdant) from happily oblivious intemperance to rational continence to realization of the sinfulness of his continuing concupiscence.

Of Mortdant (original spelling at 49) the etymology 'him that death does give' (55) was doubtless intended honorifically and chivalrically (as in 'your dead-doing hand' iii 8) but turns out to identify him as the 'one man' by whom 'sinne entred into the world, and death by sinne, and so death went over all men' (Rom 5.12; see also I Cor 15.21–2; and for Spenser's and E.K.'s paraphrase of both, see *SC, Nov* emblem and gloss). In addition, beneath Amavia's exculpation of him 'For he was flesh' (i 52), there may be a Pauline diagnosis of his inherent weaknesses (Fowler 1960–1). Since he does not literally give death to anyone (except proleptically to Ruddymane, ii 2, and allegedly to Acrasia, according to her heartbroken pose), it is Adam's fall which explains both his name and the charm, which resembles the curse of death on the forbidden fruit (Gen 2.17).

Psychologically, the cup has been identified as concupiscence, or involuntary evil desires, both because Mortdant's volition is played down by Spenser's saying Acrasia deceived him with a cup and because only in trying to be good does one become aware of involuntary evil. Mortdant's two sins thus reflect Augustine's reputed tracing of concupiscence to the Fall: 'because man would not abstain from evil when he could, it was inflicted on him, that he could not abstain, though he would' (quoted by Hugh of St Cher ed 1645, 7: fol 42 col 4 on Rom 7.9).

Mortdant is executed by the pure well either for an undeliberate and victimless sin or for a mortal one of which he has repented. Yet neither of these sins exceeds in gravity those of Acrasia's other lovers, whose punishment is to be metamorphosed into beasts (xii). As if to accentuate his fate by theirs, Mortdant too was temporarily 'transformed' by his initial adultery 'from his former skill' (i 54)—an Elizabethan synonym for man's specific faculty. His failure to recognize Amavia, dramatizing the drug's blockage of his reason, thus confirms that Amavia allegorizes reason. His impure death from contact with purity bears a physical parallel to Guyon's faint and apparent death upon emerging from Mammon's realm to the pure air (vii 66, viii 7, 13)—but one which does not tell us much. Only Paul's portrayal of law in Romans 7 as announcing spiritual or eternal death—not baptism, or a too-sudden reformation, or the virtue attainable by pagans, or the opposite

extreme of insensibility to the erotic, or the female generative principle—can explain the death of Mortdant.

Amavia is at once an actor like Mortdant and a narrator. Her name can mean 'I have loved,' 'she loves in order to live,' or '[she] that loves to live' (i 55), or '[she] who loves life,' all of which point to the literal story or to her serving as an example of intemperate grief. Her initial speeches and her general role as a suicide for love imitate Virgil's Dido (Nelson 1963:179, 181), or the chaste Dido. Her painful childbirth in a wood while seeking her philandering husband imitates the similar plight of the mother of Tristram in Malory (*Morte Darthur* 8.1). But this is only part of her complicated and controversial symbolism. Her loss and reclamation of Mortdant recalls the Palmer's previous loss and recovery of Guyon, as Amavia herself points out, 'As wont ye knights to seeke adventures wilde' (50). In that Amavia literally acted as the voice of reason in reclaiming Mortdant and emblematically 'wrapt [herself] in Palmers weed' (52), she may exemplify the rational person and somehow reflect not only the Palmer but also such female personifications as Reason in *Romance of the Rose,* who offers herself to the hero, and Logistilla in *Orlando furioso* (6.43–6), who opposes Alcina, a prototype of Acrasia. She tries to redress the Fall reenacted by Mortdant and Acrasia; so reason remained more or less untainted by the Fall (Peter Martyr Vermigli 1583, 2: fol 223 col 2), constituting in its historical role as natural law the sole guide of mankind until the advent of Mosaic law (Rom 5.13–14; Geneva gloss; Luther ed 1883–1987, 56:315).

Although Amavia is doing everything for her charge that the Palmer did for Guyon, she cannot control him, for just at this point Acrasia deceives Mortdant with the poisoned cup—a reversal the Palmer never experiences. That Mortdant's reform under Amavia's tutelage actually causes this backlash of feeling illustrates the paradox of negative suggestibility noted even by secular authors such as Ovid (*Amores* 3.4.11; see also *Metamorphoses* 15.138) and Montaigne ('That Our Desire Is Increased by Difficulty'), but treated extensively in Romans 7, where the law's 'Thou shalt not lust' actually revives lust. Besides this law, Amavia also corresponds to 'the law of my minde' and 'inner man,' which approves Mosaic law's prohibitions but is balked by 'the law of sinne, which is in my membres' (7.22–3, especially in Origenistic and Catholic exegesis of Romans, which stress reason and natural law). Her character as thus revealed vitiates her 'reliability as teller inasmuch as she is undisturbed by, and seemingly ignorant of, concupiscence or frailty, even endearingly but insufficiently excusing Mortdant's first sin on the grounds that 'all flesh doth frailtie breed' (52); so reason and pagan ethics condone concupiscence. Her complacent tolerance is shattered by his death: even frailty is declared sinful by Mosaic law as embodied in the well, which in this regard 'goes beyond' classical ethics (Calvin ed 1960a:143, on Rom 7.7). In reaction, she accuses the heavens of injustice (i 36–7, 49–51).

In one way or another, Amavia's suicide fulfills Acrasia's curse on her (55). 'Losse of love' could mean either loss of the beloved, which goes with the 'loves-in-order-to-live' etymology of her name, or loss of the emotion, which goes with 'she who loves life.' Amavia's terminal mood, 'hating life and light' (45; cf 36), reverses her characterization as '[she] who loves life.' One of Spenser's motives for giving his reason-figure this name is that its reversal might dramatize the confession of inadequacy which Augustine sees in the rationalistic ethics of the Stoics: although it pins its hopes on this life alone ('loves to live'), it concedes that this life may frequently become so intolerable as to warrant

suicide (*City of God* 19.4). Consequently, although Amavia first resists, she later shares and augments Mortdant's 'Tragedie' (ii 1). While we admire her, the way in which she wishes her child luck and abandons him to the mercies of the forest (i 37; she does not know that Guyon and the Palmer are there) seems unfeeling. (Similarly, the protagonist of *Daphnaïda,* in despair over the death of his spouse, ignores thei welfare of their child by irresponsibly contemplating suicide, 77–91, 442–8.) Such irrationality under pain identifies Amavia as mere reason, not the right or divinely illuminated reason embodied in the Palmer. Her grief is caused by Mosaic law without grace (here symbolized by the well), which leads to despair, to cursing God as the cause of one's own damnation (cf i 49), and sometimes to suicide (Luther ed 1883–1987, 42:133, on Gen 3.12). Thus Guyon's summary is faithful (omitting the well) to the end if not the beginning of Amavia's story: 'passion…Robs reason of her due regalitie,/And makes it servant to her basest part' (57).

Yet even Ruddymane is not so unqualifiedly innocent as Amavia (ii I, 3; cf i 37, ii 10). That she imbibes the poison of the cup, albeit innocently, is indicated not only by the curse but by Guyon's otherwise curious remark that she also drank the cup (ii 4). Because he goes on to refer to her and Mortdant as a single 'senselesse truncke' (4), presumably she did so through intercourse, suggested again by the converse metaphor of drinking as linking (i 55). This defilement by association, as by a venereal disease, seems to explain away her sins. The Palmer—reasoning from the well's acceptance of her blood when it falls directly into it (40) and her claim to innocence (37)—virtually equates her with the Virgin Mary insofar as her blood symbolizes another and typologically significant part of human nature, the 'seed of the woman' (Gen 3.15) which did not carry 'blemish criminall' (37), that is, original sin (transmitted by the seed of the man), and hence was able to produce in the Virgin Mary an Adamically innocent 'seed,' the avenger Christ. The link between this final typological and genetic role and her psychological one seems to lie in her association with nature (Fowler 1960–1:148)—more exactly, mankind's generative nature and natural law—whose corruption is frequently qualified as adventitious and imaged as a wound.

Ruddymane's name means 'red hand.' His literal birth was incommodious but acceptable to the nymphs (i 53); his recapitulatory second birth at the well with Guyon as midwife is condemned by the nymph as unclean. As a foundling washed, whether successfully or not, by a superior male figure and a nymph, Ruddymane recalls both Jerusalem in Ezekiel 16 and Bacchus in the Greek epigram also echoed in the lines 'So soone as Bacchus with the Nymphe does lincke' and 'in dead parents balefull ashes bred' (i 55, ii 2; Kaske 1976). The last two of Guyon's three conjectures about the stain's indelibility (ii 4) constitute two standard definitions of original sin (Fowler 1960–1:144). This child of Mortdant and Amavia represents mankind (see ii 2) tainted at birth by original sin (Rom 5.12–21, 39 Articles 9, Hamilton 1958b:157–8, Fowler 1960–1:144), as the well allegorizing Mosaic law declares. Since the well does nothing for Ruddymane but diagnose his state, baptism is conspicuous by its absence (cf Fowler 1960a:145, 147, Fowler 1960–1, and others). Just as the well's nymph, allegorizing man's original righteousness, rejects both Ruddymane and the lustful Faunus, who allegorizes both the Tempter and concupiscence (ii 7–9; Fowler 1960–1:146), so Mosaic law holds up this righteousness as an impossibly high standard and thereby serves only to condemn for having original sin both the concupiscent adult and the innocent child. In ii 10, there is

nevertheless a note of hope based on Ruddymane's role as mankind. In a final reversal, amplifying Amavia's 'testament' (i 37), he is also declared to represent, to borrow Milton's phrase, 'that greater man' who escaped inheriting original sin by being born of an altogether chaste woman, but whose vicarious assumption of it (allegorized not only by Ruddymane's present stain on his hands but by his future donning of his father's bloody arms; see *Piers Plowman* B, 18, where Christ's joust 'in Piers armes… humana natura') expiates it for all the others (Kaske 1976:207–8; cf Evans 1970:119, Hamilton 1958b:158).

CAROL V.KASKE

The religious works cited in this article and some other relevant medieval and Renaissance commentaries on Romans include Augustine ed 1957–72 *The City of God against the Pagans* tr George E.McCracken, et al 7 vols (Loeb Library); Augustine *Sermones in scripturis* 153–4 (*PLat* 38:824–41); John Calvin 1960a *Calvin's Commentaries: The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Romans and to the Thessalonians* tr Ross Mackenzie (Grand Rapids, Mich); Hugh of St Cher 1645 *In epistolas Pauli* in *Opera* (many eds through 1598) 7 (Lyon); Lapide 1627 *In epistolas Pauli* in Lapide 1614–45; Luther *Genesisvorlesung* and *Der Briefe an die Römer* in ed 1883–1987, 42, 56, Eng tr in ed 1958–75, 1–8 (Genesis), 25 (Romans); Origen *Commentaria in… Romanos* tr Rufinus (*PGr* 14); Peter Martyr Vermigli 1568 *Commentaries [on] Romanes* tr H.B[illingsly] (London); Vermigli 1583.

For Spenser, see Brooks-Davies 1977; Evans 1970; Fowler 1960a; Fowler 1960–1; Hamilton 1958b; Hankins 1971; Hoopes 1954; Kaske 1976; Kaske 1979; Lemmi 1929; L.H.Miller 1966; Nelson 1963; Spenser *FQ* ed 1965a; *FQ* ed 1977; *FQ* ed 1978; A.Williams 1948; K. Williams 1966.

America to 1900, influence and reputation in

The first direct reference to Spenser in American literature appears in Anne Bradstreet's poem 'In Honour of Queen Elizabeth' (1643), where her glory is said to be so great that not even Spenser's poetry can do it justice. A second reference, to 'Phoenix Spenser' in her elegy for Sidney in *The Tenth Muse* (1650), was dropped from the 1678 edition, an indication that Bradstreet had been made aware that Spenser was not the author of the unsigned elegy for Sidney in the 1593 anthology *The Phoenix Nest* (Crowder 1944).

Evidence exists that seventeenth-century Harvard students copied portions of Spenser's poems, and eighteenth-century Yale students were familiar enough with them for John Trumbull to have made *Epithalamion* the basis for a ribald parody in 1769. Late in the century, the influence of James Thomson led young American poets to experiment

with the Spenserian stanza. One such attempt by Elihu Hubbard Smith, called 'In Imitation of Spenser: A Fragment' (1791), might better have been named 'In Imitation of Thomson,' for it combined the landscape detail of *The Seasons* with the Gothicism of *The Castle of Indolence* (Franklin 1970:923–5). Smith was the close friend of Charles Brockden Brown, America's earliest creator of romance fiction, whose enthusiasm for William Sotheby's translation of C.M. Wieland's *Oberon,* fashioned into Spenserian stanzas, caused him to call for a similar translation of *The Faerie Queene* to overcome the obstacle of Spenser's language (Brown 1805).

No such effort was forthcoming, however, and in 1817 the *North American Review* reiterated Brown's call by pointing to the need for a critical edition to elucidate the allegory (Gilman 1817). The significance of the article lies in its year of publication, 1817, a crucial one for the *Review* when its conservative founder, William Tudor, gave over leadership to the more liberal Willard Phillips who encouraged contributions from such romantics as Dana, Bryant, and W.E.Channing. Though willing to admit of the fatigue induced by a 'steady perusal from beginning to end' of *The Faerie Queene,* Bryant nonetheless proclaimed it the repository of a poetic language so perfect that it remained unparalleled (Bryant ed 1884, 1:152). His comments were part of a series of four lectures on English poetry delivered in New York in 1826, the first important study done in America on the subject. Later they formed the introduction to his anthology *A Library of Poetry and Song* (1871) which included five selections from Spenser. William Cullen Bryant was the only nineteenthcentury American poet of note to use the Spenserian stanza (James Gates Percival's *Prometheus* [1820–2] has not survived) and did so in just one poem, his paean of praise to his native land, The Ages' (1821).

Spenser fared well in the 1820s and 1830s when American writers and painters sought ways to romanticize their country's natural landscape. The epithalamium pronounced by Samuel L.Mitchill at the 1823 opening of the Albany lock of the Erie Canal echoed Spenser's *Prothalamion* in its rapture at the wedding of the waters of the Hudson River with those of the Great Lakes (Colden 1825:60–1). Samuel F.B.Morse had studied with Benjamin West in England, and, influenced by West's Spenserian canvasses, 'Una and the Lion' and 'Fidelia and Speranza' as well as by Copley's 'Red Cross Knight with Fidelia and Speranza,' had produced 'Una and the Dwarf for the art gallery that graced the Hudson River steamboat *The Albany*. James Fenimore Cooper's pictorial descriptions of landscape draw on the same kind of forest quality seen in West's 'Una and the Lion' and Allston's romanticized landscape in 'Flight of Florimel.' The strongest of these influences on Cooper can be found in *The Pioneers* and *The Prairie* (Krieg 1985).

From the best American critic of the 1830s and 1840s, Edgar Allan Poe, we have only the speculation that Milton's famed 'darkness visible' may have been suggested by Spenser's 'A litle glooming light, much like a shade' in *FQ* I i 14 (Poe 1836), and a left-handed compliment that excepted only *The Pilgrim's Progress* and *The Faerie Queene* from his general opinion of all allegories: 'contemptible' (Poe 1845a). At another point, he seems deliberately to misunderstand Spenser's meaning in *Mother Hubberd* 895–6 and 905–6 in order to justify revising the text by omitting the final comma in line 906 (Poe 1845b).

Before the first American edition in 1839, the unavailability of texts seems to have been as much a factor in Spenser's lack of popularity as were the perceived obstacles of his language and mode. The Transcen-dentalist educator Amos Bronson Alcott valued

Spenser as a moralist, but was forced to send to England for copies of *The Faerie Queene* to use at his Temple School in Boston. About this time began the practice of publishing prose redactions of *The Faerie Queene* designed for children. The first and best of these was a retelling of Book I, *Holiness, or The Legend of St. George: A Tale from Spencer's Faerie Queene* (1836), by Nathaniel Hawthorne's future mother-in-law, Elizabeth (Palmer) Peabody, though published anonymously. In 1842, two such redactions appeared: Caroline Kirkland's *Spenser and the Faery Queen,* and John S. Hart's *Essay on the Life and Writings of Edmund Spenser with a Special Exposition of 'The Fairy Queen'* (see also **FQ,* children's versions).

Through works such as these, the practice followed by the more privileged families in nineteenth-century America of reading *The Faerie Queene* in the nursery moved into the public classroom. There is little evidence that either public or private study did much to increase Spenser's reputation, though critic Samuel Gilman had argued ardently in 1817 that Americans—especially American children—should read *The Faerie Queene* as a form of mental discipline as well as for the pleasure it would yield. Gilman blamed his countrymen's inability to read the allegory on an impatience for immediate understanding bred by such things as childhood riddle books that present riddle and answer side by side on adjoining pages, and storytellers too eager to point out their moral. While his argument is well made, the relegation of *The Faerie Queene* to the nursery and classroom had the effect of placing Spenser beyond the pale of serious poetic consideration for many Americans.

When Little, Brown published *The Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser* in 1839, the *North American Review* claimed that with this first American edition 'Spenser is now universally acknowledged, both in England and in this country, to belong to the first class of poets' (Cleveland 1840:175). In 1841, the *New York Review* prophesied that the edition 'would elevate the literary taste of our country' (8[Jan]:50). The editor of the five-volume edition was George S.Hillard, attorney and literary critic. His preface makes quite clear his intention, to eliminate the 'learned rubbish' of the Todd edition published in London in 1805 by paring the notes to a minimum. One democratic principle thus served was the reduction in price which had kept the Todd edition 'quite out of the reach of a large majority of readers.' A second democratic principle was served in the editor's 'Observations on *The Faerie Queene,*' in which he dismisses both the historical and spiritual levels of meaning, and directs his readers to the narrative and its characters, the true object of Spenser's interest, 'a warm flesh-and-blood interest, not in the delineation of a virtue, but in the adventures of a knight or lady.' Such feelings can be shared by all readers, Hillard claims, and need no interpretation.

The attempt at democratization was successful enough to warrant reprints of the 1839 edition in 1848 and 1853 before Little, Brown issued a new edition in 1855 featuring extensive scholarly notes by Francis J. Child of Harvard, who was just beginning his great work of collecting old English and Scottish ballads. This edition became the one favored by the more highly educated in America, while the Hillard edition was taken over by the Philadelphia firm of W.P. Hazard in 1855 and appeared only once more, in 1857, outstripped by the Child work which persisted through editions in 1860, 1864, 1866, and 1875. As the publication history suggests, Spenser seems to have been claimed not by the masses of Americans in the second half of the nineteenth century, but by the intellectual class. Except for Shakespeare, he was the most popular dissertation subject in

Renaissance studies, with *The Faerie Queene* a clear favorite. The greatest number of these dissertations were written at Yale, Harvard, and Princeton (see McNamee 1968).

George S.Hillard became a close friend of Hawthorne in the year his edition was published, 1839. The coincidence and the edition reawakened Hawthorne's early love for the poet whose allegorical mode exerted a strong influence on his own writing and provided a moral structure for his fictions. Specific Spenserian themes and characters have been discerned in his works, as they have been, though to a lesser degree, in the writings of Melville, who shared his enthusiasm for Spenser but not his sensibility. Melville's ironic use of Spenserian themes often projects his own dark vision of an indifferent universe.

Neither Spenser nor the first American edition of his works can be shown to have had an important influence on Ralph Waldo Emerson. It is possible that his interest in Spenser came about chiefly through his newly established friendship, in July 1835, with Amos Bronson Alcott, whose appreciation of Spenser as a teacher of virtues and morals seems to have influenced Emerson's judgment of the poet's worth. In the same month that the two met, Emerson borrowed two volumes of Spenser from the Harvard College Library and copied *Hymne of Beau-tie* 127–33 into his journal (Cameron 1941:25). These lines appear in his essay The Poet,' written some time between 1841 and 1843, as evidence for the Platonic belief that 'the soul makes the body, as the wise Spenser teaches' (ed 1971–, 3:14). A similar sentiment along with the same lines from Spenser was used in an 1837 lecture, The Eye and Ear' (ed 1959–64, 2:264), and line 133 appears yet again in *English Traits* (1856) as an example of Platonic thought in English literature.

Disagreement between Emerson and Alcott about evaluating Spenser, whether to assign 'poet' or 'moralist' as his primary title, may be inferred from a journal entry of October 1835 in which Emerson muses on the modern reader's difficulty in imputing to a dead artist the precise high thoughts or emotions inspired by his art in others. Singling out Spenser and his allegory, he claims we hesitate to credit the poet with the meaning we ourselves find in it. It is unlikely that the hesitation was Emerson's. That Alcott's estimate of Spenser as a moralist prevailed over Emerson's appreciation of his poetic genius is borne out by Emerson's categorizing Spenser as one of the 'Ethical Writers' (along with Donne, Milton, Bunyan, and More) in a January 1836 lecture. Rather than a planned lecture on Spenser (fifth in a series of ten on English literature), he substituted a second one on Shakespeare, a safe substitution, since American audiences in general shared the feelings of their more literate countrymen that there was no more universal poet than Shakespeare (Krieg 1985a).

Emerson's public references to the poet thereafter were limited to paralleling Spenser's golden mean 'Be bold, be bold…Be not too bold' to what Emerson termed Plato's 'circumspection' in *Representative Men* (1850), and a partial reference in the late essay 'Resources' to Spenser's Wood of Error. Occasionally he entered a line of Spenser in his journal; and once, shortly after he had published a volume of poems in 1846, he indicates what may have been his true evaluation of Spenser as poet. Reflecting on the delight Spenser seems to take in his art for its own sake, Emerson turns to *Muiopotmos* as an example of the poet's artistry and compares it to that of a weaver who can confidently defy all competitors with the superiority of the art he alone can fashion on his loom (ed 1960–82, 9:453).

In an earlier journal entry that comments on the exhibition of paintings by Washington Allston in Boston during the summer of 1839, Emerson makes oblique reference to Spenser, linking his genius to that of Allston: both are 'Elysian,' lacking in emotion (7:222). This sentiment was shared by a fellow Transcendentalist, critic John Sullivan Dwight, in his review of the 1839 American edition of Spenser in the *Christian Examiner* (May 1840). Years later when Emerson edited an anthology of his favorite poems, *Parnassus* (1874), he included selections from *FQ* I, *Epithalamion, Hymne of Beautie,* and some lines from *Mother Hubberd* which he titled 'Spenser at Court.'

Others among the Transcendentalists who made reference to Spenser were Margaret Fuller in *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (1845), where she extolled *The Faerie Queene* for its delineation of female character, and Henry David Thoreau, whose familiarity with Spenser is evident from his first published work, *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* (1849) with its four Spenserian references. The first compares a New England scene to that described in *FQ* III v 39 (Thoreau ed 1968, 1:196). The second quotes the concluding couplet of *Ruines of Rome* 29 (1:264); the third occurs in a discussion of dreams that includes Spenser's description of the sleep-inducing environment in which Morpheus dwells (1:316); and the fourth, the last four lines of *FQ* II xii 29, appears as the epigraph for the final chapter of the book. *A Week,* the record of a trip made with his brother in the fall of 1839, abounds in poetic quotations, for Thoreau was widely read, especially in English poetry. The use of Spenser quotations beyond the more usual limit of *FQ* I might have some relation to the American edition published in the year of the trip. The record of the river journey was written during the two years Thoreau spent at Walden Pond, and his published account of that experience also includes some lines from *FQ* I i 35, which he claims he would be proud to own as the motto of his cabin (2:158).

While the quotations from Spenser do not indicate any real influence on Thoreau's work, they at least show evidence of an appreciative reading, and none of the ambivalence of a reader such as Walt Whitman, a self-proclaimed 'rough' of the America of the 1840s, who lacked the educational advantages of Thoreau and his fellow Concordians. In an attempt at self-education, Whitman kept notebooks in the late 1840s and early 1850s into which he inserted literary selections, articles, and his own notes. For a time he was interested in the English poets, including Spenser, and his notes betray mixed feelings of distaste for the fact that the poet had 'danced attendance like a lackey for a long time at court,' and of admiration for the way their author's 'reverence for purity and goodness is paramount to all the rest' (ed 1902, 9:77–8).

In 1888, James Russell Lowell published his book of essays on *The English Poets,* which included his 1856 lecture on Spenser. Here for the first time since Bryant's 1826 lecture was a genuine appreciation of Spenser from an American writer. Lowell's longsustained passion for his subject pervades the essay. His delight in Spenser's poetry and his awareness of how little it was known to his countrymen led him repeatedly to break off his commentary and insert huge chunks of the work under discussion. He completely disregards the worries of earlier Americans concerning both the allegory in *The Faerie Queene* and its difficulties of language. The allegory, he claims, can be set aside, as a mere poetic 'fashion' of Spenser's time; and the language is seen as proof of what Lowell deemed Spenser's greatest glory, the fact that it was he who brought to his native tongue a melody and harmony it had not known (see Lowell 1888:59). In his

youth, Lowell produced numerous poems in imitation of Spenser, the best of which was 'Callirhoe,' later revised as 'Ianthe.' His appreciation of the poet did not prevent him from parodying Spenser in his 1853 comic poem 'Our Own,' where a verse table of contents pokes fun at Spenser's headings to the books of *The Faerie Queene*.

Lowell's essay had little impact on a reading public caught up in the new enthusiasm for literary realism. William Dean Howells, the arch-realist who exerted great literary influence at the time, confessed in *My Literary Passions* (1895) that Lowell's praises made him want to read Spenser, but he found it impossible. Perhaps the deepest cut of all came from the gentle Quaker poet, John Greenleaf Whittier, who, in his preface to the 1876 anthology of favorite poems, *Songs of Three Centuries,* expressed a preference for Thomson over Spenser.

Disheartening though most of these reactions to Spenser are, it may not be assumed that little or no influence is to be found outside the works of Hawthorne and Melville. Spenser himself had located Fairyland on the frontier of knowledge when, anticipating the inquiry 'Where is that happy land of Faery?' he referred his imagined questioner to the ever-expanding limits of geographical knowledge of the New World (*FQ* II proem 1–4), thereby suggesting that the regions of Fairyland, though yet unknown, might be discovered there at any moment. The efforts of the American pre-Romantics, Bryant, Cooper, and the artists of the Hudson River School to idealize the New World natural landscape caused them to follow Spenser's suggestion and to seek in landscape not only the picturesque and sublime, but moral qualities as well. For this there was no better model than Fairyland, where there was a direct correspondence between the physical conditions of the regions of faery and the spiritual condition of the individual soul. This same moral structure, though not always fully realized in the allegories of Hawthorne, brought him to the ranks of the most powerful writers of his century, and became a link between the romance tradition of English poetry and the prose romance as it developed in America.

JOANN PECK KRIEG

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NAR 5(Sept) :301–9; Joann Peck Krieg 1985; Krieg 1985a 'Spenser and the Transcendentalists' *ATQ* 55:29–39; James Russell Lowell 1888 *The English Poets* (Boston); Lawrence F.McNamee 1968 *Dissertations in English and American Literature… 1865–1964* Supplement I in 1969, Supplement 2 in 1974 (New York); Edgar Allan Poe 1836 'Pinakidia 67' *Southern Literary Messenger* (August); Poe 1845a [Review of *The Coming of the Mammoth*] *Broadway Journal* 12 July; Poe 1845b 'Fifty Suggestions 43' *Graham's Magazine* 34(June):364; Henry David Thoreau 1968 *Writings* 20 vols (New York); W.Whitman ed 1902.

Amoret

Spenser's figure for the married state of love, 'goodly womanhed,' in *FQ* III and IV. She is the twin of Belphoebe, the figure for virginity; and their initial relationship and adventures spell out Spenser's allegory of these two states which are the two extremes of his virtue of chastity. Amoret's story runs from her birth and early education in the Garden of Adonis (III vi) to her final disappearance in IV ix, although we do not hear Scudamour's story of her courtship until IV x.

Rescue and separation are key motifs in her adventures. She is rescued by Venus immediately after her birth to Chrysogone and brought to the Garden of Adonis (III vi 28–9); in the 1590 version of the poem, she is rescued by Britomart from Busirane's enchantment and reunited with Scudamour (xii).

With the addition of Books IV–VI in 1596, Spenser rewrote the ending of Book III: although Amoret is rescued by Britomart, she remains separated from Scudamour for the rest of the poem. The new series of her adventures in Book IV continues the theme of rescue and separation. In the opening canto, we learn that Busirane had enchanted her at her wedding to Scudamour, a development that casts a new light on her torment by Busirane in the last two cantos of Book III, which in the 1590 version portrays merely the romance motif of the distressed maiden finally restored in happy union with her true love. The complication of this motif at the beginning of IV alters her adventures, so that we learn more about her nature and are made aware of her marriage and of Scudamour's winning her from the Temple of Venus (IV x). Both events are presented as prior to her imprisonment by Busirane, and both are crucial to understanding Busirane's power over her. Nothing in Scudamour's remarks to Britomart before she enters the house of Busirane (III xi 7–24) indicates that Amoret is anything more than 'My Lady and my love' (II), although he does suggest that she has yielded her favors to him (17). Therefore the description of the marriage celebrations as the occasion of her separation from Scudamour (IV i 3) comes as a surprise, and her abduction is now to be seen as a violation of the sacred bond of matrimony. It is significant that we learn of this violated bond at the beginning of the Legend of Friendship, and that the last we hear of either of these lovers—Scudamour's story of winning Amoret—should represent an affirmation of the virtue. Amoret's adventures in Book IV are thus contained within the frame of her wedding and her wooing, and this reversal and fragmentation of the essentially linear

story fits the fragments into an allegorical mosaic of the complementary virtues of chastity and friendship.

Amoret's birth is placed at the center of Book III, and her imprisonment by Busirane occupies its last two cantos. In both episodes, she is of less significance than the circumstances that surround her. Her miraculous birth to Chrysogone through impregnation by the sun is overshadowed by the circumstances of the birth. She is paired with Belphoebe but immediately separated from her by Venus, who takes her (as a replacement for her lost son, Cupid) to the Garden of Adonis, where she is brought up as the companion of Pleasure, the child of Cupid and Psyche. This Venus is the good Venus of the Renaissance mythographers: her association with a married Cupid and the fertile domain of the Garden of Adonis confirm that she represents married love in the poem. Up to this point, there is no possibility of judging Amoret's nature.

With the two principal episodes involving Amoret, those at the house of Busirane and the Temple of Venus (III xi–xii, IV x), the problem of interpreting her does arise. Her imprisonment has been seen as resulting from a fear of sex, which puts her in the power of Busirane, the abuse of love (Roche 1964). Alternatively, her imprisonment has been attributed to Scudamour's bold mastering of her in the Temple of Venus, his practice of 'maisterie' (Hieatt 1962). Both claims are based on moral and psychological interpretations, and neglect Spenser's allegorical characterization. Why Amoret learned so little about love, in either the Garden or the Temple, remains an unanswered question. That Busirane's power is both potent and awful and that he is the enemy of chastity is undoubted. In Book III, Amoret is defined by her allegorical surroundings: her miraculous birth, her adoption by Venus, and her nurturing in the Garden of Adonis tell us about her only through the circumstances of her placement; and even in the Busirane episode, she does not speak about her predicament until the enchantment has been broken by Britomart. Only in Book IV does she begin to take on any life as a character.

Amoret's adventures in IV repeat the theme of rescue and separation, and she is twice brought to a possible reunion with Scudamour. In the first, she wanders away from Britomart—'faire *Amoret,* of nought affeard,/Walkt through the wood, for pleasure, or for need' (vii 4)—and is 'rapt by greedie lust'; in the second, she simply drops out of the poem with no explanation why she is not recognized by Scudamour (ix). This second event has been interpreted as a maddening narrative inconsistency—perhaps a moment where Spenser nodded—yet attention to the allegorical narrative may reveal an order that is not apparent from a literal reading.

In canto i, Britomart and Amoret ride along after leaving the house of Busirane, Britomart deceiving Amoret with her warlike male appearance, until they come to a castle where no knight may stay without a lady. A young knight claims Amoret for his own, and is defeated by Britomart, who then pities him, reveals herself as a woman, and claims her right as a woman to include him as her companion. Amoret and Britomart subsequently go to bed together. The episode is both ludicrous and serious in that it recapitulates the opening canto of Book III, where Britomart, again because of her disguise, misleads the unchaste Malecasta to her bed. In the interim, Britomart has passed from an unfledged woman in love to a woman who has experienced the house of Busirane and is now sharing her bed with Amoret, a figure of married love. Later in this same canto, Scudamour (who had been left behind with Glauce when Britomart entered the house of Busirane) is abused by Duessa and Ate with the information that the knight

served by Glauce has gone to bed with Amoret (47–9). Thus an enmity is created between Scudamour and Britomart, to be resolved only in canto vi, where Britomart reveals herself both to Scudamour and to her own love, Artegall. The revelation of Britomart's true gender relieves Amoret's fears in canto i and Scudamour's jealousy in canto vi. When Britomart leaves behind her nurse in Book in and takes Amoret as her companion in the first half of IV, the exchange suggests a passage from childhood to maturity. Scudamour's complementary exchange, of wife for nurse, may be equally suggestive.

Amoret's final adventure with Britomart is at Satyrane's tournament for Florimell's girdle. After the other ladies fail to secure the belt around their waists, Amoret succeeds, but to no avail because the raucous crowd wants to award the prize to the false Florimell (v 19–20): chaste love is overcome by false beauty. After this disappointing injustice, Britomart and Amoret ride off again, to a chance encounter with Scudamour and Artegall, the latter still disguised as the Salvage Knight. On Britomart's victory and revelation of self, both Artegall and Scudamour are relieved of their false opinions of Britomart (vi 28–32); and at this point, where Scudamour and Amoret might once more have been united, Amoret has disappeared.

Her solitary sojourn is interrupted by Lust, who carries her off to his den. Here again the question of Amoret's responsibility for her own capture is offset by the inclusion of the young Aemylia, whose assignation with her squire has made her susceptible to lust as Amoret's actions have not. The distinction between the two women is further developed when Timias' attempts to rescue and console Amoret are misinterpreted by Belphoebe, who asks 'Is this the faith' and flees (vii 36–7). Timias despairs at the loss of his beloved Belphoebe.

The episode has been interpreted as Spenser's depiction of Elizabeth's wrath at Raleigh's secret marriage to her lady-in-waiting, Elizabeth Throckmorton. Like the Queen, Belphoebe seems not to have made a proper judgment, as we, who know Amoret to be faultless here and a figure of married love in the poem as a whole, tend to realize. Since lust can be an external as well as an internal passion, we are free as readers to see that Aemylia must experience the internal passion and Amoret be, once more, the passive victim of an external Lust. The fact that it is her twin sister, unrecognized and unrecognizing, who destroys Lust adds an ironic nicety to Spenser's 'defense' of Raleigh's misdemeanor.

Aemylia and Amoret (for the last time) are rescued by Arthur (viii 19–22) who cures Amoret's wounds with some of the 'pretious liquour' he had presented to Redcrosse in I ix 19, where it is described as that 'liquor pure… That any wound could heale incontinent.' Arthur's intervention in previous books as a figure of grace signals that this liquor is grace to heal the wounds inflicted on Amoret by Lust and (inadvertently) by Timias. Aemylia will be restored by time (and by marriage in the next canto); Amoret requires divine intervention as a passive victim of another's misdeeming. Spenser is playing a dangerous game in this episode: he must justify his figure of married love, exonerate the undoubted indiscretion of Raleigh and his lady, and avoid the wrath of Elizabeth. Probably for this very reason, he shows Arthur, Amoret, and Aemylia all subjected to the venom of Sclaunder. Since the reader knows that Sclaunder's vilifications are false, Arthur and his two ladies can ride off to reunite Aemylia with Amyas. Again, however, just when we might expect Spenser to reunite Scudamour and

Amoret (IV vi 36 or vii 4), she is no longer present; and at the urging of Arthur and Britomart, Scudamour tells his story of winning Amoret.

Scudamour's story is crucial for Amoret's existence as a figure in the poem. Some readers will see his 'bold' venture in winning Amoret as an enactment of the legend in the house of Busirane: 'Be bold, be bold… Be not too bold' (III xi 54); others will see it as comparable to Adam's need to draw Eve away from her watery narcissism. In any case, this is the last we hear of either one of these sad but faithful lovers; and even before we finish this story, Spenser pushes us into the even sadder story of Florimell, whom he has left languishing since III viii.

Florimell's story will end happily with Marinell finally coming to marry her (v iii). She has been imprisoned within the watery walls of Proteus' house for seven months (IV xi 4), just as Amoret has spent seven months within the fiery walls of the house of Busirane (III xi 10, IV i 4). Although we cannot know what Spenser had in mind for the reunion of Scudamour and Amoret beyond the canceled original ending of Book III, his careful elaboration of the first part of Amoret's narrative, at the moment of Scudamour's winning her, suggests a conscious juxtaposition of the stories of these two lov- ing couples.

THOMAS P.ROCHE, JR

Amoretti, Epithalamion

(See ed 1912:561–84.) Spenser's sonnet sequence *Amoretti* and his marriage hymn *Epithalamion* were published in a single octavo by William Ponsonby in 1595 (Johnson 1933 no 15; *STC* 23076). The book was entered in the Stationers' Register 19 November 1594, and Ponsonby's title page describes the contents as 'Written not long since' (only sonnet 8 seems to predate the 1590s; see L.Cummings 1964). *Amoretti* is a unified sequence of 89 sonnets; *Epithalamion* is a canzonelike poem of 23 stanzas and an envoy. Intervening between them are four light 'anacreontic' poems. Except for one of the Anacreontics, each sonnet and stanza occupies a single page, and the volume is visually unified by a decorative border employed throughout, though *Epithalamion* has a separate half title. The poems are recognized as Spenser's tribute to Elizabeth Boyle, whom he married probably on the feast of St Barnabas, 11 June 1594, the day of the summer solstice according to the Julian calendar then used in England. The biographical associations of the poems were closely scrutinized early in this century (*Var* 8:631–8, 647–52) but remain unchallenged.

Amoretti belongs to the popular Renaissance genre of the sonnet sequence, most influentially employed by Petrarch. Sonnet sequences or canzonieri (song books) are composed of separate poems (Petrarch referred to his as *rime sparse* 'scattered rhymes') which make their own dispersedness an emblem of the desolation of the suffering lover who composes them. In contrast, the epithalamium is a classical genre, one public and festive in purpose rather than private and expressive of personal grief. Spenser's imagination was perhaps the least naturally equipped of all great writers of sonnet sequences for the exigencies of the genre: to Petrarch's spiritually troubled meditation on

the ‘scattering’ of his poems, he brought to bear a vision which was fundamentally inclusive. Thus *Amoretti,* though it pays homage to the convention of the suffering lover, is paradoxically a book made up of happy leaves, and it moves steadily towards the moment in sonnet 68 when the poet announces the fulfillment of his hopes.

In the classical marriage song, Spenser encountered a genre which rejoices in an integrated vision. Thus, while *Epithalamion* is still that Spenserian poem which appeals most intimately and concretely to its readers, it is also very learned and highly conventional. Written in an antique genre, woven with consummate skill into a fabric of personal, classical, folkloric, and theological allusions, the poem deals with two themes central to Spenser’s imagination: the generation of life in human and divine love, and the relation between the mortal experience of change and the heavenly attribute of constancy. Here too Spenser transforms the convention, for the marriage hymn is not sung by the public and representative voice of priest or friend, but by the bridegroom himself, whose poetic gift is thus committed to the task of singing the mortal figures of himself and his bride into the sacramental bonds of what is ideally the most enduring of human social relationships.

The pairing of two such works in one book has puzzled critics, who for practical reasons usually treat them separately. But Spenser’s linking a group of short poems with a longer one has precedents in both English and continental collections of poetry. The epithalamium by Marc-Claude de Buttet which provided Spenser with a number of verbal allusions (McPeek 1939:160–84) was associated with a collection of sonnets by a repeated motto celebrating the Amalthée in whose honor (if not for whose marriage) the poems were collected. Such graceful devices were made plausible by the convention prevalent since Statius and confirmed by Scaliger (1561, 3.101), that the bridegroom has suffered love’s trials but is now to be freed of them because his obdurate lady has relented (as Medway at last gives in to the wooing of Thames in *FQ* IV xi 8). Sidney’s epithalamium speaks of ‘justest love’ having vanquished ‘*Cupid’s* powers’ (*Old Arcadia* 63.3 in ed 1962), and Puttenham begins his rules for the genre by contrasting ‘honorable matrimonie’ with the ‘vaine cares and passions’ of mutable love (*Arte of English Poesie* 1.26). The epithalamium as a form thus represents release after trial, amplitude after limitation (Forster 1969, Tufte 1970). In so doing, Spenser’s chosen genre also—and by no means accidentally—fulfills the Book of Common Prayer’s statement that marriage ‘was ordeined for a remedie against sinne, to avoid fornication, that such persons as have not the gift of continencie, might marry, and keepe them selves undefiled members of Christs bodie’ (*BCP,* eg, 1580).

Spenser extracts these possibilities from the convention, but he transforms them into a social vision by enclosing the smaller and more limited sphere of Cupid’s activities represented by the ‘little loves’ of *Amoretti* within the amplitude of ‘justest love’ represented by the marriage hymn. In *FQ* III, Cupid usurps Jove’s place: ‘Lo now the heavens obey to me alone, /And take me for their *Jove,* whiles *Jove* to earth is gone’ (xi 35). But here, as in a Renaissance triumph, the greater and more powerful form absorbs and transforms the lesser, a strategy which particularly lends itself to Renaissance theories about the relative status of men and women.

To achieve this, Spenser employs a design he uses recurrently: the moralized pageant of time. In *The Shepheardes Calender,* Colin’s aimless wanderings in ‘the common Labyrinth of Love’ are expressed in twelve eclogues in order ‘to mitigate and allay the

heate of his passion' and 'to warne…the young shepheards…of his unfortunate folly' (Epistle to Harvey). These are 'proportioned to the state of the xii. monethes' by means of a seasonal cycle beginning in January, to show us that despite Colin's December despair the Christ-child's winter birth ensures our eventual redemption. In the *Cantos of Mutabilitie,* the pageant of the months is intended to instruct Mutabilitie in the principles of orderly change; Spenser's calendar there is the 'year of grace' beginning in March, the month of the Annunciation.

The workings of time are a subject of both *Amoretti* and *Epithalamion*. In *Amoretti,* time seems to be arrested as the lover suffers: 'How long shall this lyke dying lyfe endure,/And know no end of her owne mysery: /but wast and weare away in termes unsure, /twixt feare and hope depending doubtfully' (*Am* 25). In contrast, *Epithalamion* makes possible the lover's entry into time, as it celebrates his wedding day, that one day which is to be his alone. These counterpoised visions of time are presented with great complexity in the physical design of the two works (Hieatt 1960; Dunlop 1969, 1970). Alastair Fowler (1970b) has argued that the entire volume has a unifying design of 117 sonnets and stanzas arranged in a five-part pattern, *A B C B A*. These units are made up as follows: *(A)* sonnets 1–34; *(B)* sonnet 35; *(C)* the 47 sonnets from 36 to 82; *(B)* sonnet 83; *(A)* a unit of 34 made up of sonnets 84 to 89, the 4 Anacreontics, and the 24 stanzas of *Epithalamion*.

Even if the two works combine to form a coherent structure, each possesses its own pattern. The Lenten trials of *Amoretti* belong to the mutable world of the moon; its presiding deity is Cupid and its length is that of winter's 89 days, though the addition of the four Anacreontics yields the 93 days of spring. *Epithalamion* belongs to the sun and to the sphere ruled by Christ; it gives us the 24 hours of the solstitial day itself, on which the Cupid-poet and his untouchable Diana are transformed into an Elizabethan bride and groom. This elaborate scheme has precedents in the Augustinian-Pythagorean tradition of poetic design (see *topomorphical approach), and Spenser uses many such devices elsewhere in his poetry. Its details and significance are still being debated (eg, Kaske 1978), but its outline is firm enough to convince all but the most skeptical that Spenser's marriage book is not the miscellaneous compilation it has sometimes been thought. Once demonstrated, the design of *Epithalamion* is quite apparent; probably its secret was simply lost by later readers unsympathetic to the visual conceits of medieval and Renaissance poetry. The design of *Amoretti* is much less penetrable. Today, as possibly in Spenser's own day, it can be 'judged onely of the learned' (*SC* Epistle to Harvey), but in 1594 no more than two need have been in on the secret, for the problematic action of time is surely traced here for the edification of those most deeply concerned, the bride and groom.

For its sources, *Amoretti* draws on the standard *topoi* of the love lyric which originated in Horace, Ovid, and Propertius. Many of these had been transmitted in medieval vernacular and Latin lyric to the early Italian sonneteers. They were eventually assembled by Petrarch into a compositional repertoire which later European lyricists both drew on and enriched through their own study of the classical poets, of Petrarch, and of each other. While Spenser's debt to this tradition is evident, none of the poets on whom he draws most closely—Petrarch, Desportes, Tasso—is quite congenial to him. He rejects Petrarch's sonnet form outright, and employs—only to repudiate it implicitly—the psychic stasis of Petrarch's constantly reformulated canzoniere. Like other Elizabethans,

Spenser exploits Desportes, but chiefly for his conceits. A recent reading of Torquato Tasso leaves its mark, especially on the later sonnets of *Amoretti*. Yet though Tasso's Platonism may have attracted him, Spenser's copiousness and the Italian poet's compact elegance remain in conflict. If his search for alternatives led Spenser as far as the 'conjugal lyric' of Bernardo Tasso and others, it left no evidence in *Amoretti*. The most lasting influence remains that of du Bellay, less on specific poems than in that seriousness of temperament which in the 1580s had drawn Spenser away from the paradoxes of amorous lyric towards the moral and philosophical tradition of the didactic sonnet represented in *Complaints*. Spenser's reluctant commitment to continental Petrarchism is not balanced by a significant debt to the native poets of *Tottel's Miscellany* and their heirs. Here as elsewhere, he creates his own vision of the possibilities of his chosen genre: he assimilates to the canzoniere echoes of the Psalms, the Song of Solomon, and the collects of the Book of Common Prayer, or of Renaissance Latin versions of Anacreon, and stubbornly resists conventions of the sonnet or sonnet sequence which conflict with the structure he is assembling.

Nonetheless, like all Renaissance sonneteers Spenser exploits standard topoi (fire and ice, the 'galley' sonnet, the solitude of the lover, the slanderer), and like them he shows the influence of rhetorical training, varying poems on the same subject for purposes of display (*Am* 7, 8, 9, 12, 16 on the lady's eyes), or juxtaposing variant treatments in order to effect some essential change in the pattern of the sequence (58, 59). He can take a conceit from Desportes, as he does in sonnet 22, and turn the resulting poem into a key element in his plan; and his treatment of Tasso can embrace both inventive variation and the homage of direct translation. The outstanding example of this assimilative method is sonnet 67, 'Lyke as a huntsman after weary chace,' which, at the same time as it pays tribute to Petrarch, Wyatt, Tasso, and Marguerite de Navarre (Prescott 1985), uses suppressed Christological echoes to enact the conquest of the beloved which the Petrarchan sonnet sequence otherwise so persistently defers.

The religious wonder with which Spenser contemplates the anagogic significance of his beloved (eg, *Am* 68), and the growing conviction of critics that a Lenten calendar is present in the collection, have lured some readers to interpret the sonnets as literally moral or liturgical; but in *Amoretti* as elsewhere, an essential feature of Spenser's imaginative universe is its capacity for structural irony and amused variation. Repeatedly the sonnets suggest the liturgical potential of an image, yet turn gracefully away from making it explicit. The result is a reservation of strength for the celebratory aspect of the poems, and an opening of the sequence to other kinds of association drawn from Neoplatonic love theory and cosmogonic myth. *Amoretti* is above all a smiling sequence: its opening poem announces happy leaves, lines, and rhymes, and we are allowed to suspect that certain conventions are being very lightly mocked, rather in the manner of sonnet 18, where the lady 'turnes hir selfe to laughter' before the abject spectacle of the lover's pleading (Bieman 1983). As a result, *Amoretti* is distinguished among sonnet sequences for its 'goodly temperature' (*Am* 13), that benign moderation of tone and absence of exhausting paradox which come from Spenser's modification of the sonnet sequence's characteristic lamenting stance by the celebratory purpose of his volume as a whole (Martz 1961). The title evokes the 'legions of loves with little wings' that lurk in the lady's glance (*Am* 16) or will flutter about the marriage bed in *Epithalamion* 357–9. It suggests a lightness and intimacy which is borne out by the gravely humorous wordplay

in many of the poems and by the ideal of mutual love which they keep before us: 'Sweet be the bands, the which true love doth tye,/without constraynt or dread of any ill' (*Am* 65).

In the Petrarchan sonnet sequence (eg, Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella*), the lover engages in reiterated poetic lament for his lady's failure to accept a suit which he is wrong to press in the first place. But in *Amoretti,* the poet's love is virtuous; it seeks 'to knit the knot, that ever shall remaine' (*Am* 6). Instead of being tormented by an unworthy passion, the lover is afflicted by the puzzling juxtaposition in his lady of ideal beauty and obdurate cruelty. From one point of view, the poet's beloved is a sovereign presence whose light kindles heavenly fire in his frail spirit; in sonnet 7 he asks, 'Fayre eyes, the myrrour of my mazed hart,/what wondrous vertue is contaynd in you,/the which both lyfe and death forth from you dart/into the object of your mighty view?' In her radiant certitude, she descends more directly from Dante's Beatrice (Hardison 1972) than from the shifting and evanescent figure of Petrarch's Laura, though she is a *donna gentile* envisioned in terms of the systematic Neoplatonism of the late Renaissance. Yet in some sonnets, the poet attacks her with astonishing force; she is 'more cruell and more salvage wylde,/then either Lyon or the Lyonesse'; she 'shames not to be with guiltlesse bloud defylde,/but taketh glory in her cruelnesse' (*Am* 20). Here the Petrarchan heritage of *Amoretti* becomes evident: the *donna gentile* is equally a 'proud love, that doth my spirite spoyle' (33) who wages unremitting warfare on her suitor in a remarkable hypertrophy of the 'beloved warrior' conceit dear to the Petrarchists. This obduracy becomes the chief problem her lover must address in trying to comprehend her significance.

The severity of such poems as Trust not the treason of those smyling lookes' (47) is hard to relate to the wondering stance of other sonnets, until we realize that in *Amoretti* those extremes of amorous experience which another sonneteer would fuse in the paradoxes of a single poem are polarized in sharply differing sonnets. Here Spenser was aided by his own characteristic method of constructing sonnets. He early rejected both the Italian rhyme scheme with its dialectical structure and the English sonnet with its concluding reversal, in favor of an aggregative form devised by himself. Its pattern *(abab bcbc cdcd ee)* produces a cohesive network of interlaced rhymes culminating in a final confirmatory couplet. Employing it meant that instead of exploring the contradictions of love within single sonnets Spenser was more likely to dismantle the Petrarchan oxymoron and mingle sonnets praising the lady with others that sharply condemn her. In a Petrarchist sequence, the paradoxes of the individual sonnet have two results: a woven stylistic effect of timeless allusiveness, and an equally timeless situation of inner debate. The result is brilliant, but essentially static. By frequently deploying the Petrarchist contraries in different sonnets, indeed by giving us two conflicting views of the lady, Spenser forces us out of the stasis and narcissism of the Petrarchan sequence into a consideration of the problems of action in the situation itself. However static and fragmenting the convention of the canzoniere, he views it as a potential scene for moral action.

In *Amoretti,* both lover and lady are eventually engaged in this action, though only in ways which the convention of *rime sparse* will permit, for the sphere of *Amoretti* always remains that of frustration and mutability. Insofar as it is a Petrarchan sequence, *Amoretti* like hundreds of such collections represents the unchanneled diversity, the mutability, of the uncreative love in which poet and lady are struggling. But in the arrangement of the

sonnets is hidden a paschal motif which silently points to the regenerative and integrative tasks before the lover. In Cupid's variable sphere, this redemptive scheme remains veiled, like the implicit Christological meanings of certain sonnets; but its tacit presence ensures the eventual rejoicing of the wedding day even in the conventional desolation of the concluding sonnets.

In sonnet I, the poet attempts to please his lady by offering her a record of his own endurance, the poems of *Amoretti* itself. Three sonnets at the beginning and three at the end compose a frame which displays the poems resulting from this courtship. The sequence begins in established conventions—the lover's address to his book, the onset of his affliction, the virtues of his lady—and terminates in the equally conventional sorrow in which his love must (in this case temporarily) conclude. A number of the poems are tied to dates in the church calendar for early 1594. In sonnet 4, the poet makes a New Year's Day announcement of his passion, telling his lady that his 'fresh love…long hath slept in cheerlesse bower.' This probably means he has loved for some time in silence, an interpretation borne out by his otherwise confusing claim later in the spring (60) that he has already been in love for a year. Now at 'Janus gate' he speaks of his love at last, inviting his 'faire flowre, in whom fresh youth doth raine,' to 'prepare your selfe new love to entertaine.' But between his first open admission of love and the Easter Day rejoicing in which God's blessing is called down upon the now mutually committed pair, lover and lady must become potential husband and wife. Thus at the same time as her lover frames the book which testifies to his trials, the lady must naturalize herself in the relationship of marriage. She must give over the 'portly pride' which her lover tries so hard to praise (5), and submit her as-yet-uncreative liberty to the 'Sweet…bands' (65) of human and natural love. The poet in turn must accept that the lady's seeming obduracy is not mere rigor but a sign of potential constancy. The disposition of the sonnets within the larger scheme of the whole volume represents emblematically this shared process of discovery.

Perceiving the arrangement of *Amoretti's* sonnets requires three kinds of information which writers and readers in Renaissance England would ordinarily have possessed. First is a willingness, arising in their schoolroom experience of rhetorical composition, to accept that repetition, pairing, and deliberate inversion of poetic elements may advance the reading of a work as effectively as pure narrative (which is rare in sonnet sequences in any case), Second is a knowledge of the 30-year almanac which regularly appeared in editions of the Book of Common Prayer from the 1560s on. Thus, sonnet 62, seemingly a New Year's poem like sonnet 4, refers rather to Lady Day, 25 March, which the Prayer Book informed churchgoers is 'the same day supposed to be the first day upon which the worlde was created, and the day when Christ was conceived in the wombe of the virgin Marie' *(BCP)*. If consecutive dates are assigned to the sonnets preceding and following, Spenser's Easter sonnet (68) falls on 31 March, which was Easter Day in 1594, and sonnet 22, 'This holy season fit to fast and pray,' falls on 13 February, Ash Wednesday (Dunlop 1969). *Amoretti* also owes to the almanac its groupings of eighteen sonnets; as well as being the golden number for 1594, eighteen was the 'epactal' number for that year, indicating that the moon was in the eighteenth year of the cycle which every nineteen years brings its shorter circuit into congruence with that of the sun (Brown 1973). Thus the Prayer Book and its almanac offered Spenser three interlocking

calendars, one beginning on I January, the second the lunar year beginning on 1 March, and the third the 'year of grace' beginning on 25 March.

Finally, the January-to-June calendar of *Amoretti* represents the half-year round comprising the events connected with the Lord's birth, life, resurrection, and death, from Christmas Day to Corpus Christi. In medieval times this bifurcation was emphasized by the way the liturgical calendar seemed to fall into two parts, an 'active' one concerned with the extremes of sacred and profane drama, and the more secular period (harvest time in Europe) from Trinity Sunday to Advent, which was without special symbolic coherence (Phythian-Adams 1972). The interplay between the calendars in the almanac in Spenser's Prayer Book, and this deeply rooted awareness of the ceremonial pace of the year's religious observances, offered opportunities the Spenserian imagination could hardly have resisted.

Within the larger pattern it shares with *Epithalamion,* the *Amoretti* sequence thus appears to constitute a triptych of 'scattered rhymes,' each panel of which exploits the intricate relationship of these calendars in various ways. The first panel is composed of the three introductory sonnets followed by the eighteen which precede the Lenten sonnet 22. The concluding panel opens with the eighteen rejoicing sonnets which begin on Easter Day and closes with three conventional sorrowful poems. In the central panel of 47, each poem represents, in a general way, a day in Lent of 1594, and thus a moment in the lovers' Lenten preparation of themselves for a new life. The groups of eighteen keep before us the image of the moon, symbol of the female principle in Spenser's cosmogony, which in *Epithalamion* will be replaced by that of the sun's cycle, image of the male principle. Finally, it has recently been noted that the 89 sonnets are equal in number to the 89 readings provided by the Prayer Book for the Sundays and holy days of the ecclesiastical year (Prescott 1985).

Some useful but still inconclusive work has been done to refine this pattern, which has been regarded with healthy skepticism (G.K.Hunter 1973, 1975; Kaske 1978). But the lapidary gesture with which Spenser mirrors the central 47-unit block of the *Amoretti-Epithalamion* design within *Amoretti* itself, though using a different set of poems, suggests that the sequence (and one might extend this to the book as a whole) expresses the Renaissance interest in harmonic ratios. The collection is like a fretted fingerboard or a scale: Spenser 'perceives a length to be tabulated in terms of duplicated intervals. Pause at such and such a point on this length, and the remaining length is charged with analogous proportions' (Nohrnberg 1976:71). In this sense of harmonious proportion, obscured here by the struggle of the lovers, the joy of the wedding day will in due course openly express itself.

In the eighteen sonnets which follow his January declaration, the poet works that series of variations on the contrasted themes of the lady's sovereign virtue and her obstinacy which enables him both to praise her excellence and yet create an impasse between the lovers: 'With such strange termes her eyes she doth inure,/that with one looke she doth my life dismay:/and with another doth it streight recure,/her smile me drawes, her frowne me drives away' (*Am* 21). In this, the lover's perceptions—changeable and various like those of all Petrarchan lovers—resemble Spenser's Mutabilitie, who will be instructed by Nature on the right relationship between change and steadfastness: the variability of earthly things is in fact a dilation of being which ultimately works their ordained perfection (*FQ* VII vii 58). But at this point the lover is in

the situation of Cupid's victims as they are described in *Hymne of Love,* 'languishing like thrals forlorne' (136). In that hymn, Spenser outlines clearly the process which a lover must undergo to be worthy of his lady; it recapitulates in simple form much standard Renaissance love theory, as the lover is first depicted in confusion and sorrow and then, in the 'hard handling' (163) to which Cupid and the lady's obduracy subject him, learns the steadfastness which distinguishes true lovers.

'For things hard gotten, men more dearely deeme' (*HL* 168). In *Amoretti* 22 (the number signifies temperance), the poet makes an Ash Wednesday vow: he will 'builde an altar to appease her yre:/and on the same my hart will sacrifise,/burning in flames of pure and chast desyre.' This poem and this vow initiate the central panel of Spenser's triptych, an exploration of the 'lyke dying lyfe' of Lenten denial in which the lover wanders 'carefull comfortlesse,/ in secret sorow and sad pensivenesse' (25, 34). In the series of 40 sonnets that includes 23–62 (one for each of the fasting days of Lent, and for each of the poet's pretended 40 years), the Petrarchan contraries are exhausted in the attempt to reconcile them. 'Sweet warriour when shall I have peace with you?' sonnet 57 asks in open homage to Petrarch's famous oxymoron; 'High time it is, this warre now ended were.' The poet's struggles in these poems are intimately linked with the incompleteness of vision which is the central problem of the repeated sonnet 35 and 83, the keystones of the design that Fowler argues unites *Amoretti* with *Epithalamion*. The two sonnets mirror each other in an emblematic representation of the fruitless self-contemplation of the Narcissus-figure who is the subject. Like Narcissus, the lover starves in the midst of plenty, and the impasse that separates the lovers is thus an insult to Creation: 'What then remaines but I to ashes burne,/and she to stones at length all frosen turne?' (*Am* 32).

Within the paschal design, however, the assurance of rebirth is implicit; we have heard its note in the confident persistence of the lover's voice (which recalls the exhortations of the Song of Solomon) and seen its plentitude in the copiousness with which pairs of sonnets transmute affliction into joy (see Nohrnberg 1976:68–71). Sonnets 58 and 59 form just such a pair, which begins the restoration of the lover's fortunes by contrasting two views of the beloved's seeming pride. In sonnet 58, she is reminded, 'Weake is th'assurance that weake flesh reposeth/In her owne powre, and scorneth others ayde': pride is seen here as an obstacle to the shared condition of a happy union. But in sonnet 59, this theme is converted rhetorically to its benign opposite: narrow pride is transmuted into a steady constancy 'that nether will for better be allured,/ne feard with worse to any chaunce to start.' This poem is a version of the conventional galley sonnet, and here as elsewhere Spenser deliberately transforms the reader's expectations by turning an accustomed motif to an unexpected purpose.

Sonnet 60 is a key poem in assessing both the design and tone of *Amoretti*. At this critical point, when struggle is giving way to knowledge, Spenser distances the experience with an amusing conceit: as a lover in servitude, he occupies the planetary sphere of Cupid, whose imaginary cycle, 'by that count, which lovers books invent,' is 40 years long. In *Epithalamion,* the fanciful sphere of the god of love will give way to the actual sphere of the Ptolemaic cosmos; and the agonizingly slowed time perceived by the suffering lover to the majestic regularity of the real time of his wedding day. But all this is deftly done; here, at this crucial moment of transformation, as later in the Anacreontics and in the 'consummation' stanza of *Epithalamion,* Spenser smiles.

The metamorphosis of cruelty into constancy clears the way for the poet's recognition in sonnet 61 that his beloved's rigor is to be explained by her anagogic function. In this poem, the woman of stone is transformed into The bud of joy, the blossome of the morne,' and her lover from the ashes of fruitless desire into a man who can hum- bly admit, 'Such heavenly formes ought rather worshipt be,/then dare be lov'd by men of meane degree.' There follows sonnet 62, with its 'shew of morning mylde… betokening peace and plenty to ensew,' a March New Year which cancels the suffering begun in January.

The implications of this new beginning are apparent in sonnet 63, where the poet announces that 'After long stormes and tempests sad assay… I doe at length descry the happy shore.' The galley-sonnet conceit is identical to that in sonnet 59; that it should be repeated to another purpose stresses the oneness towards which the lovers must move. Yet Spenser's design is not all duplication; part of the charm of *Amoretti* is the grace with which the upward movement of the lover's education in resolving contradictory aspects of his beloved is countered by the downward movement in which this numinous and transcendent figure is eventually naturalized in the sublunary orbit which an obedient bride must occupy. Spenser's problem here is also a concern of *FQ* III: the lady's fear to marry lest she lose her liberty (Kaske 1978). In sonnets 61–7, the lady is thus invited to share in the lover's earlier discovery of humbleness. He is both her guide and her prefiguration in this task, which culminates in sonnets 66 and 67. Coordinated with Good Friday and Holy Saturday in Spenser's calendrical scheme, these poems are triumphs of an art which can convey a liturgical subtext while at the same time preserving an elegant secular surface. In sonnet 66, the lady's incarnation of her love in the meanness of the poet's darkness is seen (in consonance with his treatment of permanence and change in *FQ* VII) as a 'dilation' of her light. In sonnet 67, a magisterial variation on the topos of the hind inherited from Petrarch and his epigones, Spenser invokes Psalm 42, 'As the hart braieth for the rivers of water,' to portray his lady entering of her own free will into the relationship which he will hymn with such joy in the ensuing Easter sonnet. There, all contradiction will be resolved in the lovers' mutual vow. And the lines with which that poem ends are those which will begin the Communion on St Barnabas' Day, the day of their marriage (Kaske 1977).

Despite the lovers' Lenten trial of endurance, *Amoretti* is thus almost devoid of the Augustinian tension that the sonnet sequence inherited from Petrarch. Though it plays freely with Petrarchan conceits, they are means to an end, and much the same is true of its Neoplatonism as well. Spenser persistently 'salvages' negative topoi—the galley sonnet, spring solitude, the hind escaped—in order to give them integrative power. This inclusiveness operates at every level, from the interwoven calendars of its springtime chronicle, to the gesture in which the lover's education is made to include that of his lady, to the letters of 'Elizabeth' he praises in sonnet 74, which unite under one name the poet's Queen, mother, and bride.

In the rejoicing sonnets which follow his Easter hymn, Spenser rewrites a series of notable topoi so as to produce this sense of integration. One of these is the Spider and the Bee poem (71), which answers more constructively to its earlier version in sonnet 23. Another is sonnet 70, 'Fresh spring the herald of loves mighty king,' where the conventional sorrows of the lover, desolate amidst verdant nature, are set aside in favor of a joyous invitation to 'pluck the day.' Yet here the beloved is bidden not to Hymen's

masque, which lies before her in *Epithalamion,* but 'to wayt on love amongst his lovely crew,' which, however charmingly put, reminds us of the fearful masque of Cupid in *FQ* III and Amoret's imprisonment by Busirane. In sonnet 72, the image of the poet's 'fraile fancy fed with full delight,' which 'doth bath in blisse and mantleth most at ease,' actually disrupts the celebratory mood of the sonnets around it, for fancy or imagination is the weakest of the faculties in Renaissance psychology. A note of sensuality crops up in the two sonnets on the lady's breasts (76, 77), and in others (75, 78, 79) images of her are first suggested and then canceled in a thoughtful revision which signals the poet's awareness that a state of being beyond the 'harts astonishment' of sonnet 81 awaits him.

In many of these poems, there is an uneasy balance between the desire for sexual fulfillment and the knowledge that it cannot yet take place. Thus in sonnet 83 we meet with the Narcissus poem again, a reduplicative token of the perilous balance which must be maintained during the state of betrothal. The poet is much aware of this, as he shows in sonnet 84: 'Let not one sparke of filthy lustfull fyre/breake out, that may her sacred peace molest.' In the concluding sonnets of the sequence, even this nervous balance is disrupted. The 'Venemous toung, tipt with vile adders sting' (86)—the slanderer who figures in much courtly poetry (cf Sclaunder, Blatant Beast)—makes his appearance, that necessary serpent in the poet's Eden who symbolically unleashes the destructive force of sexuality misapprehended, as well as intruding the problematic question of society into the lovers' solipsistic world (DeNeef 1982:74–6). Three final poems, all variations on the topos of the lover's solitude, express the inevitable sense of loss which results. In completing the frame initiated by sonnets 1–3, they signal the three lunar months between 31 March and II June and, by their insistence on the need for a meditative space between betrothal and marriage, recall the three months Britomart and Artegall are required to wait before their nuptials (Brown 1973).

In *FQ* IV, Florimell is imprisoned in a seagirt dungeon by Proteus, who has failed to move her 'constant mind' to love; she languishes for love of Marinell, who will not have her: There did this lucklesse mayd seven months abide,/Ne ever evening saw, ne mornings ray,/Ne ever from the day the night descride,/But thought it all one night, that did no houres divide' (xi 2, 4). Here the psychic imprisonment of fruitless love is equated with the absence of time. In contrast, the love of Venus and Adonis is time-*full*; it endures perpetually because Adonis, father of all forms, is 'eterne in mutabilitie' (III vi 47). *Amoretti* captures both these aspects of Spenser's mythopoeia. As the 'scattered rhymes' of a never-satisfied lover, its stasis exemplifies the aimless diversity of a love which, however idealistic, is still incomplete. That completeness will come only when constancy can both contain and transcend the mutable nature of 'cruell love' in the creation of true concord (*Epith* 317; Tufte 1970), and the eternal and the temporal inform and act through each other. In *Amoretti,* this possibility is foreshadowed in the paschal calendar veiled in the diversity of 'little loves' which are the poems. But in *Epithalamion,* the concord of temporal and eternal is fully revealed in an emblematizing which takes the very form of that most 'timely' of days, when the sun seems to stand still.

An important instrument of this process is the generic transformation which moves us as readers from sonnet sequence to wedding hymn. In *Amoretti* and *Epithalamion,* two works separate in themselves yet united in purpose are made to contemplate each other in a structural chiasmus: Italianate posed against classical, moon against sun, trial against fulfillment. The central bridging term is the mischievously light, but nonetheless

metamorphic Anacreontics, for all of which except the first Spenser has sources in French poetry or Anacreon himself. In the first epigram, the poet, made bold by Cupid, is stung when he searches a hive for honey; in the second, chaste Diana exchanges one of her darts for Cupid's, and the god of love wounds the poet's lady with it. In the third, Cupid mistakes the poet's beloved for his mother, Venus. In the fourth, a diminutive fable in six stanzas, cruel Cupid, despite his mother's amused advice, tries to capture a bee and is stung for his hardihood. This genuinely funny poem has a powerfully erotic conclusion: Venus heals the wound with salve and bathes the miscreant 'in a dainty well/the well of deare delight.' But Cupid, restored, succeeds in wounding the poet, who now pines in anguish awaiting the appeasement of his passion. These poems recapitulate unresolved elements in *Amoretti,* the paralysis of the lovestruck poet and the similarly inactive chastity of the lady (figured here as the lunar goddess, Diana). Typically, Spenser introduces images (honey, salve, well) which can be vested with a biblical meaning but here seem erotic because any other significance is obscured by physical frustration.

The centering of a source of erotic tension at an important structural point in the volume is not unlike the placing of the Garden of Adonis 'in the middest' of *FQ* III. The poems make clear that the lover's suffering is necessary to his eventual bliss (Miola 1980), and they also bring into the open the not-yet-explicit sexuality of the contract between the Spider and the Bee in a way appropriate to the anticipation of the betrothal period (Kaske 1978). Indeed, within the epigrams themselves a process of recapitulation and dismissal can be seen, as the immature lover and unmoved maiden of the first and second epigrams are transformed in the third and fourth into the Venus and Cupid of erotic allegory. In the Latin epithalamia of Statius and Claudian, Venus and Cupid play important roles in bringing about marriages. Catullus also mentions Venus, but he observes that without Hymen, god of marriage, she can take no pleasure 'such as honest fame may approve' (61.62). The erotic allegory of the Anacreontics, this would suggest, has a dual role: it acknowledges the incitements of the goddess of love and her errant son, but in the diminutive scale of the poems, their hilarity and postponement of closure prepare us for the necessary subordination of Venus and Cupid to Hymen. 'Anacreontics' were perceived as poems in which care is banished. By their recapitulation of the lover's woes in a deliberately objectifying tone of amusement, these little fables both admit and dismiss the sorrows of love; and their transforming laughter prepares us for the joy of the wedding day, which after this brief interlude now awaits us.

In *Amoretti,* the stasis and timelessness of the sonnet sequence is equated with uncreating love and Cupid's limited sphere. In order to have meaning, the act of generation must be framed within the concentric spheres of society, nature, the aesthetic theophany of the Muses and Graces, and finally the Christian heaven (Greene 1957). Thus, when *Epithalamion* is joined to *Amoretti,* timeless struggle gives way to 'endlesse matrimony' (*Epith* 217), and we hear and see the full diapason of Spenser's harmonic scheme, made accessible at last by the social and religious act in which erotic love is consecrated to the earthly life and spiritual destiny of the lovers. These large considerations are framed in a poem whose appeal is the instantaneous and delightful one evoked by the ordinary pleasures of a midsummer wedding in a small provincial place.

The sources of *Epithalamion* lie deep in Spenser's own development. Many of his poems constitute preliminary exercises (Hallett Smith 1961) for this masterpiece: the lost *Epithalamion Thamesis* (which may survive in the marriage of Thames and Medway in

FQ IV xi), the *Aprill* eclogue of *The Shepheardes Calender,* the betrothal of Una and Redcrosse in *FQ* I xii. Perhaps from the confidence of long experiment, Spenser's use of his literary sources in *Epithalamion* is direct and appreciative in contrast with the reserve with which he had approached the Petrarchan canzoniere in *Amoretti*. With strength of purpose and eclectic method, he draws on the full range of classical, Neo-Latin, and French epithalamia. Like Catullus (61), he calls up the ritual of the wedding day; and the English poem catches the same combination of genial good humor and ceremonial awe as the Roman. Like Statius' Stella (*Silvae* 1.2), the bridegroom is a poet. As in Statius and in Claudian's *Epithalamium* of Honorius and Maria, the supporting mythological personages give the poem a cosmogonic dimension which modifies Catullus' festal abandon. Finally, like his French near-contemporary Buttet, Spenser associates his epithalamium with a sonnet sequence.

But there are changes as well, such as the restriction of Venus and Cupid to the miniature arena of the Anacreontics. The epithalamic poet is conventionally a spokesman for society, who invokes the events and ceremonies of the day like the arranger of a masque. Spenser makes poet and bridegroom one: 'Helpe me mine owne loves prayses to resound,' he begs those Muses who had earlier aided him to lament (*Teares* 1, 49–52). The bridegroom is thus at once social voice and subjective presence, organizer of Hymen's masque and one of its central participants. Classical and Renaissance epithalamia usually celebrate the union of noble houses, though Puttenham had already imagined a bourgeois setting. In Spenser, the couple is an ordinary gentleman and his lady, and the celebrations take place not in a palace but amidst the rural scenes of Spenser's Ireland, perhaps Kilcolman, Cork, or Youghal. In earlier epithalamia, the pleasures of the bedded pair are enthusiastically anticipated in fescennine allusions; and with greater propriety, the poet also looks forward to the princely child who will be born of their union. In Spenser, conjugal pleasure is never doubted, and the poet asks less for a personal heir than for 'a large posterity,/Which from the earth, which they may long possesse' may eventually 'heavenly tabernacles there inherit,/Of blessed Saints for to increase the count' (417–23).

By transforming his model in these ways, Spenser provides *Epithalamion* with the basis of a typological structure. As poet he is Orpheus, who mastered nature with his harmonies; as ordinary Elizabethan he is Adam, our earthly progenitor. As spiritual being he typifies Christ, his marriage 'signifying unto us the mistical union that is betwixt Christ and his Churche' (*BCP* and see Allman 1980), and reminding us of the ultimate spiritual significance of generation itself. This typological pattern is a self-contained one, balancing the similarly selfcontained erotic concept of *Amoretti;* against Cupid's governance of the sphere of unfulfilled love, it poses the ordering of the sphere of fulfilled love on the principles of the Creator (for the pairing of the genealogies of Cupid and Christ in *Fowre Hymnes,* see Mulryan 1971).

But these separate concepts are linked in a larger structure by filiations which evoke the mythopoeia of *The Faerie Queene:* the Orphic cosmology which gives us, in the persons of Phoebus the sun and Phoebe the moon, the male and female principles which inform the world (Fowler 1964:82–3, and chs 8–9). As beseeching male and obdurate female in *Amoretti,* the lovers occupy the static and insecure world of the moon as representative of change and transience; and the yearly cycle of solemn feasts, though authentic, remains hidden. In *Epithalamion,* Phoebus Apollo governs, and male

completeness absorbs to itself in marriage the imperfection of the female. In a typical Elizabethan moral paradox, this makes it possible for the female to emerge as truly constant, the law-giving figure and generative force which she becomes within the social and sacramental bonds of marriage. Just so, in the poem, when Apollo's light has given way to night, the moon reappears not as chaste Diana or heavenly Phoebe but as Cynthia, protectress of women in childbirth.

One of the most effective instruments in the process by which *Amoretti* is incorporated in and transcended by *Epithalamion* is the contrast in tone between the two works. *Amoretti* has the rarefied atmosphere of Petrarchan complaint. No one else exists in its world besides the striving lover and his obdurate lady. Spenser's temperate tone modifies the ethos of complaint but does not alter the isolation of the lovers. This is a long way from the jollity of *Epithalamion;* there the poet, though he sings alone, is not lost in complaint but joyfully exhorts the crowd of participants—both mythical and local—to join in the celebration. Spenser takes pains 'to make the poem as native, immediate, and personal as he could, within the limits of decorum' (Smith 1961:139). Thus *Epithalamion* has a concreteness and a pictorial quality which transform the conventions of the genre (Clemen 1968) and subsume the narrower beauties of the sonnets. There is some precedent for this in Puttenham's remarks on epithalamia, but more in the deliberately provincial character of the celebrations of the wedding of Thames and Medway in *FQ* IV xi. The amplitude of *Epithalamion's* structure is thus matched by the spaciousness of a style which can give us both the graces of the nymphs of Mulla and the raucous cries of boys in the street, both the transcendent images in which the bride is portrayed before the ceremony and the wine poured out afterwards 'not by cups, but by the belly full' (251). A principal device is climax: Spenser's practice of treating an image in a simple and infectious way, and then in successive stanzas unfolding it at greater and greater levels of power. A calculated inversion of this method is his use of understatement, which we have already seen in the artful repression of the Christological elements in *Amoretti* and in the 'goodly temperature' of the sequence. It takes a social and ethical form in the praise of the bride's downcast glance in *Epithalamion* (159–61, 234–5), but it appears also as an expressive choice, in the natural modesty with which the poet refers to the marriage bed, and in his generous and self-abnegating wishes for the happiness of his posterity.

The subject of *Epithalamion,* as befits a marriage song, is harmony. The intricate musical harmonies of the stanza structure (see *echo) make us sensuously aware of this, as does the refrain—ever varying, yet ever constant—which weaves the separate stanzas together from opening invocation to concluding envoy. At every point, Spenser calls on perceivable concords—the song of birds, the caroling maidens in their circle, the 'roring Organs' (*Epith* 218)—to evoke and give voice to the unperceived concords he must bring us to understand. Harmony is made operative in human life by the creating power of time; the Hours who help to dress the bride in stanza 6 are described as 'ye fayre houres which were begot/In Joves sweet paradice, of Day and Night,/Which doe the seasons of the yeare allot,/And al that ever in this world is fayre/Doe make and still repayre.' In stanza 7, the poet begs the sun god Apollo, 'fayrest Phoebus, father of the Muse,' for a place in time on his own behalf: 'let this day let this one day be myne,/Let all the rest be thine'; and throughout his poem Spenser focuses intensely on expressing the importance of this particular point in time, this 'one day' on which he and his bride will enter creating time themselves.

Epithalamion demonstrates in the design of its song the harmony of which it sings. The invocation and envoy represent it quite literally as a artifact, an ornament wrought for his bride by a poet who has long worked to adorn others with his praise and who now seeks the aid of the Muses in a personal cause, 'mine owne loves prayses to resound' (line 14). The poem is divided into 23 stanzas and a brief envoy; the stanzas, composed of long and short lines in slightly variant combinations, resemble canzone stanzas in their amplitude and complexity but have a rhyme scheme of Spenser's own devising. This is dictated in part by deliberate irregularities in stanza length, in part by an apparent desire to make every stanza fall roughly into four sections. Each stanza is a set piece recording one of the phases of the weddingday activity. As individual units, they recall the separateness of *Amoretti's* sonnets; but the linking refrain binds the 24 into a design which forms an emblem of the hours of the day—indeed, its quarter-hours—on which the wedding is thought to have taken place, 11 June 1594. Thus, at stanza 17, the coming of night at the latitude of Kilcolman, Cork, and Youghal is marked by a change in the refrain: The woods no more shal answere, nor your echo ring.' The astronomical details of the poem's siting are worked out with some care (see Eade 1972).

The cycle of the hours represented by the 24 stanzas is set within a larger, less immediately apparent structure representing the cycle of the year. The number of long lines in the poem add up to 365, and the 68 short lines represent the sum of the 4 seasons, 12 months, and 52 weeks. Without the envoy, the long lines total 359, the number of days through which the sphere of the sun moves while the celestial sphere travels its full 360 degrees. 'Spenser wishes to communicate the relationship between the daily short-comings of the sun and the total measure of 365 days created by this shortcoming, and between the 359 long lines of the full-size stanzas and the 365 long lines of the poem complete with envoy' (Hieatt 1960:44). The seven lines of the envoy thus function as numerical compensation for the 'incompleteness' of the cycle of 359, and the poem can claim in its final line that it is 'for short time an endlesse moniment.' This paradox reminds us of the description of Adonis as 'eterne in mutabilitie' and also of Nature's ruling that things in their mutability 'are not changed from their first estate;/But by their change their being doe dilate' (VII vii 58). In its design (one critic has called it a 'poetic orrery' Pearcy 1980–1:248), *Epithalamion* attempts to achieve that harmony between the mutable and constant which is one of Spenser's deepest preoccupations, juxtaposing the placid creating and repairing power of the Hours in their perfect celestial circuit with the urgent and specific time of the disciple of Apollo, who can beg from Phoebus in his shorter circuit only one day for his own concerns, the day of the solstice.

The poem thus must function as an instrument of transformation, a means of invoking and mastering the order of nature. This sense of transformation is present from the beginning, as the poet calls the Muses from sorrowful lament to celebratory joy, and turns from his familiar stance of solitary complaint to the firm confidence of 'So Orpheus did for his owne bride,/So I unto my selfe alone will sing' (16–17). Spenser's source here is Virgil's account of the legend of Orpheus: 'But he, solacing love's anguish with his hollow shell, sang of thee, sweet wife—of thee, to himself on the lonely shore; of thee as day drew nigh, of thee as day declined' (*Georgics* 4.464–6). In Virgil's lines, there is already a hint of the calendrical image Spenser develops so fully, and it suggests what the myth fully supports: Orpheus' connection with the order of nature. For the mythographers, Orpheus is at once the most blighted of lovers (losing Eurydice to the

sudden madness which makes him look back as they journey out of Hades) and a powerful magus, whose 'mery musik and mellifluate,/Complete and full wyth nowmeris od and evyn,' as Henryson earlier described it, conveys the mathematical principles on which the cosmos is organized (*Orpheus and Eurydice* 237–8; see Fox in Henryson ed 1981: cv–cx). For Natale Conti, Orpheus brings uncivilized men together in a gentler way of life, teaching them to found cities and observe the bonds of marriage; Conti also recounts the many traditions which make Orpheus the son of Apollo (*Mythologiae* 7.14). In *Epithalamion,* the refrain persistently reminds us of the ordering power of musical numbers; in his song, this new Orpheus will bring the order of nature under his control: The woods shall to me answer and my Eccho ring' (line 18). And like Orpheus, the poet will call up the image of his beloved from the obscuring darkness of inchoate love (Neuse 1966).

Spenser's service to Apollo governs the division of *Epithalamion* into the seemly ceremonies leading up to the wedding, which take place under the tutelage of Apollo in his role as giver of laws, and the jollity after it, which is governed by the unbuttoned Bacchus, god of wine and celebration. The right order created by the presence of Apollo as guardian of conduct thus presides over the masque of Hymen which occupies the first half of the poem. Stanza by stanza, the poet convokes the companions of the masque: first the Muses themselves, who are bidden to sing of joy and solace to the bride as she is dressed, then nature in the figures of the nymphs of forest, river, and field who will weave her garlands, deck her bower, and bind her hair. In stanza 5, the bride is summoned to awake by the 'lovelearned' song of the birds: The merry Larke hir mattins sings aloft,/The thrush replyes, the Mavis descant playes… So goodly all agree with sweet consent,/To this dayes merriment.' The images of concord which have thus been established gather in force as the bride awakes and is dressed by the Hours and Graces, 'Goddesses of al bountie and comelines' as E.K. calls them (*SC, Aprill* gloss). Her eyes are compared to stars which, once dimmed by cloud, are now brighter than Hesperus. When in stanzas 7 and 8 she emerges into the sun, these concords take a cheerful domestic form: the clamor of minstrels and the caroling of girls. Yet all is resolved in one consonance, even among the boys who 'run up and downe the street,/ Crying aloud with strong confused noyce,/ As if it were one voyce' (137–9).

Spenser's technique of unfolding images from simple to more complex, of moving from the immediately personal to the philosophical and mythopoeic, is exemplified both in the way the masque of Hymen moves through meadow and stream and down village street to the moment when the bride emerges, and in the successive revelations of the bride herself as she comes forth in stanzas 9–11. In stanza 9, she is first Phoebe, virginal in white like the moon for which she is named, then an angel, and finally a 'mayden Queene' with modest downcast gaze. Stanza 10 is a formal blazon of her beauties like those which praise the lady in countless medieval and Renaissance love lyrics. Yet this blazon reaches beyond its origins in merely amatory verse to recall the wording of the biblical Song of Solomon. In stanza 11, the moral meaning of these successive images of perfection is climactically revealed in the terrifying image of Medusa's shield, deliberately placed to arrest and awe the watcher (Young 1973–4). What is revealed, however, in this vision, is an entirely inward beauty: There dwels sweet love and constant chastity,/Unspotted fayth and comely womanhood,/Regard of honour and mild

modesty,/There vertue raynes as Queene in royal throne,/And giveth lawes aione' (191–5).

Stanzas 12 and 13, in which the wedding ceremony takes place, trace closely the rites of the Book of Common Prayer (W.C.Johnson 1976). They are at once the formal and the visionary center of *Epithalamion,* as the Garden of Adonis is at the center of *FQ* III. Spenser's eyes remain on the bride before the altar, as the organ and choristers peal out the musical harmonies to which her fulfillment in harmonious matrimony will give social meaning. The interchange of earth and heaven at the crucial moment is manifest both in her role as worshiper, listening to 'the holy priest that to her speakes,' and as one who is worshiped by the very angels serving about the altar who flock to peep into her face. It is only at this point, as The praises of the Lord in lively notes' sound about the bride's downcast head, that the bridegroom steps forth in person to ask, 'Why blush ye love to give to me your hand,/ The pledge of all our band?/Sing ye sweet Angels, Alleluya sing,/That all the woods may answere and your eccho ring' (238–41); and with the sublime pun on wedding ring and ringing echoes, their union is solemnized.

If the first half of the poem has belonged to the bride as representative of Apollonian order and to the maidens attending her, the second half belongs to Bacchus, to the 'yong men of the towne,' and to the groom. No longer the invoker of the masque and its wondering observer, the poet is now an involved participant in a happy wedding party and the larger scene of revelry that still attends the bonfires of the midsummer celebration in many places in Europe. It is here that the unresolved erotic problems of *Amoretti* are finally worked out. Spenser's foremost task in this second part is to raise and answer the challenge which the darker powers of sexuality and social disorder (hinted at in the merriment of the youths and the urgency of the groom) pose to the Apollonian clarity of the hymeneal procession and its virginal central figure. The theme of sexuality unleashed is also pressed on him by the fescennine motifs which are to be expected in an epithalamium. But here the epithalamist cannot invite the revelers to muffle with their noise the cries of the bride behind the closed chamber door, for with the poet-bridegroom we enter that chamber and the scene in which marriage begins to act out its mundane course.

Sexuality first appears in comic form, in stanza 15 where the longing groom laments, 'But for this time it ill ordained was,/To chose the longest day in all the yeare,/And shortest night, when longest fitter weare.' (Fittingly, too, this stanza, in a spatial joke, is one line shorter than any other except the envoy.) It is precisely here that Spenser points most strongly—though with sudden irony—to the day's astronomical significance: This day the sunne is in his chiefest hight,/With Barnaby the bright,/From whence declining daily by degrees,/He somewhat loseth of his heat and light.' In doing so, he reminds us not only of the power of Phoebus but of its limits; and in the ensuing stanzas, he evokes the darkness that comes with its waning. The refrain modulates into the negative—'The woods no more shal answere'—and the joyful sounds of man and nature cease with the light. The bride, earlier arrayed by the Hours and Graces, now lies between perfumed sheets, but her damsels must leave her alone. The groom who before called up the masque of Hymen now must employ his Orphean gift of utterance and his mastery of number to dispel fear of 'perrill and foule horror,' of 'false treason' and 'dread disquiet.' He must send about their business 'the Pouke' and 'other evill sprights,' mischievous witches, hobgoblins, and birds of evil omen. As in the village scene of the earlier part of

the poem, these homely superstitions are part of Spenser's endearing naturalization of his great images of order and truth in the intimately understood scene of his readers' own world. But at work at this moment is a strength resembling that which forces Busirane to reverse his charms (*FQ* III xii): like Jove engendering Majesty upon Night herself (*Epith* 330–1), the poet confronts and masters the evil face of darkness with the power of his own magic. In this act, suffering lover is finally transformed into Christian husband, for only when the charms of this new Orpheus have dispelled the phantoms and shriekings of fearful darkness can the 'trew night watches' of 'stil Silence' take the place of daytime sun and festive song.

It is in this mood of 'sacred peace' that in stanza 20 the marriage is consummated. Like the angels that flew about the bride's head as she approached the altar, 'an hundred little winged loves' are invited to play their sports about the bed. Yet the poet's tone is light and dismissive: 'For greedy pleasure, carelesse of your toyes,/Thinks more upon her paradise of joyes,/Then what ye do, albe it good or ill.' This is not the mythopoeic eroticism with which Spenser earlier depicted Venus' continuing conjunction with Adonis in *FQ* III vi 46, nor is it the amusing naughtiness of the Anacreontics. All the cares 'which cruell love collected' have been 'sumd in one, and cancelled for aye' (317–18). The epithalamic task of absorbing the erotic into the social order is nearly complete.

In the final stanzas of the poem, Spenser obeys the further epithalamic convention that the poet wish the union be blessed with issue. In doing so, he develops yet another of those crescendos of implication which distinguish his poem. In stanza 21, the preoccupied poet recognizes at his window the familiar face of 'Cinthia, she that never sleepes,/But walkes about high heaven al the night.' The moon goddess is not only the bringer of light in darkness ordained by the celestial order but the goddess of childbirth as well. In this and the next stanza, the poet begs all the gods of generation—Cynthia, 'great Juno' patron of the laws of wedlock, 'glad Genius,' 'fayre Hebe,' and 'Hymen free'—to 'Send us the timely fruit of this same night.'

The word *timely* chimes throughout *Epithalamion* in a variety of auspicious meanings; here it signifies that which is of time, one with time, and its effect is to make the child of epithalamic convention the focus of the cosmographical design of the whole poem. Yet in Spenser's climactic stanza 23, all this is in turn canceled and summed in one, as in the time-bound individual child is forecast a whole long posterity. Amidst the 'dreadful darknesse' inhabited by 'wretched earthly clods' like Edmund and Elizabeth is imagined the temple of high heaven, aflame not with Hymen's single tead, but with 'a thousand torches flaming bright' The solitary poet with whom we began ceases his song in hope of begetting a race 'Of blessed Saints for to increase the count.' In thus reminding us of the spiritual world above the earthly bustle (Clemen 1968:96), Spenser completes the upward-reaching theological movement of *Epithalamion*. But he also replaces the genealogy of Cupid (child of Plenty and Poverty; see *HL* 53) with the genealogy of his own people, one founded in individual history and issuing in eschatology. The closed narcissism of *Amoretti* 35 and 83 has been reviewed and dismissed in the poet's wishes for his inheritors.

In *Epithalamion's* seven-line envoy, Spenser returns to the image of the poem as device:

> Song made in lieu of many ornaments,
> With which my love should duly have benedect,
> Which cutting off through hasty accidents,
> Ye would not stay your dew time to expect,
> But promist both to recompens,
> Be unto her a goodly ornament,
> And for short time an endlesse moniment.

Do these lines speak of gifts to the bride which were delayed, or adornments which were lost (*Var* 8:494, 650)? Do they refer to unwritten sonnets of *Amoretti* (Judson 1945:172)? Is the poem as a whole a form of recompense for the limitations of human time (Hieatt 1960:56–9)? Or does the poet here 'shed all poetic disguises and renew [his] history on the stage where all are merely players for the short time allotted to them' (Neuse 1966:174)? An answer is suggested by the fact that *Epithalamion* is suffused with images and figures of exchange and compensation. Some of these may originate in the allusion to lovers' counting games in Catullus 5 (Pearcy 1980–1); others certainly allude to the different circuits of the spheres (Hieatt 1960:32–41). But they are all made more intelligible by the generic convention which regards a wedding hymn as treating the lover's just reward after his trial. Seen in this way, the images of exchange and compensation express the interplay Spenser recognizes between love and law, multiplicity and unity, change and concord. The effect of the envoy is to incorporate the poem in this interchange, making it a sounding emblem of Spenser's long-held conviction that constancy 'is not, in this world at least, a power "contrayr" to Mutabilitie. It is a purpose persisting through mutability, redeeming it. It combines the energy of love with the stability of law; it is not a denial of change but a direction for work' (Hawkins 1961:101–2).

Epithalamion, writes Hallett Smith (1961:136), 'is a poem which needs no defense.' The general affection in which Spenser's wedding hymn is held has meant that criticism, when not panegyric, has largely been divided between early efforts to identify bride and date, sources and style (*Var* 8:647–58, Greene 1957), and attempts since 1960 to correlate Hieatt's description of its numerological scheme with Spenser's known procedure in this and other poems (see modern studies in *number symbolism). Hieatt's central argument is now doubted by only the most adamant critics of numerological analysis; however, his theory that the 'compensatory' design offers a message of consolation has been rejected or seriously qualified (Neuse 1966, Welsford 1967, Kaske 1978, and others). And some of the details of his scheme still provoke debate (see W.V.Davis 1969, Eade 1972, Hieatt 1960 and 1961, Pearcy 1980–1, Welsford 1967, Wickert 1968).

Such debate is only to be expected, for numerological readings are most vulnerable in their minute details. Hostile critics tend to insist that schematic patterns must be both rigid and complete to be credible. But our expanding knowledge of spatial strategies of composition and reading suggests that schematic patterns are often deliberately varied or interrupted by their makers for expressive reasons. For example, since II June is 103 days after 1 March, the numerological scheme explored by Hieatt should place the poet's plea

that ‘this one day be myne’ at the 103rd long line (line 125), yet it in fact occurs at the 105th. The conjunction is too close not to be noticed and too imperfect not to be debated, especially since Spenser could easily have revised the sentence to claim his day precisely in the 103rd long line, yet did not. If the discrepancy was intended, there are several possible reasons. Common superstition often obliges the folk craftsman to work a flaw into his design as a charm, or to signify its human origin; like the ‘ribald’ in a civic pageant, it is there to remind us of our mortality (Kipling 1977b). Medieval conventions of schematic ordering permit the elaboration of such designs by the deliberate addition or subtraction of elements (Hopper 1938:82). Then there is sheer wit, which Spenser himself employs in making the longing stanza 15 shorter by a line.

Epithalamion has been almost untouched by recent post-structuralist criticism, perhaps because it is so intransigently logocentric. However, Douglas Hamer once wondered with flat literalism why Irish crowds might have lined the street in a year of simmering rebellion for the marriage of a hated Englishman (1931:287). In his study of Spenser’s genre, Thomas M.Greene (1957) argued a weakness in stanza 20 (the consummation), and he continues to regard the poem from a deconstructionist standpoint as in fact reversing its convention (1982:50). Taken as a whole, the volume evades such skepticism by admitting its own premises so totally. Indeed, it could be said to reverse the deconstructionist procedure by beginning in the area of doubt and misprision and out of it *reconstructing* a mode of discourse so comprehensive as to defy acceptance on any terms other than its own. Spenser uses the symbolic images and the formal conventions of his time to produce an intensity of social meaning so great that *Epithalamion* still touches deeply those who enter into a shared life, though they may share nothing with Spenser himself.

Epithalamion is arguably Spenser’s greatest poem: his most fulfilled personally and spiritually, and his most complete aesthetically. In it, as at crucial points elsewhere in his work, he adopts a first-person stance or a persona closely identified with himself. But in *Epithalamion,* this figure’s longing can at last be fulfilled as it can never be in Colin’s pastoral laments in *The Shepheardes Calender,* in the vision of which Calidore later deprives that piping shepherd in *FQ* VI x 17–18, or even in the expectant stance of the prayer which forms the ‘unperfite’ eighth canto of *FQ* VII. *Epithalamion* is bound to other parts of Spenser’s work as well, in particular to the mythopoeic vision of the generation of being in *FQ* III, and to the themes of social concord examined in *FQ* IV. In *Epithalamion,* these myths of generation and concord are situated in a vision of the poet’s own historical and temporal existence. The result, as in all of Spenser’s later works, is to sharpen and focus the question of the relation between energy and order, the existential and the eternal. As the 1590s progress, Spenser prevailingly treats this problem in the form of a diptych. Thus the paired genres of *Amoretti* and *Epithalamion* are paralleled by the pairings of *Fowre Hymnes* and the pairing of the two *Cantos of Mutabilitie*. In each case an unchanneled source of energy—the lover, Cupid, Mutabilitie—is first envisioned and comprehended with wit and compassion, and then juxtaposed to a perfected and higher version of that energy—the married man, Christ, constancy—which both contains and transcends it. In this way, we find Spenser even at the end of his career at work fashioning in one more form the great myth of spiritual liberation which earlier underlay the time-scheme of *The Shepheardes Calender,* and which was then expressed in the freeing of Amoret from her bondage to Busirane, and the prayer for liberation at the

conclusion of the *Cantos of Mutabilitie*. This is the liberation he makes possible for himself and his bride when, in *Epithalamion,* he calls up Hymen's masque through his mastery of numbered song, surmounting the limitations of Cupid's sphere and the greater threat of darkness itself by devising his poem as a simulacrum of the divinely ordained round of the cosmographical day within which human action pursues its humble but transcendently important course.

GERMAINE WARKENTIN

It will be clear from the essay above how much I am indebted to the several hundred scholars and critics who have studied these poems before 1985. I have cited specific obligations where possible, and drawn much from other work which is known to all Spenserians (particularly Hieatt 1960) and is cited in the General Bibliography. The edition of the *Book of Common Prayer* cited is 1580 (*STC* 16307; like other *BCPs* of these decades, its almanac includes 1594). For special insights, I am particularly indebted to Eileen Jorge Allman 1980 '*Epithalamion's* Bridegroom: Orpheus-Adam-Christ' *Renascence* 32:240–7; John D.Bernard 1980 'Spenserian Pastoral and the *Amoretti*' *ELH* 47:419–32; Fowler 1970b; Hawkins 1961; W. Speed Hill 1972 'Order and Joy in Spenser's *Epithalamion*' *SHR* 6:81–90; Kaske 1978; Luborsky 1980; Waldo F.McNeir 1965 'An Apology for Spenser's Amoretti' *NS* ns 14:1–9; Martz 1961; Richard Neuse 1966 'The Triumph over Hasty Accidents: A Note on the Symbolic Mode of the "Epithalamion"' *MLR* 61:163–74; Nohrnberg 1976; Charles Phythian-Adams 1972 'Ceremony and the Citizen: The Communal Year at Coventry, 1450–1550' in *Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500–1700* ed Peter Clark and Paul Slack (London), pp 57–85.

Amyntas

A 'shepherd,' now dead, who attended Cynthia's (ie, Elizabeth's) court (*Colin Clout* 432–43); he was both poet and patron, piping with 'passing skill' and supporting others who did so. His beloved, Amaryllis, mourns his death (564–71).

Amyntas has long been identified with Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange, fifth Earl of Derby (Church in Spenser ed 1758b, Morris 1963). Amaryllis is then Alice Spencer, daughter of Sir John and Lady Spencer of Althorp (to whom Spenser claimed kinship; see *Colin Clout* 536–71) and wife of Stanley. Spenser dedicated *Teares of the Muses* to her in 1591, praising her 'noble match with that most honourable Lord the verie Paterne of right Nobilitie'; and later Milton wrote *Arcades* and *Comus* for her and her family. Nashe, too, apparently refers to Stanley in *Pierce Penilesse* when he criticizes Spenser for not celebrating 'Amyntas' in the 1590 *Faerie Queene:* 'But therefore gest I he suppress thy name,/Because few words might not comprise thy fame' (ed 1904–10,1:244).

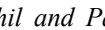
Stanley was about 35 years old when he died on 16 April 1594; the tribute to him in *Colin Clout* must have been written or revised shortly thereafter, as the opening indicates: There also is (ah no, he is not now)/But since I said he is, he quite is gone' (432–3). The lines are a brief elegy for him as poet and patron; he was also praised by Chapman, Harington, and others. He was the principal supporter of a company of actors known as Strange's (later, Derby's) men. (After his death they became the Lord Chamberlain's men, Shakespeare's company.) A few of Stanley's poems may survive in *Bel-vedére, or The Garden of the Muses* (1600); others have survived in manuscript (see May 1972–3).

'Amyntas' is a stock pastoral name descending from Theocritus (Idyll 7) and Virgil (Eclogues 2, 3, 5, 10). It is common in Renaissance pastoral, including the work of Mantuan (Eclogues 2, 3, 6) and Barclay (Ec-logue 5). The best-known instances are Tasso's Italian play *Aminta* and Watson's *Amintae gaudia and Amyntas* (the last translated into English by Fraunce as *The Lamentations of Amyntas* 1587, with three more editions shortly after). Thus, the 'Amintas' lamented at *FQ* III vi 45 is evidently not Stanley but Watson's hero, finally transformed into the amaranthus (W.A.Ringler 1954).

SUKANTA CHAUDHURI

anacreontics

Although Anacreon, a Greek poet of the sixth century BC, had long been known by name, the texts of 60 odes attributed to him first came to light in 1549 when the scholar Henri Estienne (Henricus Stephanus) found them appended to an eleventh-century manuscript of the *Greek Anthology*. He published these *Odae* with his own Latin translations of 31 of them (Paris 1554, rpt 1556), and again in his *Carminum poetarum novem…fragmenta* along with a complete Latin translation and the works of eight other Greek poets (1560). The Anacreontic poems were later discovered to have been composed by a number of poets over seven centuries. However, they were attributed to Anacreon in Estienne's anthology, which was reprinted many times and was certainly known to poets such as Watson, Jonson, and Herrick.

Ronsard, one of Estienne's friends, immediately wrote imitations of the newly discovered odes; and Remy Belleau translated a number of them into French (1555), adding a few of his own anacreontics at the end. Soon other poets from France, Italy, and England were copying both Anacreon and Ronsard. Sidney tried imitating the anacreontic meter  in a song labeled 'Anacreon's kind of verses' in the *Old Arca-dia* (ed 1973a:163), and Barnabe Barnes used the same meter for his 'carmen anacreontium' in *Parthenophil and Parthenophe* (1593; ed 1971:123–5). Usually, however, the themes rather than the meter inspired the anacreontics of European poets. Popular anacreontic themes include the rejection of worldly cares and heroic ambitions in favor of the carefree enjoyment of wine, love, and song; the celebration of small or trivial objects; and (combining both of these) brief narratives about the little Cupid who hides in a flower and stings like a bee, or appears at one's door like a little boy wet with rain and then shoots his unsuspecting host.

Spenser uses the Cupid-as-bee theme in both the first and last of the four poems placed between the *Amoretti* and *Epithalamion* (ed 1912:577–8). This theme can be traced back to both Anacreon and Theocritus; but Spenser's poems seem to be based almost entirely on Renaissance imitations, especially by Tasso and either Ronsard or Baïf (Hutton 1941). The last two stanzas of the fourth poem are Spenser's own development; their reference to the poet's own feelings has been called a 'Petrarchizing' of the anacreontic mode (Baumann 1974:40, 42). His second poem concerns an exchange of arrows between Cupid and Diana. In the third, Cupid mistakes Spenser's beloved for his own mother. These poems have been labeled 'Anacreontics,' although the original 1595 edition does not distinguish them from the rest of the *Amoretti* by any heading or separation (*Var* 8:455). Another Cupid narrative, anacreontic in character though not directly imitative of a Greek ode, occurs in *FQ* III vi 11–26, where Venus searches for her son.

The placing of the Anacreontics between the *Amoretti* and *Epithalamion* has perplexed readers. The poems have been called a'haphazard addition' which ought to be ignored (G.K.Hunter 1973:124, Martz 1961:152), as well as a sort of interlude or playful pause between two serious acts (Nohrnberg 1976:68–9). Sidney had similarly used his anacreontic as a song in the interlude between two acts of the *Arcadia;* and two Cupid poems appear at the end of Shakespeare's sonnets, followed by 'A Lover's Complaint.' Spenser's use of anacreontics as interlude, therefore, would be in keeping with other Renaissance treatments of their traditional theme of turning from serious to more playful and pleasurable topics.

Yet Spenser's Anacreontics have also been taken to have a serious meaning, integral to the volume in which they occur. They seem to provide a coda to the *Amoretti,* summing up its themes and preparing for the marriage poem (Cummings 1970–1, Miola 1980). Furthermore, the title *Amoretti* evokes the little cupids associated with anacreontic odes. Various organizational patterns have been proposed which integrate the Anacreontics into Spenser's sequence and thus enhance their meaningfulness in relation to the surrounding poetry (Dunlop 1980, Fowler 1970b).

Like Spenser, several other Renaissance poets end their sonnet sequences with anacreontic poems. Their model seems to have been Ronsard, whose 'Sonnets a diverses personnes' (in his *Oeuvres* 5th ed 1578) are followed by an imitation of the ode on the lodging of Cupid. In general, the brief odes provide a witty, epigrammatic ending to a sequence, functioning rather like the final couplet of an English sonnet. Although Shakespeare's final two sonnets derive ultimately from another poet in the *Greek Anthology,* they share a similar theme: Cupid's brand falls into the hands of Diana's nymphs, who plunge it into a spring that subsequently becomes a medicinal hot spring, although its waters cannot cure the poet of his love. The dipping of Cupid's brand into a 'bath' or 'well' and the well's healing virtues are close to the themes of Spenser's fourth anacreontic. Spenser uses the combinations of Diana and Cupid or Venus, both in his Anacreontics and in *FQ* III, to explore the possibilities of chaste married love.

Spenser refers to Anacreon in *Hymne of Heavenly Beautie,* published one year after the *Amoretti* volume. Describing Sapience as a beautiful queen, he contrasts his high subject and lowly skill with the lowly subject and high skill of Anacreon of Teos (218–24): 'But had those wits the wonders of their dayes/Or that sweete *Teian* Poet which did spend/His plenteous vaine in setting forth her prayse,/Seene but a glims of this, which I pretend,/How wondrously would he her face commend,/Above that Idole of his fayning

thought,/That all the world shold with his rimes be fraught?' The moral status of Anacreon's poetry had been questionable from the start, so *vaine* may be a pun which, along with *Idole,* criticizes the frivolous pagan poet from a Neoplatonic and Christian point of view. Despite his own enthusiasm for the poems, Estienne had included in his preface to *Carminum poetarum novem* a warning that they might be abused by readers who sought only voluptuous pleasure from poetry. The odes themselves acknowledge (albeit with protest) the power of duties, time, and death to undermine life's pleasures; they recognize the limitations to the good they celebrate. Spenser does not take the line of Jonson and Marini in equating Anacreon's drunkenness with poetic rapture (Jonson ed 1925–52, 8:637; Michelangeli 1922:99–100). For Spenser, however serious its function within a given context, anacreontic verse seems to mean brief, light, narrative verse about Cupid, often with relation to the poet himself.

JANET LEVARIE SMARR

A modern text and translation of the *Anacreontea,* including fragments from various sources, is in J.M.Edmonds, ed 1931 *Elegy and Iambus* 2 vols, Loeb Classical Library.

Michael Baumann 1974 *Die Anakreonteen in englischen Übersetzungen* (Heidelberg); Gordon Braden 1978 *The Classics and English Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven) pp 255–8; Peter M.Cummings 1970–1 'Spenser's *Amoretti* as an Allegory of Love' *TSLL* 12:163–79; G.K. Hunter 1973; James Hutton 1941 'Cupid and the Bee' *PMLA* 56:1036–58; Janet Levarie 1973 'Renaissance Anacreontics' *CL* 25:221–39; Martz 1961; Luigi Alessandro Michelangeli 1922 *Anacreonte e la sua fortuna nei secoli* (Bologna); Miola 1980.

androgyne

Venus is represented as an androgyne (a single individual uniting the traits of both sexes) in *FQ* IV x 41 and in *Colin Clout* 800–2. In both passages, the goddess is described as possessing male and female characteristics and able to procreate without the help of a consort. In the Temple of Venus passage, her attributes are remote from human gaze, for her statue is veiled. In one other passage of *The Faerie Queene,* moreover, androgyny is associated with selfsufficient procreation and with mystery: Nature, described by Mutabilitie as 'the highest him, that is behight/Father of Gods and men by equall might' (VII vi 35), is presented by the narrator as 'great dame *Nature,*' with veiled head and face, so that 'Whether she man or woman inly were,/That could not any creature well descry' (vii 5).

In most antique and Renaissance representations of bisexual deities in the visual arts, effeminate male figures were portrayed (often on the model of Hadrian's favorite, Antinous), rather than explicitly hermaphroditic individuals; examples of the latter tended to verge on the grotesque or obscene (Wind 1958). Spenser's verbal descriptions,

however, resemble the Aphroditus of Cyprus and similar deities described by ancient mythographers (Delcourt 1961). That Ve-nus and Nature are veiled may indicate his sense that explicit disclosure of the physical image would detract from their 'sacred completeness' as primal figures of fertility and make them into hermaphroditic grotesques (Fletcher 1971:95, Cheney 1972).

The term *androgyne* appears with some frequency in sixteenth-century French literature. In Ronsard, it figures the union of two bodies; in Marguerite of Navarre, the spiritual union of the soul with Christ. Whether erotic or spiritual, the concept stems from the fantastic myth of origins attributed to Aristophanes in Plato's *Symposium* 189E-92E, which Ficino translated into Latin and Italian and made the object of a Christianizing commentary. In their erotic poetry, the Pléiade occasionally used the term *Hermaphrodite* in a roughly equivalent sense, their source being Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 4.285–388, a myth not of a primal state of unity preceding sexual difference, but of the loss of that difference in sexual intercourse. Alchemical works, with their illustrations of a fused 'hermaphrodite' in the transforming 'bath,' contributed to further mingling of the two myths.

With the exception of certain episodes like the hermaphroditic embrace of Amoret and Scudamour in the stanzas which concluded the 1590 Book III, or the glimpse of the Red Cross Knight 'swimming in that sea of blisfull joy' at the end of Book I (xii 41), physical union between the sexes does not constitute a major element in Spenser's narrative dynamics. But the androgyne is a recurrent image of human completeness or containment. A lady 'full of amiable grace,/ And manly terrour' (III i 46), Britomart embodies chaste love as an ideal for both women and men until she is unmasked in combat by Artegall and accepts the prospect of a marriage which will lead to the generation of Elizabeth. Britomart is an 'almost bisexual figure'; her chastity is not a rejection of sexuality but its actualization; she stands in contrast to Florimell who denies her own sexuality and that of others, and to Busirane for whom sexuality is a source of lust and oppression (Brill 1971). This interpretation, which employs Freudian theories of the libido, is complemented by one which compares Britomart and Belphoebe with Radigund and Florimell: the former have been called 'Apollonian' androgynes and the latter 'Dio-nysian' (Paglia 1979). This distinction establishes two categories of bisexuality within the Spenserian imagination: one is self-contained and joins psychosexual elements to morality and aesthetics; the other subjects them to primeval forces.

Queen Elizabeth herself, by destiny and choice, exhibited attributes of both sexes, as woman and ruler. Spenser's androgynes thus emerge from the work of a loyal subject concerned to fashion a good governor and a virtuous individual, and of a visionary poet whose narrative technique mingles polarities of male and female with comparable oppositions between night and day, dark and light, time and eternity. His use of androgyny brings into play mythopoetic structures which belong to both GrecoRoman and Judaic traditions (Meeks 1974).

MARIE-ROSE LOGAN

Brill 1971; Cheney 1972; Marie Delcourt 1961 *Hermaphrodite: Myths and Rites of the Bisexual Figure in Classical Antiquity* tr Jennifer Nicholson (London); Fletcher 1971; Wayne Meeks 1973–4 'The Image of

the Androgyne: Some Uses of a Symbol in Earliest Christianity' *HistRel* 13:165–208; Camille A.Paglia 1979 'The Apollonian Androgyne and *The Faerie Queene*' *ELR* 9:42–63; Wind 1958.

angel, Guyon's

The angel who watches over Guyon, after the knight's passage through Mammon's house, incarnates the love that is the subject of the narrator's marveling commentary: 'And is there care in heaven? and is there love/In heavenly spirits to these creatures bace,/That may compassion of their evils move?/There is' (*FQ* II viii 1–8). The heavenly care rendered visible in the angel's descent is manifested in Christ's redemptive journey through history. Guyon's quest imitates one episode of that journey when the solitary knight, traveling through a desert wilderness, encounters and resists the temptations of Mammon (I.G.MacCaffrey 1976:101). Paradoxically, as he emerges from his infernal ordeal, moving upward to 'living light,' the hero falls into a deathlike trance (vii 66). The faint indicates the limit of his powers: the body's need for food and rest, the soul's hunger for that which selfreliant nature cannot comprehend. At this moment of crisis, the angel appears, evoking remembrance of the ministering spirits who came to Christ after his trial in the wilderness (Matt 4.11). The mystery of the grace that touches Guyon is preserved in the angel's revelation to the Palmer that 'he that breathlesse seemes, shal corage bold respire' and in his own promise 'evermore' to 'succour, and defend' the knight against his enemies and God's.

The descent of an emissary god or angel bearing a message to earth is one of the noblest conventions of epic literature. Renaissance versions of the motif derive from Virgil's description of the flight of Mercury (*Aeneid* 4.219–78) and its models in the epics of Homer (Greene 1963:7). Spenser's representation of the angel transfigures its classical, medieval, and Neoplatonic sources in both literary and pictorial memory to direct attention to ultimate sources, ultimate ends.

Characteristically, the passage of the celestial descent describes the swift, dramatic movement of a figure through space. Guyon's guardian is first known not in the motion of flight, but in a voice calling the Palmer back to his charge. Like Tasso's Gabriele (*Gerusalemme liberata* 1.13–14), the angel submits himself to mortal sight in the form of 'a faire young man.' But the wings at his back identify him as one of the cherubim, whose special gift is knowledge of the truth of God (Bartholomaeus Anglicus *De proprietatibus rerum* 2.9). A fifteenth-century Italian sermon notes 'the painters' license to give the angels wings to signify their swift progress in all things' (Baxandall 1972:50). Spenser accommodates his vision of grace to human eyes by giving his angel wings 'like painted Jayes.' Among the visual arts in the collections of Leicester and others of the court were illustrated Books of Hours displaying angels golden-pinioned, red-, blue-, purple-, and peacock-winged (Tuve 1970:127–9). Spenser reinterprets these traditional images through visual and literary allusions that enlarge the immediate narrative context of the descent: the angel's aspect 'Like *Phoebus* face adorned with sunny rayes,/Divinely shone.' The comparison conveys the effect of dazzling light and suggests an analogy with

the divine Son who entered the world to redeem it. Spenser does not explicate the simile, but, in the rhetorically defined imagery of his angelic portraiture, visual perception yields to visionary experience. The vision is presented to the Palmer and to the reader—but not to Guyon, 'slumbring fast/In senseless dreame.' The irony of the knight's unconsciousness points to the truth of the relationship of the figures in tableau and to the cosmic setting of Guyon's journey. The angel is not a figure in a dream, and it is in the climactic isolation of the knight's unconsciousness that his relationship to God becomes clearest: 'the love he cannot give, he receives for he is in God's world' (Sonn 1961:29).

The image of Phoebus dissolves immediately into a stanza-long epic simile comparing the angel to '*Cupido* on *Idaean* hill,' a deity and setting apparently alien to the knight of Maidenhead (Cheney 1966:67). But the angel-Cupid comparison is the converse of the 'angel-like' images of the god of love in the dream-visions of romance literature (Hyde 1986:156–7). The god in the comparison is the celestial Cupid invoked in *FQ* I proem 3. The point of the comparison is a point of change, in time and in the poem, a reorientation of vision (Berger 1957:42). Cupid has 'laid his cruell bow away' and is revealed in the presence of his mother, the celestial Venus, and his sisters, the Graces. The unclassical grouping of these figures on Ida (R.M.Cummings 1970:319) and their displacement in the local habitations of Spenser's fiction (cf VI x 8–9) suggest the imagination's search for the true source of beauty, love, and joy. But in the presence of the angel, in this moment of mysterious convergences, Guyon is placed within that love recognized by Ficino as 'the perpetual knot and link of the universe' ('Commentary' on Plato's *Symposium* 3.3; Wind 1958:41). By this love, the human alliances of the poem are drawn into a new purposiveness (Berger 1957:49). The angel alerts the Palmer to the enemies at hand. The Palmer intercedes for Guyon with Arthur, the human instrument of grace. Arthur, as Guyon's 'dayes-man' (viii 28) dispatches Pyrochles and Cymochles, in fulfillment of the angel's revelation. 'By this, Sir *Guyon* from his traunce awakt' (53), and the action of the quest is renewed.

JOANNE T.DEMPSEY

Michael Baxandall 1972 *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy* (Oxford); Berger 1957; Cheney 1966; R.M.Cummings 1970; Ficno ed 1985; Greene 1963; Hamilton 1961a; Hamilton intro to Book II in *FQ* ed 1977; Hyde 1986; I.G.MacCaffrey 1976; Panofsky 1939; Carl Robinson Sonn 1961 'Sir Guyon in the House of Mammon' *SEL* 1:17–30; Tuve 1970:112–38.

angels

According to a commonplace of Renaissance thought, all things are arranged hierarchically 'from the Mushrome to the Angels' (Ward ed 1622:2). Moreover, the angels are themselves ordered according to a scheme twice specified by Spenser as 'trinall triplicities': in *The Faerie Queene,* during the betrothal of the Red Cross Knight

and Una (I xii 39), and in *Heavenly Love* (64–70), where the 'Angels bright' are envisaged as congregated about the throne of God, their tasks clearly defined. Oddly, however, the nine orders of angels are reduced to eight in *Heavenly Beautie;* in ascending sequence, they are: Powers, Potentates, Seats, Dominations, Cherubim, Seraphim, Angels, and Archangels.

The immediate appeal is to the time-honored scheme first propounded by the pseudonymous fifth-century writer who, adopting the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, St Paul's convert in Athens (Acts 17.34), arranged the angels into a hierarchy (again in an ascending sequence) of Angels, Archangels, Principalities, Powers, Virtues, Dominations, Thrones, Cherubim, and Seraphim (*De coelesti hierarchia* 7–9). Although enormously popular throughout the Middle Ages, the scheme was not the only one available. In two other alternatives, the angels were rearranged into 'trinall triplicities' so different from the primary scheme that the inevitable result was galloping confusion. On the advent of the Reformation, at any rate, every scheme was promptly dismantled. The principle of order among the angels was retained because the Bible makes it 'most plaine' that there are indeed 'degrees of angels' (Perkins 1591: sig B5v), but schemes like the popular one advanced by Pseudo-Dionysius were dismissed by both Luther and Calvin.

Spenser's list of angelic orders in *Heavenly Beautie* may reflect both his desire to adhere to the traditional 'trinall triplicities' and his unease over the common confusion about their precise arrangement. All the same, the importance of angels as executors of the divine behests is given decisive prominence. In *Teares of the Muses,* Angels are seen 'waighting on th'Almighties chayre' (510); in *Heavenly Beautie,* Angels and Archangels 'attend/On Gods owne person, without rest or end' (97–8); and in *The Faerie Queene,* they sing 'before th'eternall majesty' (I xii 39). In *Amoretti* 8, they 'come to lead fraile mindes to rest/in chast desires on heavenly beauty bound.' Their creation and duties are described in *Heavenly Love* 50–70. Incidental references to angels scattered throughout Spenser's poetry (eg, they are said to wear a 'heavenly coronall…before Gods tribunall' *FQ* in v 53) show how entirely they inhabited his imagination. In *The Faerie Queene,* the primacy of grace emphasized in Book I—'Ne let the man ascribe it to his skill,/That thorough grace hath gained victory./If any strength we have, it is to ill,/ But all the good is Gods, both power and eke will' (x 1)—leads to an even more lucid affirmation on 'th'exceeding grace/Of Highest God' whose angelic ministers are dispatched 'to and fro,/To serve to wicked /To serve to wicked man, to serve his wicked foe' (II viii 1–2; see Guyon's *angel).

Following Revelation 12.3–4, 7–9, Spenser records the prehistoric war in heaven when 'a whole legione/Of wicked Sprights did fall from happy blis' (III ix 2; cf viii 8 and *HHL* 71–98). This vision of their fall is countered by two glorious epiphanies. On the Mount of Contemplation, Redcrosse sees the New Jerusalem: 'As he thereon stood gazing, he might see/The blessed Angels to and fro descend/From highest heaven, in gladsome companee,/And with great joy into that Citie wend,/As commonly as friend does with his frend' (I x 56). Its secular counterpart is the climactic vision of Mercilla: her cloth of state is upheld by little angels and thousands more encompass her throne (v ix 29). On the whole, then, Spenser's angelology is thoroughly tradi- tional.

C.A.PATRIDES

Robert Ellrodt 1980 'Angels and the Poetic Imagination from Donne to Traherne' in *English Renaissance Studies Presented to Dame Helen Gardner in Honour of Her Seventieth Birthday* (Oxford) pp 164–79; Lewis 1964:40–2, 71–4; William Perkins 1591 *A Golden Chaine* tr R. Hill (London); Samuel Ward 1622 *The Life of Faith* 3rd ed (London). On the rise and fall of the Pseudo-Dionysian scheme, see C.A. Patrides 1982 *Premises and Motifs in Renaissance Thought and Literature* (Princeton) ch I.

animals, fabulous

Both fabulous animals and animals with fabulous characteristics are images compounded within the mental faculty of the fantasy (or imagination). In the description of Phantastes' cell, all perceived reality is mixed together with things imagined, so that apes and lions, lovers and children, are found with 'Infernall Hags, *Centaurs,* feendes, *Hippodames'* (*FQ* II ix 50). Even though these images may be 'such as in the world were never yit,' they exist in the mind and are therefore subject to interpretation.

Yet by comparison with the many other beasts in Spenser's poetry, fabulous animals are rarely mentioned. Basilisk, centaur, chimera, cockatrice, dragon, griffin, hydra, minotaur, phoenix, unicorn, and various sea monsters are the only ones named directly, though others, such as Duessa's seven-headed beast (I vii 16–18) and the Blatant Beast (v xii and VI) may be termed fabulous even though Spenser has reworked them from the Bible or traditional fable. Except for these two, fabulous animals are seldom directly present in the narrative except in pageants (cf *MHT* 122–4); usually they are mentioned in similes and ecphrases.

Six are used in similes. According to classical lore as transmitted through medieval bestiaries, the cockatrice and basilisk are lizardlike creatures that can kill with their gaze; eyes have the same power, and thus the poet's beloved in *Amoretti* 49 can 'kill with looks, as Cockatrices do,' and Corflambo 'Like as the Basiliske of serpents seede,/From powrefull eyes close venim doth convay/Into the lookers hart, and killeth farre away' (IV viii 39).

The unicorn and lion are traditional enemies; the lion, being the only creature that can capture the fabulous unicorn (a beast that may not be tamed, according to Job 39.12–15), lures it to attack, then slips aside so that its horn (precious because of its special medical and near-magical powers) becomes caught in a tree. Thus, in an extended simile where Pyrochles is described as the unicorn and Guyon as the lion (II v 10), the point, is not only that Guyon is more clever but also that Pyrochles is an especially difficult opponent. Since the unicorn was known for its wrath, the comparison with the fiery Pyrochles is the more apt.

Another traditional mythical struggle is that between the dragon and the griffin (a lion with eagle's wings, one of the four beasts in the vision at Dan 7.4). At *FQ* I v 8, Redcrosse is compared to the griffin and Sansjoy to the dragon—'With hideous horrour both together smight.' The comparison of Redcrosse's enemy to a dragon is entirely apt:

all his enemies may be termed dragons. To picture Redcrosse as a griffin seems less apt; yet in this battle, Redcrosse shares the bestiality, magnanimity, covetousness, and strength which are traditionally attributed to the griffin (see note on *FQ* I v 8.2 in ed 1977).

Another fabulous animal is the hydra, that many-headed serpent slain by Hercules (Ovid *Metamorphoses* 9.68–74). The comparisons of Duessa's seven-headed beast and the Blatant Beast to the hydra (I vii 17, VI xii 32) imply that they can be overcome only by the ultimate hero.

Centaurs appear in both ecphrases and pageants. They are painted on the walls of Phantastes' chamber (II ix 50); the tapestries of the house of Busirane show Saturn transforming himself into a centaur (III xi 43); 'relicks of the drunken fray' between the Lapiths, Centaurs, and Hercules are exhibited in the house of Ate (IV i 23); November rides the 'dreadfull' centaur Chiron, son of Saturn, in the pageant of the months (VII vii 40). Centaurs in these various displays recall the ancient mythological world in which the natural and the human are often mixed, sometimes with dangerous consequences.

Only a few animals appear as part of the direct experience of characters in *The Faerie Queene,* and even then their presence is shadowy. Trompart asserts that 'Dragons, and Minotaures' haunt the wilderness in which Hellenore is lost (III x 40); although Trompart is not the most reliable witness, his claim seems plausible to the reader who has already met several dragons in the narrative. Dreadful sea monsters, many of them believed to exist, delay Guyon's progress towards Acrasia's island: as the narrator comments, 'Ne wonder, if these did the knight appall' (II xii 25). Yet the Palmer tells Guyon that they are not real monsters but imaginary shapes 'disguiz'd/By that same wicked witch' Acrasia, thus instructing him to separate vain images from reality—a continuation of the theme established earlier in the visit to Phantastes' chamber.

Certainly the most important fabulous animals in Spenser's poetry are the five images of absolute evil derived from classical and Christian tradition and the Bible, chiefly Revelation: Error (I i), Lucifera's dragon (v), Duessa's seven-headed beast (vii), the Dragon killed by Redcrosse (xi), and the Blatant Beast (v x, VI).

BERNARD TANNIER

For further discussion, see Bernard Tannier 1980 'Un bestiaire maniériste: monstres et animaux fantastiques dans *La Reine des Fées* d'Edmund Spenser' in *Monstres et prodiges au temps de la Renaissance* ed Marie Thérèse Jones-Davies (Paris) pp 55–65. For medieval lore, see T.H.White 1954 and Bartholomaeus Anglicus 1582, Book 18; for the Renaissance, see Topsell 1607; for a mid-seventeenth-century critical examination of much of this lore, see Book 3 of Sir Thomas Browne 1981 *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* ed Robin Robbins, 2 vols (Oxford). See also Carroll 1954; Hamilton's notes to *FQ* ed 1977; Robin 1932; and Beryl Rowland 1973 *Animals with Human Faces: A Guide to Animal Symbolism* (Knoxville, Tenn).

antique world

Spenser uses the word *antique* in many different senses, so that the meaning of the phrase *antique world* in his works is not always consistent or clear. A useful way to examine his range of meanings and their relationships is to consider the proems to the books of *The Faerie Queene*.

The word *antique* appears in four proems and in the second stanza of the *Cantos of Mutabilitie, antiquity* in one, and *former ages* in another. In the reference to Mutabilitie's 'antique race' (VII vi 2), the adjective means 'primeval, original.' In the phrase 'antique praises,' which refers to the celebration of Queen Elizabeth (III proem 3), the adjective means 'antic' in the sixteenth-century sense: 'fanciful,' 'formulated in an imaginative fiction.' In I proem 2 and II proem 1 and 4, *antique* means primarily 'of that past recounted in this poem.' In Book v proem 1 (see also 3 and 9), 'the antique world' means primarily the Golden Age: the period of virtue, simplicity, and harmony which, according to many classical writers, initiated human history. The myth of the Golden Age, which Spenser would have known best from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* I, was revived by frequent descriptions in Renaissance texts. It was supposedly followed by the Silver, Bronze, and Iron Ages, each harsher and more violent than its predecessor. The Iron Age was associated with the present, so that the myth expressed nostalgia for a pristine happiness opposed to fallen reality. In IV proem 3, the phrase 'former ages,' also evoking a nobler past, appears to refer primarily to classical antiquity, since an allusion to Socrates follows immediately.

Spenser's use of *antiquity* in *FQ* VI proem 4 and 6 seems to bring together somewhat elusively several of these meanings: the past of this poem, the Golden Age, the civilization of ancient Greece and Rome, all represented as superior to the shrunken present. This elision of meanings is typical of Spenser. Each of those distinguished above is present to some degree in all the uses cited. In this way, through the various nuances of the word *antique,* a medieval, chivalric world overlaps with classical antiquity, a historical period overlaps with a mythical fiction, and all are associated with the action of the poem.

Of these diverse referents accruing to a single word, one had special force in Spenser's education and in his culture: the civilization of ancient Greece and Rome. The word *antiquity* in his age was already coming to denote primarily that civilization, as it does today. Spenser's own relationship to this particularly influential era of the past was complex and remains in some aspects confused, but three questions help to organize what is known about this relationship. First, with what elements of antiquity (authors, works, genres, myths, values, ideas) did he have contact? Second, through what intermediary avenues did this contact occur? Third, how were these elements, already altered by the passage of history, further assimilated and transmuted in his poetry?

The sixteenth century witnessed a dramatic renewal of interest in classical antiquity throughout northern Europe, a renewal which had been anticipated roughly a century earlier in Italy (see *humanism, *Renaissance). This renewal heavily influenced literature written in the national vernacular languages; it produced a large body of NeoLatin poetry and prose; it affected the ways in which men and women viewed their human dignity and their existence on earth; it directed the minds of the intellectual elite back to their pagan and Christian origins; it dominated the education of the young. Merchant Taylors' School, which Spenser attended, had as its first headmaster a devotee of the 'new

learning,' Richard Mulcaster. There can be no doubt that Spenser's early schooling had a strong humanist character.

The principal subject studied at Tudor grammar schools was Latin. The acquisition of Greek was in contrast a much rarer phenomenon, reserved for a select group of students at the most advanced schools; even in these cases, few students equaled the proficiency all achieved in Latin. The best schools generally introduced boys to Latin literature in the form of the *Precepts of Cato* (a series of moralizing distichs), and then taught them to read texts by such major authors as Cicero, Terence, Virgil, Horace, and Ovid. Aesop and Lucian were sometimes taught to younger boys in Latin translation. Neo-Latin authors, generally Mantuan and Erasmus, were often included as well. Great stress was placed upon memorizing; at Winchester, for example, all boys who reached a given level were required to learn twelve lines of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* a week, thus about 500 lines a year. It is quite likely that Spenser knew long passages of Latin poetry by heart.

As students advanced, they were required to write Latin compositions imitating those of the classics under study. They were also encouraged to keep commonplace books, in which they entered notable maxims, idioms, *topoi,* epithets, images, and turns of phrase garnered from their reading. These books were then mined when the student came to write his own compositions. Thus imitation was central to the educational process, not only in the conception of an entire composition but in its smallest elements. This process did not of course ensure a grasp of the true distinction or particular spirit of a given author, and doubtless it led most schoolboys to produce a merely mechanical likeness. But it did produce a strong pressure for continuity both of genre and of semantic unit; and in this respect, its effects are traceable on virtually every page of Spenser's writing.

Spenser's instruction at grammar school was followed by seven formative years at Cambridge, where he received the degrees of BA and MA. His formal education there took the form of attendance at lectures, delivered in English, and public disputations with other students. In 1570, his second year at the university, a revised set of statutes governing its curriculum was approved by the Queen. Since these statutes are extant, they can inform us concerning the texts and subjects taught, although it would be naive to assume that they were invariably followed to the letter. For a future BA, they prescribe rhetoric (Quintilian, Hermogenes, Cicero), logic (Aristotle and Cicero), and 'philosophy' (Plato, Pliny, Aristotle's *Problems, Ethics,* and *Politics*). Lectures on the Greek texts in this list would probably have discussed them in Latin translation. An MA candidate studied quadrivial subjects (arithmetic, geometry, Ptolemaic astronomy), drawing, more philosophy, and Greek (both the language and such authors as Homer, Isocrates, Demosthenes, and Euripides). The fact that language training was necessary at this level suggests that readings in Greek authors consisted of selected excerpts. A Cambridge professor of Spenser's era refers to student theatricals enlivening winter evenings with Euripides, Sophocles, Aristophanes, Plautus, Terence, and Seneca (Judson 1945:26). But his nostalgic and expansive tone makes it unclear whether this list is to be taken altogether literally.

Humanism at Cambridge had received strong impetus during the middle third of the century from a group of scholars led by Sir John Cheke and Roger Ascham, a group based at St John's College but influential well beyond its walls. Spenser's student friendship with Gabriel Harvey, an erudite classical scholar, must in itself have widened and sharpened his interest in ancient literature. A passage in a published letter from

Harvey to Spenser drops the names of authors Harvey clearly thought his fellow student *ought* to be reading: '*Tully* [Cicero], and *Demosthenes* nothing so much studyed, as they were wonte: *Livie,* and *Salust* possiblye rather more, than lesse: *Lucian* never so much: *Aristotle* muche named, but little read: *Xenophon* and *Plato,* reckned amongest Discoursers, and conceited Superficiall fellowes' (*Three Letters* 3, *Var Prose* p 460). This may or may not be an accurate reflection of Cambridge taste in 1580, but it evokes an atmosphere in which it is fashionable to talk about ancient writers and debate the rise and fall of reputations. The little reading of Aristotle reported by Harvey, in marked contrast with the statutes' prescriptions, suggests that the study of this author was mediated by that medieval scholastic philosophy whose survival at Cambridge would exasperate Milton two generations later.

Although we shall never know with any certainty just how widely Spenser read in classical literature, the uncertainty is particularly acute in the case of Greek. He must have learned some at university, if not at school, but it is hard to say how much. On the one hand, he knew enough to form the names of characters in *The Faerie Queene* from Greek roots. His friend Lodowick Bryskett, in his fictional dialogue *Discourse of Civill Life,* describes Spenser as 'perfect in the Greek tongue' (ed 1970:21). The Letter to Raleigh refers to Homer, Plato, and Xenophon; *SC, March* imitates an idyll by Bion and 'Astrophel' another; echoes of Plato's *Timaeus* and of Plutarch can be found in the *Fowre Hymnes;* the Pastorella story in *FQ* VI may be indebted to Greek romances; a translation of the pseudo-Platonic dialogue *Axiochus* into English may be Spenser's. The Greek emblems which conclude *Maye* form an hexameter found in Theognis. Other allusions and 'sources' could be cited.

Yet on the other hand, all of Spenser's known sources that involve a Greek text were also available to him in another language. The *Axiochus* translation, for example, is based on a Latin version of the Greek by a certain Welsdalius. At *FQ* II vii 52 and IV proem 3, two serious errors concerning the participants in two Platonic dialogues raise the question whether Spenser had read the *Phaedo* and the *Phaedrus* in any language. Although E.K. in his Argument prefacing *The Shepheardes Calender* cites Theocritus as 'the first head and welspring' of the eclogue form, there is very little of Theocritus in the work itself. The eclogue closest to his idylls, *August,* depends more immediately on Sannazaro, Baïf, and Ronsard, as well as Virgil. *March* does not derive from Bion directly but either from Latin or a French translation. Spenser may have read many Greek authors in translation or in original excerpts, but there seems to be no firm evidence other than the tribute of his friend Bryskett that he could read Greek texts of any length in the original.

The case of Latin literature is totally different. There is ample evidence that Spenser's mind was steeped in it, especially in its poetry. He translated the *Culex* (mistakenly attributed by his contemporaries to Virgil) as *Virgils Gnat,* and he drew heavily on *Ciris* (another pseudo-Virgilian poem) for an episode at *FQ* III ii 30–51. Many other passages in his poetry allude to specific passages in Latin poetry, and his entire corpus is dense with phrases, images, motifs, and details stemming originally from ancient Latin writing.

Nonetheless, it is not easy to state with precision just how widely Spenser read in Latin. He certainly knew Cicero, Terence, Virgil, Horace, and Ovid—all likely school texts. He certainly knew works by Seneca and Statius; he uses the latter's *Thebaid* in *The Faerie Queene*. He must have read some Caesar, Pliny, Sallust, Quintilian, and Livy. Lucretius was less commonly read during the Tudor period, but some readers claim that

he influenced Spenser. Spenser translates the opening of *De rerum natura* in *FQ* IV x 44–7, although there is no strong evidence that he read the entire Latin poem. Elements from Diodorus Siculus appear in *The Shepheardes Calender* and elsewhere. It is doubtful that Spenser knew well the elegists Catullus, Propertius, and Tibullus. The structure of *Epithalamion* is fundamentally Catullan, but this structure had become conventional during the continental Renaissance. Of the Late Latin authors, Spenser clearly knew Macrobius and the protomedieval philosopher Boethius. The list of authors could probably be lengthened if individual motifs or phrases implied conclusive proof of Spenser's familiarity with a given ancient text. But the use of commonplace books was so heavy, the passage from imitation to topos so common, that this kind of attribution is risky.

More useful than seeking to compile a reading list is asking how Spenser 'knew' a given classical text at all. Like most readers, he apparently tasted many more books than he digested. *FQ* II x, for instance, suggests that his grasp of Roman history was weak. The discussion of ancient historical evidence in *Vewe of Ireland* has many references which have proven untraceable or simply wrong. For example, the word *mantelum* (cloak) is assigned to a passage in the *Aeneid* where it does not appear (*Var Prose* p 99). The ideal of historical precision was not high during Spenser's lifetime, and he did nothing to raise it.

More generally, it should be remembered that Elizabethans, like moderns, could read a book for many reasons: as a storehouse of usable phrases and images; as a rhetorical performance exhibiting a variety of classified tropes; as an imitation or emulation of a well-known earlier work; as a set of positive and negative moral examples; as 'matter' for instruction and as a source of ideas; as an allegorical source with implications for ethics, metaphysics, or theology, especially if the surface appeared to be unrewarding. Even so gifted a mind as Spenser's would not have approached all books, including the classics, with all these considerations at work simultaneously. On the basis of his published works, we can guess which ancient writers he read with the most sympathetic attention and active receptivity; but except for two or three dominant masters, we can only guess. We can be sure only that the assumptions and expectations guiding his reading differed both from our own and from those of the original ancient audience.

Spenser's contact with the classics was achieved through a series of screens. First was the screen of language, formidable in the case of Greek, less opaque in the case of Latin, but nonetheless interposing a foreign element between reader and text. For most Greek texts, translation was probably an additional screen. Massive historical change was also a screen between the culture or cultures of antiquity and that of Elizabethan England. No reader at any period can accurately estimate the density of this screen. Tudor England witnessed a growth in the awareness of historical change more or less coincident with the growth of native humanism, but it would remain for men and women of the seventeenth century to gauge the profundity of change with something approaching that clarity we like to call 'modern.' Spenser never reached the awareness of his younger contemporary Jonson, although this contrast should not stamp him as a correspondingly weaker poet. But it is fair to say that the screen of change was doubled for him and almost all his contemporaries by an imperfect perception of change. Further, when pagan authorities and Christian authorities were seen to differ, many Renaissance writers, including Spenser, attempted to minimize or reconcile the difference, often in the process reading

with a bias the texts they were reinterpreting. Thus the very conflict of authorities could be considered a screen to understanding.

Still another, more visible screen lay in the immense corpus of glosses, commentaries, and interpretations which intermittently illuminated but also oversimplified or obscured classic texts. Many of these commentaries were published along with the texts and were impossible to avoid, just as E.K.'s glosses cannot be avoided in reading *The Shepheardes Calender*. In many sixteenth-century editions of Virgil, for example, the original text would occupy a relatively small part of the folio page, the rest of which was given over to commentators. These could include both Late Latin figures such as Servius and Donatus, and modern humanist scholars such as Badius Ascensius. Some editions would mingle many chronological layers of 'explanation' and interpretation, which could be grammatical, philological, historical, rhetorical, moral, religious, or allegorical. This screen of commentary on single works is not always easily distinguishable from original treatises which reiterate, reformulate, embroider, simplify, and wittingly or unwittingly distort the content of the classical text.

Plato's dialogues, which were subjected to many reformulations both pagan and Christian, are perhaps the clearest example of how screens are created by commentary's ramification and deformation of a text. One of the most influential philosophical treatises of the Italian Renaissance was Ficino's 'Commentary' on Plato's *Symposium*. It in turn helped to produce a new wave of Neoplatonic treatises throughout Europe which both disseminated and altered its thought. This is why it is difficult to sort out specific sources for Spenser's Neoplatonism in *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* and *Fowre Hymnes*.

Beyond the screen of commentary stood another composed of encyclopedic gatherings, florilegia, manuals, dictionaries, and handbooks designed to make antiquity more accessible. Among the best known examples are the *Adages* and *Apothegms* of Erasmus, the *Mythologiae* of Conti and comparable mythographic compilations by Vincenzo Cartari and Cintio, and the farraginous Elizabethan compendium commonly called *Batman uppon Bartholome*. Encyclopedic collections like these brought together information and misinformation of a superficial kind enabling people to seem better educated than they were. Their net effect was to fragment what was known about antiquity into bits of knowledge or pseudoknowledge: proverbs, anecdotes, iconographic details, debased myths, random facts, cliché descriptions. This screen also prevented such a reader as Spenser from perceiving ancient civilization as anything like a series of organic cultural configurations.

The final screen was the peculiar temperament, taste, imagination, and bent of mind of Spenser himself, who responded to the tangled values and traditions of ancient, medieval, and Renaissance Europe as a unique, discriminating agent, never receiving the imprint of the past as a *tabula rasa* but as a specific, developing, idiosyncratic artist. To enumerate these screens is not to belittle the humanism of Spenser's age but rather to describe the particular forms of mediation then at work in the perennial interplay between past and present.

Understanding this Tudor interplay is needed to understand Spenser's assimilation and transmutation of ancient culture in his poetry. It was not easy to intermingle late medieval, native English elements with what Spenser knew of the classics and with what he knew of the continental Renaissance, which was itself attempting to achieve a similar synthesis. The task of incorporating Greek and Roman culture into the contemporary

world was markedly easier in France, since the leaders of the French po etic revival were much more willing to jettison almost all their native, medieval culture. This was not so in England, however, least of all with Spenser, whose first major work deliberately imposed an archaic English flavor and vocabulary on the imported literary mode of pastoral.

We can measure the tension in this imposition and, more broadly, the tension in English humanism by noting E.K.'s ambivalence in his introductions and annotations to *The Shepheardes Calender*. He is clearly anxious to point out (sometimes erroneously) all the echoes and allusions to ancient and continental sources; yet in his prefatory Epistle to Harvey, he attacks those who, finding the English language barren, have 'patched up the holes with peces and rags of other languages, borrowing here of the french, there of the Italian, every where of the Latine.' E.K.'s linguistic purism seems to fit badly with his literary eclecticism. Spenser would have avoided so awkward a straddle, but he had to cope nonetheless with the problem of assimilation.

Spenser himself seems to have written a fair amount of Latin verse as a young man. His first letter to Harvey speaks of an *Epithalamion Thamesis* and a *Stemmata Dudleiana* (*3 Lett* I, *Var Prose* pp 17–18); and his second letter contains a poetic tribute to his correspondent in 237 Latin hexameters ('Ad ornatissimum virum' in *2 Lett* I, *Var Prose* pp 8–12), although this 'one existing specimen of Spenser's Latin verse gives us no high idea of his skill in the scholarly art' (Renwick in *Var Prose* p 259).

A deeper concern and a far more difficult challenge to the young Spenser was to write quantitative verse. The predicaments inherent in this enterprise, disagreements over specific words and syllables, and poetic trial balloons occupy a substantial part of his published correspondence with Harvey, to whom he expostulated, 'For, why a Gods name may not we, as else the Greekes, have the kingdome of oure owne Language, and measure our Accentes, by the sounde, reserving the Quantitie to the Verse' (*3 Lett* I, *Var Prose* p 16). Here he underestimates the difficulty of cultural assimilation, and illustrates the larger and more difficult drama of creating a vernacular humanist poetry.

The most tangible evidence of Spenser's early humanist ambitions lies in his translation from Latin of the pseudo-Virgilian *Culex* as *Virgils Gnat,* published with the *Complaints* in 1591 but probably an earlier work. This is a creditable version which no longer makes a strong appeal to modern taste. Like many Renaissance translators, he felt no compunctions about adding to his original, so that the resulting English poem is considerably longer than the Latin; but it is reasonably accurate and is especially faithful to the shifting tone of the original. Also included in the *Complaints* is a translation from French of the *Antiquitez* of Joachim du Bellay as *Ruines of Rome,* as well as a translation of du Bellay's poetic epilogue to this work, entitled *Songe,* as *Visions of Bellay*. This latter series had been part of Spenser's first published work, a group of translated visionary poems in *A Theatre for Worldlings,* which appeared in 1569 when the poet could not have been much older than seventeen. Another poem in *Complaints, Ruines of Time,* associates the fall of Rome with the fall of an ancient British city, Verulam; this poem's elegiac style reflects du Bellay's influence. *Teares of the Muses,* also in *Complaints,* laments the fallen state of the Muses in the present age, in contrast to the prestige and inspirational power they once enjoyed. In various ways, all of these poems express pathos, that sense of loss and privation endemic to the humanist enterprise. However *Muiopotmos* in the same collection displays a more playful humanism, opening

with an echo of the *Iliad* and closing with an echo of the *Aeneid,* as though to frame with epic allusions the mingled regret and mock-heroic bravura of its narrative.

The *Complaints* as a collection reflects a more self-consciously humanistic Spenser than does *The Shepheardes Calender,* despite E.K.'s learned annotations. Of the pastorals, three exemplify diverse aspects of his relation to antiquity. *March* includes an anecdote traceable to Bion's fourth idyll, lengthened with details from Moschus' first. Translations of both poems were available to Spenser, and these, rather than the original Greek, seem to have been his immediate sources. (The attempt in *March* to assimilate a coy, decorative, slender hellenistic pastoralism to native English rusticity has not generally been admired.) *August* presents a singing match between two shepherds, a highly conventionalized pastoral sub-genre leading back through many Renaissance examples to Virgil's third and seventh eclogues, themselves indebted to the first, seventh, and eighth idylls of Theocritus. Spenser substitutes a rollicking English roundelay for the slower-paced contests of the convention and brings off poetic assimilation of undeniable appeal. *October* expresses aspirations for poetry beyond the pastoral low style and cites Servius' famous 'Virgilian progression' from eclogue to georgic to epic (lines 55–60). Although Cuddie here refuses Piers' invitation to let his 'Muse display her fluttryng wing' (43), the ambition to write a Virgilian epic in the high style is formulated vigorously, and Colin Clout is named as one who might one day fulfill it. Piers' evocation of heroic grandeur, soaring above the 'lowly dust' of pastoral, already situates *The Shepheardes Calender* as the first step in Spenser's own Virgilian progression.

The implicit promise of *October* is explicitly affirmed by the opening lines of *The Faerie Queene:* 'Lo I the man' and the lines that follow paraphrase those all sixteenthcentury readers believed to open Virgil's *Aeneid* and describe Spenser's own progression from pastoral to epic. Thus they set *The Faerie Queene* in a tradition whose central figure was Virgil, preceded by Homer as the Letter to Raleigh reminds us, and followed by Ariosto and Tasso. They invite the reader to consider Spenser's poem in the Virgilian, or more broadly the classical, tradition sketched by Piers in *October*. The dissonance between this tradition and the Ariostan epic-romance was reduced for Spenser because the body of commentary associated with each tended to nudge them closer to each other, to represent them as more alike than they actually are. Spenser believed that he could be faithful at once to the classical line and to the Italian line which for him harmoniously extended the classical. He misgauged their unlikeness, thus heightening the problem of poetic assimilation but not necessarily impoverishing the substance of his greatest work.

Assimilation of ancient culture in *The Faerie Queene* takes diverse forms, many of which are liable to misunderstanding. Renwick's caveat is still useful: The use of quotations may be proof of study, but it is not necessarily proof of intellectual discipleship, still less of complete acceptance of a system of thought. Nor did quotations necessarily come direct from their originals, for many phrases and arguments had done duty many times, and not always the same duty or in the same connexion' (*Var* 4:235).

Similar caution is advisable when we consider Spenser's use of a given passage from an ancient narrative. It may be legitimate to examine in detail his transmutation of a story, for example, the recasting of Ovid's Diana and Actaeon myth in the Faunus episode of *FQ* VII vi. But fragments of Ovid's version of that myth can be traced in many other passages of the English poem—one scholar has pointed to ten (Friedmann 1966)—

and a survey of such passages does not take into account intermediate retellings of the Ovidian story which Spenser may have known. Thus assimilation and transmutation are slippery concepts. They can operate at the smallest, almost microscopic level of the poem as well as at the very broadest global level; but it is easier to demonstrate their presence than to describe their function and effect.

In theory, various types of assimilation can be distinguished, although for practical analysis these tend to shade into each other. The kind of fragmentation just noted distributes minuscule details over the body of the poem; for example, the pumice stone, which is not found in England but in Ovid's description of Diana's grotto, is relocated in Spenser's fairy world (*Met* 3.158; *FQ* II v 30, III v 39). At the other extreme, the virtue of magnificence is incarnated by Arthur and derived from the supreme Aristotelian virtue of magnanimity, as the Letter to Raleigh makes clear. In contrast with this macrocosmic conception, there is the stereotyped narrative unit such as the descent to the house of Morpheus (I i 39–44), which derives from earlier accounts in the *Iliad,* the *Aeneid,* Statius' *Thebaid,* Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess,* and Poiitian's *Stanze per la Giostra;* likewise, the bleeding tree motif (I ii 30–4) derives from earlier examples in the *Aeneid,* Dante's *Inferno,* Boccaccio's *Filocolo,* and Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*. There is the imitation of a recognizable passage from a single ancient text, such as the imitations of Virgil's Hades (I v 32–5, II vii 21–3); this type allows more scope for textual analysis and thus for an understanding of the actual process of poetic transmutation. There is the general resemblance in narrative elements between two sharply different plots, such as the resemblance between Spenser's story of the true and false Florimells (III–IV) and the story of Euripides' *Helen,* a tragedy which also involves an actual woman and her magically contrived look-alike. There is the allusion to a genre of ancient literature, as when the Greek romance of Longus, Heliodorus, and Achilles Tatius is revived in the Pastorella story (VI ix–xii). There is comic burlesque, as when Aeneas' encounter with Venus (*Aeneid* I) is travestied in Trompart's meeting with Belphoebe (II iii 21–33). There is the lifting of a scene from the pseudo-Virgilian *Ciris* already mentioned; and there is the allegorization of a straightforward narrative, such as the seachange of Homeric elements at II xii 2–38. There is Spenser's free translation of a set passage, such as the hymn to Venus (IV x 44–7) which Englishes the opening lines of Lucretius' *De rerum natura*. There is finally a type of assimilation too diffused for quotation which can be regarded only as an imaginative or spiritual kinship, 'Unseene of any, yet of all beheld' (VII vii 13).

There is indeed very little in *The Faerie Queene* which is *not* assimilative of something, whether it is ancient or whether it can be located somewhere else in Spenser's enormous cultural heritage. The basic process of the poem is parodic, if the implication of ridicule is removed from that term, for almost everything in it constitutes a revision or displacement of something else, much of which ultimately has classical roots. 'His originality has long been recognized to lie in his devotion to other poets and to myths he recombined from other sources' (Fletcher 1971:105–6). Part of this revising, displacing, and recombining can be attributed to Spenser's deliberate artistic will; another part, indefinable and immeasurable, can be attributed to the screens standing between the poet and the materials he sought to revise.

The paraphrase of Lucretius' opening lines in Book IV illustrates the interaction between subtext and Renaissance text. Spenser shares Lucretius' quasi-religious awe

before the natural regeneration of the spring season, but he Englishes the Latin with a proper sense of his own independence. Part of the difference stems, of course, from the larger context of each invocation. Venus in *The Faerie Queene* is one in a series of personifications; in the Latin, she is a deified force in a work which demystifies all other traditional deities. But there are significant verbal variations as well. Spenser reduces slightly Lucretius' celebration of the goddess as *genetrix* (life-giving) and as *alma* (nourishing) in order to heighten her role as a pacifier and source of joy: 'Mother of laughter, and welspring of blisse' (IV x 47). It is she who prepares for pleasure all that is fair and glad on earth; and this 'pleasure,' in contrast to the Christian and Stoic austerities which also attracted Spenser, acquires a brave intensity which the Latin could not have achieved. In Lucretius, Venus stimulates lusty, even violent activity; in Spenser, the 'fury' of sex is absorbed in a cheerful and frisky animal gaiety. Perhaps the most characteristically Spenserian line praises Venus not only for creating the world (Conti's idea, not Lucretius') but also for maintaining it against destruction: 'And dayly yet thou doest the same repayre' (x 47). This repairing, with its implication of a perennial struggle between undoing and remaking, is Spenser's most vivid personal signature. However keen his awareness of his actual historical remoteness may or may not have been, here he distances his own poem and its metaphysics from their prestigious source.

Of all ancient writers, Virgil and Ovid dominate *The Faerie Queene*. In some respects they represent antithetical pressures on Spenser's imagination. He seems to have perceived Virgil, rightly or wrongly, as a poet of stability. Aeneas embodies, according to the Letter, 'a good governour and a vertuous man,' and this he was thought to have remained steadfastly throughout his many trials. Spenser's view of Aeneas may well have been influenced by such a commentator as the Florentine Neoplatonist Cristoforo Landino, whose allegorical reading of the *Aeneid* presents Aeneas as a kind of ideal Stoic—wise, temperate, strong, successful, resistant to all perturbations. The Virgilian principle endows each book of *The Faerie Queene* with whatever continuity, progression, and steady movement toward victory it possesses. It also endows action with dignity and nobility, and allows the reader to hope that this action will alter the state of affairs definitively, irreversibly.

In Virgil, Spenser found an authority endowed with both his own moral seriousness and his capacity for stubborn hope in temperate courage when faced with misfortune. He also found an imagination strong enough to confront an underworld and authoritative enough to provide a model for his own descents into the terrible darkness which permanently threatens his poetic universe. The descents into a demonic underworld of *FQ* I v, II vii, and IV i, more pagan than Christian, depend upon Virgil as a guide, especially the first two; yet even here Spenser finds his own note. There is nothing in the *Aeneid* comparable to The trembling ghosts with sad amazed mood,/Chattring their yron teeth, and staring wide/With stonie eyes' (I v 32). The presence of Virgil allowed Spenser to explore personal fantasies of horror and provided the example of a survival from horror in a universe moving toward concord.

The presence of Ovid in *The Faerie Queene* can be situated at a pole opposite to Virgil's. The Ovidian principle is that force which turns every victory into a partial failure, which distracts every narrative from proceeding directly to its end, which calls into question the stability of character, of plot, and of cosmos. The same force also

invests the fluctuating physical world with the dynamism which informs the Garden of Adonis and the marriage of the rivers.

Spenser gives evidence of knowing most or all of Ovid's works, but the ancient work which nourished his epic beyond all others was the *Metamorphoses*. From that labyrinth of changes, as it was visible to him through screening intermediaries, he would have learned the possibilities of mythography for moral and metaphysical meaning; he would have learned the charm of structural distraction, postponing the promised end; and he might also have learned the deceptiveness of intended conclusions. His poem, at any rate, typically withholds a 'Virgilian' finality for an Ovidian divagation or frustration. Spenser would have found in the *Meta-morphoses* blurred divisions between supernatural and natural, divine and human, transcendent divine and immanent divine, pantheistic world and inert world, possessed prophet and earthbound versifier. The absence of sharp divisions between metaphysical realms permitted the creation of a fairy world in which the status of creatures and places is happily ambiguous; the very term *fairy* illustrates this ambiguity. What he partly failed to see in Ovid's corpus is the witty skepticism shading into cynicism, not least toward the subject of erotic love. Part of that skepticism would have been screened out by the moralistic recuperations of the commentators. But the Faunus story of *FQ* VII vi demonstrates that not all Ovidian comedy was lost on him, as it demonstrates his pleasure in creating his own, quite explicitly Ovidian metamorphosis.

Perhaps most crucially, Spenser found in *Metamorphoses* 15 a usable philosophy of eternal mutability, there attributed to the sage Pythagoras. The transformations which occupy the fourteen preceding books are revealed now as manifesting the fundamental activity of the universe, the constant transformation of the elements, of things, of creatures, and of forms. Spenser's most memorable dramatizations of this philosophy are in the Garden of Adonis (III vi) and the *Cantos of Mutabilitie,* but in fact his poem is saturated with an intuition of the fragility and cyclicity of all things. *The Faerie Queene* is a poem of primeval alternations—of day and night, light and darkness, victory and defeat, joy and sorrow, love and strife, life and death, creation and destruction. It bears witness to these perennial alternations, sometimes in the mode of celebration, sometimes in the mode of lament. The very last line expresses lament; but that final moment cannot cancel out the joy of the union of Venus and Adonis, of matter and form, a union whose offspring are mortal but which is nonetheless suitable for celebration. Ovidian alternation, mutability, cyclicity are of course the patterns of Spenserian narrative itself, always impeding the Virgilian drive toward a conclusive repose, but yielding in the end to a provisional and partial closure.

Thus Spenser responded to Ovid with the intuitions of a great poet, even though he never freed himself from the constrictions of his own cultural and temporal provinciality. He may never have realized how radically his art and his world differed from Ovid's; he may never fully have recognized the distortions imposed by the screens of fifteen centuries of sedimented interpretation. But his work does exemplify admirably the range of artistic strategies available to the Tudor humanist poet in assimilating not only Ovid but all of the ancient world he knew. Even if he perceived that world eccentrically, fragmentarily, ethnocentrically, it gave him an alternative vocabulary, with alternate myths, structures, values, images, channels of feeling, all of which produced a polyvocality that thickens the texture of his poetry and complicates its meanings.

THOMAS M.GREENE

Ellrodt 1960; Ettin 1982; Fletcher 1971; Friedmann 1966; Hankins 1971; Hughes 1929; Judson 1945; Lotspeich 1932; Nohrnberg 1976.

Apelles

of Cos (or perhaps Chios) (fourth century BC) The fame of Apelles as the greatest painter of antiquity extended into the Renaissance. Although none of his works survived, his fame was attested by many classical writers, including Pliny, Lucian, Ovid, and the poets of the Greek Anthology. According to Pliny the Elder (*Natural History* 35.79–80), what distinguished him from the other notable painters of his time was the indefinable grace of his pictures. He was praised for knowing when to take his hand from a picture before it was spoiled by too much effort. His works included the *Aphrodite anadyomene* ('Aphrodite Rising from the Sea'), to which Spenser alludes as a supreme depiction of ideal beauty (*Heavenly Beautie* 211–14).

So impressed was Spenser with the fame of Apelles that in his *FQ* Court Sonnet he ascribes to him a story associated with Zeuxis, another great artist of the ancient world: Cicero relates that when Zeuxis set out to paint Helen of Troy and was unable to find a perfect model, he assembled five maidens of Crotona, taking the best features from each (*De inventione* 2.1.3). Whether or not Spenser confused Apelles with Zeuxis, his point in the sonnet is that the artist in pursuit of the ideal cannot find models here below: The Chian Peincter, when he was requirde/To pourtraict *Venus* in her perfect hew,/To make his worke more absolute, desird/Of all the fairest Maides to have the vew' (cf *FQ* IV v 12). Similarly, Spenser, drawing 'the semblant trew' of Queen Elizabeth, has to see many beautiful ladies of the court. Elsewhere he refers to Zeuxis by name, linking him with the sculptor Praxiteles as exemplars of the highest skill in portraiture (III proem 2). In these stories of ancient painters and sculptors which had come down to the Renaissance through classical authors, he found readymade symbols of his own artistic ideals.

JUDITH DUNDAS

Cast 1981; Ernst H.Gombrich 1976 *The Heritage of Apelles: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance* (Ithaca, NY).

Apocalypse

The last book of the Bible, the Book of Revelation, rife with political implications and the source for much Christian theology, exerted a powerful influence upon the arts in Elizabethan England. As Harvey writes tellingly to Spenser (*Three Letters* 3, *Var Prose* p 471),

> I hearde once a Divine, preferre *Saint Johns Revelation* before al the veriest *Maetaphysicall Visions,* and jollyest conceited *Dreames* or *Extasies,* that ever were devised by one or other, howe admirable, or superexcellent soever they seemed otherwise to the worlde. And truely I am so confirmed in this opinion, that when I bethinke me of the verie notablest, and moste wonderful Propheticall, or Poeticall Vision, that ever I read, or hearde, me seemeth the proportion is so unequall, that there hardly appeareth anye semblaunce of Comparison.

For Harvey, the Apocalypse is a good pattern to set before English poets, and it had come to Spenser's attention early: for *Theatre for Worldlings,* he translated four *Visions from Revelation* which center on St John's visions of the beast with seven heads, the great whore riding that beast, the Word of God riding a white horse, and the New Jerusalem. Almost all of van der Noot's commentary that accompanies *Theatre* refers to these *Visions*. However Spenser may have regarded *Theatre,* it clearly held great sway over him, perhaps by awakening his interest in visionary literature, and almost certainly through the example it provided for crossbreeding sacred prophecy with contemporary history and for intermixing dreadful visions with irenic ones. *Theatre* turned Spenser's attention to the Apocalypse.

Paraphrases of and quotations and echoes from the Apocalypse have been observed and tabulated in *Amoretti, Colin Clouts Come Home Againe, Daphnaïda, Epithalamion, Hymne of Heavenly Beautie, Hymne of Heavenly Love, Prothalamion,* and *Complaints* (Shaheen 1976). In *The Shepheardes Calender,* Spenser first emerges as a Revelation-like poet by tuning his pastoral in an apocalyptic key; but it is *The Faerie Queene* that most fully manifests the influence of the Book of Revelation, with Spenser repeatedly echoing that book by appropriating its imagery and its themes (especially of worldly appearances versus spiritual realities, and of providence as the sovereign control of history), by employing its strategies, recasting its visions and then using them as a medium for reflecting upon current affairs and as a metaphor for English history. The largest group of scriptural echoes in *The Faerie Queene* is to Revelation, with over 40 clustering in Book I, in addition to the 13 in Book II, 9 in III, 4 in IV, 8 in v, and 5 in VI (Shaheen 1976:181). Thus the influence of the Apocalypse is felt throughout the entire poem, which presents a characteristically Protestant exposition of the salient apocalyptic themes.

So conspicuous is the apocalyptic element in *The Faerie Queene* that Thomas Warton objected in the mid-eighteenth century to the blending of sacred mysteries with secular allegories, and to the interweaving of apocalyptic with romance elements (*Var* 1:368). But that objection was countered a century later by John Wilson, who found in *The Faerie Queene* 'the sublime application by a poet of a prophet's verses' (*Var* 1:370):

> It is not too bold to say that Edmund Spenser borrows the pen of St. John—and that the two revelations coincide—or rather that there is but one revelation—at first derived from heaven, and then given again—in poetry, which, though earth-born, claims kindred with the issue of the skies. Of old—and why not now?—it was allowed—as Cowper finely says—that 'the hallowed name/Of prophet and of poet were the same.'

Spenser may not be the inaugurator of a new prophetic vision, but he is a partaker in John's, recognizing in current history the Revelation archetype and therefore viewing that history as approaching ever nearer to the apocalyptic consummation.

Both Warton and North were preceded in their perception of Spenser's indebtedness to St John by Henry More, who proposed the Apocalypse as sourcebook and model for one episode in *FQ* I vi: 'Methinks *Spencer's* description of *Una's* Entertainment by Satyrs in the Desart, does lively set out the condition of Christianity since the time that the Church of a Garden became a *Wilderness'* (*Sp All* p 249). Even earlier, John Dixon, a contemporary reader of *The Faerie Queene,* correlated several episodes with passages in the Book of Revelation. In his annotations to the 1590 edition, he presents Elizabeth as the great protagonist of history, and *FQ* I as an allegory of the Reformation, in this way linking both the historical and moral allegory of the poem with the visionary drama of John's prophecy (Hough 1964).

Modern criticism, however, has extended *The Faerie Queene's* parallels with Revelation beyond Book I to the poem as a whole, and beyond imagery and themes to such matters as strategy, structure, and genre as they involve the entire poem (see Bennett 1942, Hankins 1971, Kermode 1971, O'Connell 1977, Sandler 1984, Wittreich 1979). The whole of *The Faerie Queene,* therefore, can be seen as a revelation in itself—a series of theophanies, a Tudor Apocalypse (Williams 1975).

We now know that the Book of Revelation is an intricate prophetic structure whose features were individually isolated in the sixteenth century and then synthesized in the seventeenth century within elaborate structural analyses such as those of Joseph Mede and Henry More. Structural synchronism, typological patterning, vision enfolding itself in commentary, text enthralling its audience and becoming involved in numerical systems of threes, sixes, and sevens these were (and continue to be regarded as) the distinctive features of a prophetic structure that presents a gathering self-awareness within the gradual unfolding of vision. With this refined conception of the structure of apocalyptic prophecy, we may now examine its bearing on *The Faerie Queene*.

The Renaissance was bent upon subordinating history to some general scheme, some keys to which were to be found by relating the Book of Revelation to the chronicles (Levy 1967:5, 89). At least up to the time of John Bale, historiography stressed the idea of six ages of history followed by a seventh or sabbath age. According to Bale's *Comedy Concernynge Thre Lawes* (c 1548), the seven ages of the world—the first six ages extending from Adam to Christ, the seventh from Christ to the end of the world—encompass another historical pattern: three periods respectively, of nature, bondage, and grace (Firth 1979:38–9). Satan's release from bondage, moreover, was expected to result in the trial of the last days which was said to correspond with the final centuries of papal domination of the church.

Spenser's Letter to Raleigh, which projects two poems, each in twelve books, is responsible for the notion that *The Faerie Queene* is composed of the free-standing walls of a much larger, uncompleted structure. A poet who follows Chaucer might be expected, almost by design, to promise more than he delivers and might even be thought to employ poetic fragments deliberately, using them to sanction the possibility that his poem is more a plan than a ruin—a calculated, coherent, but still incomplete form with its own internal structure and external abrasions.

If endings matter in poetry, each half of *The Faerie Queene* ends in the same way, with the binding and unleashing of the beast—an event, which takes its symbolic point from the whole tradition of Revelation commentary, is part of a fourfold pattern: releasing virtuous prisoners, freely binding oneself to virtuous service, binding evil, and avoiding bondage by evil (see Gray 1975, Firth 1979). Put another way, the middle and end of *The Faerie Queene* are congruent. Indeed, this single structural feature raises still other possibilities: that Bale's conceptualization is a paradigm for the total structure of *The Faerie Queene;* that the fragmentary Book VII is Spenser's way of pointing out that his age has entered a crucial phase in the seventh period of history; that, as a fragment, Book VII emblematizes the incompleteness of history itself; and that its three cantos—vi, vii, and viii—are a way of focusing a pattern of nature, bondage, and grace folded into the corresponding cantos of virtually every other book in the poem.

Merlin's prophecy (which comes near the beginning of *FQ* III and is thus foregrounded in the central books) repeats in miniature this tripartite pattern of the poem as a whole: under the rule of nature, Britain is reduced to disorder; next, under the rule of law, history is reorganized by a vengeful god; finally, after a succession of woes, the nation is returned to order and peace through an act of grace and by the agency of a Virgin Queen. Merlin's prophecy affirms the apocalyptic notion that history is a great map of providence and that prophecy itself is the chief evidence of providence in the world. It is 'the streight course of heavenly destiny,/Led with eternall providence' that guides history and brings things to pass, that moves history 'by dew degrees and long pro tense…unto her [ie, Elizabeth's] Excellence.' Eventually a universal peace will confound all this civil jar: 'Then shall a royall virgin raine… But yet the end is not' (in iii 24, 4, 49–50). In this last line, Merlin divests secular prophecy of the apocalyptic element which he is credited with having introduced to the tradition. Here he quiets millennial expectations and dampens apocalyptic fervor.

Furthermore, in the midst of his prophetic utterance, Merlin is 'stayd,/As overcomen of the spirites powre,/Or other ghastly spectacle dismayd' (50). Prophecy comes into the present but does not go beyond; history is continuous, and those who hear this prophecy are cheered with heavenly comfort and renewed with hope as they return to Fairyland. One must finish forging the godly nation, Spenser implies, and in this joins the company of certain of his contemporaries who, within the context of the Apocalypse, maintained a distinction between variable England and invariable Jerusalem, between the world of men and the angelic company, between an earthly paradise and the heavenly kingdom.

The Faerie Queene epitomizes the apocalyptic thinking, tentative and guarded, of Spenser's own time, even as it confirms in certain of its details the contention that the sabbatical numbers, six and seven, appear to be deliberately chosen so that the *Cantos of Mutabilitie* participate in the poem's numerical system as a fraction rather than as a fragment (Nohrnberg 1976:85). The poem itself moves through and then out of history into the sabbath of eternity: there are three books, then another three, and then the *Cantos* themselves form a cluster of three parts. Overlaying this pattern of threes is a structure of six books followed by a fragmentary seventh that fulfills itself only in the final lines of a final fractional canto. The theme of bondage is at the center of each book of the poem, but at the center of each of its twin halves, *FQ* II and v, emphasis shifts from bondage (Guyon in the house of Mammon) to release from the captive state (Artegall's liberation from thralldom). And at the very center of this apocalyptic poem, as a shrill trumpet

sounds (III xii 1), the themes of redemption and deliverance come to the fore in the story of '*Amoret* in caytive band…these seven monethes' being delivered by Britomart (xi 10).

Such a pattern is contained in the individual books as well. If the sixth and seventh are cantos of nature and bondage, the eighth is regularly the canto of grace—thus in Book I, 'heavenly grace doth him uphold' (viii 1); in Book II, 'th'exceeding grace/Of highest God' sends 'blessed Angels…to and fro' (viii 1); and in Book IV, 'goodly grace she did him shew' (viii 6). However muted the threefold pattern of nature, bondage, and grace may be in certain of the books, Book VI gathers it into focus through the Hermit's place in canto vi, the bound squire in vii, and Serena in viii, who led 'by grace of God' (38) is freed by Calepine.

In *Christus triumphans* (1556), Foxe provides a probable conceptual and structural analogue for Spenser's poem, dramatizing Revelation in a way that focuses its last act upon the Reformation and thereupon narrows its allegory to England. Foxe's play is 'unfinished, as the drama of history is.' The proposed conclusion to what Foxe calls his apocalyptic comedy, 'the wedding, lies just beyond the point at which the action stops; or just so the coming of Christ lies just beyond the point which the drama of history had reached in 1556' (Bauckham 1978:79). Accordingly, 'the Red Cross Knight's story ends with a prophecy of apocalypse, and Arthur, if the poem had been completed, would have been united with the Queen whom he had previously experienced in his vision. It is a definition of apocalypse that in it vision and reality become one' (I.G. MacCaffrey 1976:92); and, we might add, it is a definition of an apocalyptic poem that until history is complete the poem cannot be complete. In Spenser's poem, Nature's concluding words are of apocalypse, though Nature's are not the poem's final words; and even in the very first book, the most apocalyptic in the entire poem, the ending is tentative, a new beginning rather than a determinate conclusion, with the movement toward revelation and apocalypse interrupted by a counterturn, a regression (P.A.Parker 1979:55, 69, 75–6, 80).

If Foxe may be said to domesticate the Apocalypse, Spenser, in turn, contributes to its secularization by tracking its reference points to the spiritual history of mankind. In the very act of postponing apocalypse, Spenser implies that the beast still rules history because it is still enthroned in man and so continues to manifest itself both there and in the world.

Harvey once chided Spenser for not recognizing that the golden age is now. Yet Spenser's objective in *The Faerie Queene* is not to further the Tudors' messianic pretensions but to scrutinize them. In the process, he resists the expectations of his own time by distancing apocalypse into the future and by making the development of the individual a prelude to the apocalypse in history. Spenser seems to be recognizing two separate aspects of the apocalyptic vision: a panoramic apocalypse set in the future near the end of time that itself may be the type of the other apocalypse, the one that really matters—the present-tense apocalypse realized first in the individual and then *perhaps* in history (see Frye 1982:136–7).

The Faerie Queene is finally not an historian's or a theologian's but a poet's Revelation. For Spenser, the cosmic struggle of the Apocalypse was a matter not for scholarly erudition but for human engagement. Here was being played out the great epic of history and the essential drama of human life; here, to appropriate words from Shakespeare's Sonnet 107, is to be found a mirror on 'the prophetic soul/Of the wide

world, dreaming on things to come.' (See also *eschatology, *oracles, *prophecy, *visions.)

JOSEPH WITTREICH

John Bale 1548 *The Image of Bothe Churches* (Antwerp; rpt Amsterdam and New York 1973); John Foxe 1556 *Christus triumphans* (London); Foxe 1583 *Actes and Monuments* (London); Joseph Mede 1643 *The Key of the Revelation* tr Richard More (London); Henry More 1669 *An Exposition of the Seven Epistles to the Seven Churches* (London); More 1680 *Apocalypsis apocalypseos* (London).

Bauckham 1978; Bennett 1942:111, 114–15; Firth 1979; Frye 1982; J.C.Gray 1975 'Bondage and Deliverance in the "Faerie Queene": Varieties of a Moral Imperative' *MLR* 70:1–12; Hough 1964; Frank Kermode 1967 *The Sense of an Ending: Studies in the Theory of Fiction* (New York); Kermode 1971:39–44; Levy 1967; Sandler 1984; Shaheen 1976; Kathleen Williams 1975 'Milton, Greatest Spenserian' in Wittreich 1975:25–55; Wittreich 1979.

appearance

The deceptiveness of outward appearance in Spenser's poetry must be set in the context of the biblical injunction, 'Judge not according to the appearance' (John 7.24), and Erasmus' complaint that the 'stupid generality of men often blunder into wrong judgements, because they judge everything from the evidence of the bodily senses, and they are deceived by false imitations of the good and the evil' ('Sileni Alcibiadis' *Adages* 3.3.1; tr in M.M.Phillips 1964:276). The traditional Silenus-figure illustrates his point: the box shows a small, ugly image of the foolish god Silenus but when opened reveals a god hidden within.

In *The Faerie Queene,* the full congruence of appearance and reality may be a mark of simple truth, reflecting the commonplace belief in the unity of truth found in the philosophical and homiletic literature of the period (eg, I xii 8; see Fowler 1964:5). Falsehood is double and therefore duplicitous, a want of such congruence. Outward appearances are often the means of an intentional dissembling: apparent semblance serves only to define real dissemblance. To the extent that Fidessa resembles a virtuous lady, she also resembles Una; but the apparent resemblance of the two shows their lack of resemblance, and, thus, the truth of the one and the falseness of the other. In the same way, Corceca's semblance of holiness is simultaneously her dissembling of holiness, the virtue fully manifest in Caelia. In some instances, the outward appearance of a specific character is falsely duplicated: Archimago assumes the appearance of the Red Cross Knight so totally that the reader is warned that '*Saint George* himself ye would have deemed him to be' (I ii II), as does Una (iii 26–40). Archimago is not Redcrosse, but then the Redcrosse who is about to encounter Sansjoy and Despair is not a 'jolly knight'

either. Other instances include the real Una and the dream Una created by Archimago, and the real and snowy Florimells.

This manner of moral definition is not restricted to persons: the outward appearance of the house of Pride glittering with gold foil hides the ruinous condition beneath it. The house of Holiness, by contrast, plainly manifests what it is. 'What is excellent in any way is always the least showy,' comments Erasmus (in Phillips 1964:274); a similar distrust of the showy pervades *The Faerie Queene*. (*Show* as a noun is generally negative in Spenser's usage; cf his positive use of the verb *show* meaning 'make manifest.') The real danger of the Bower of Bliss is hidden (and, for the reader, indicated) by its gorgeous but factitious beauty. As visual delights become more appealing, the possibility of deceit becomes greater. Duessa poses a subtler threat to Redcrosse than Error, Sansfoy, or Orgoglio since her danger is less easily recognized. Similarly, the Bower of Bliss is a subtler test of Guyon's virtue than the house of Mammon, the danger of which is readily perceived.

The moral imperative of the narrative is the biblical injunction to 'judge righteous judgement' (John 7.24). There is no guarantee, however, that we will not be misled by our senses: *insight* must be added to sight. As the most rational of the senses in the Platonic hierarchy, sight is less misleading than the others—thus its great importance in *The Faerie Queene*. But, by itself, sight cannot penetrate to the hidden reality. Plato denies that we can truly know the contingent phenomena of our empirical world, which is one of becoming and seeming, and therefore imperfect, mutable, delusive; true knowledge is possible only of the perfect unchanging world of rational ideal forms, the world of being (*Phaedo* 65). In biblical terms, only God is capable of righteous judgment because '*God seeth* not as man seeth: for man loketh on the outward appearance, but the Lord beholdeth the heart' (I Sam 16.7). Guided by reason and sight, however, we may obtain some access to the world of truth and reality beyond that of changeable phenomena.

The need to distinguish between appearance and reality is also shown in the narrative as unveiling or unmasking. Once Redcrosse has achieved his quest and restored Una to her rights, her real beauty and truth, veiled earlier, are revealed. Archimago's disguises are similarly revealed, and the nature of his duplicity declared. The most dramatic instance of unmasking occurs when Duessa is stripped: beneath the splendor of her outward appearance is revealed her real physical grotesqueness, a metaphor of her duplicity and moral repulsiveness. Here, falsehood is confronted by simple truth, in the form of Una. All is apparent; the figures are what they appear to be, seeming is being, and thus a measure of knowledge of truth and reality has been won, against all odds, from this deceptive world of appearances: 'Such then (said *Una*) as she seemeth here,/Such is the face of falshood, such the sight/Of fowle *Duessa,* when her borrowed light/Is laid away, and counterfesaunce knowne' (I viii 49).

Disguise is allowed only for virtuous ends, as when Britomart resolves to hide her sex in male armor 'and plaine apparaunce shonne' (III i 52), or Artegall disguises himself as one of the Souldan's knights in order to capture Adicia (v viii 26), or Calidore disguises himself as a shepherd to free Pastorella (VI xi 36–51). Appearance is an important motif in Spenser's 'darke conceit' praising Elizabeth whose beauty can be revealed only by being reveiled: 'O dred Soveraine/Thus farre forth pardon, sith that choicest wit/Cannot

your glorious pourtraict figure plaine/That I in colourd showes may shadow it' (III proem 3).

DENIS WALKER

apples

Spenser follows tradition in frequently associating apples with temptation and love. They are tempting pastoral delicacies: Colin Clout, the witch's son who dotes on Florimell, and Faunus all offer varieties of them as gifts or bribes (*SC, June* 43–4; *FQ* III vii 17, VII vi 43). Their proverbially beautiful color and shape figure in several descriptions of feminine beauty which are ultimately indebted to the Song of Solomon. In *Epithalamion,* for example, the bride's cheeks are like red apples (173). Belphoebe's breasts swell beneath her thin garment like 'young fruit in May' (presumably apples yet to mature) (*FQ* II iii 29; cf *Amoret-ti* 76). In *Amoretti* 77, the beloved's breasts are described emblematically rather than realistically as 'twoo golden apples'; and their 'price' is measured by their superiority to apples coveted in classical mythology—those taken by Hercules from the Garden of the Hesperides and those which tempted Atalanta in the race against her suitor (cf *FQ* II vii 54; from Conti *Mythologiae* 7.7, according to Lotspeich 1932:69).

In classical mythology, apples are usually associated with temptation and moral danger. The 'glistring' but deadly fruit which Mammon offers Guyon in the Garden of Proserpina (*FQ* II vii 54–5) recalls the golden fruit with which Pluto tempts Proserpina (Claudian *Rape of Proserpina* 2.290–3). Mammon's tree is described as the source of all the fateful fruit of mythology: the Hesperidean apples, those with which Atalanta was outwitted, the apple with which Acontius tricked Cydippe into vowing marriage to him (Ovid *Heroides* 20, 21), and that which Ate used to provoke the quarrel of the goddesses which was judged by Paris (cf *FQ* IV i 22, VI ix 36).

The diversity of these myths and of their Renaissance interpretations makes their significance hard to define. Some myths are associated with avarice: Conti links the Hesperidean apples and those of Atalanta with wealth, and interprets Tantalus (who reaches for them in II vii 58) as an emblem of avarice. All the apples from Mammon's tree have been seen as emblems of blasphemous ambition of divine knowledge (Kermode 1960:161–5). They may also be emblems of fleshly lust, particularly because Hercules' theft of the apples of the Hesperides was a common sexual metaphor (see Marlowe *Hero and Leander* 2.297–300, Shakespeare *Love's Labor's Lost* IV iii 336–7). Yet one cannot identify the symbolic meanings of these apples too specifically, for they indicate generally *worldly* goals, the gaining of which may bring grief or disaster.

Elsewhere apples are associated with true beauty and healthy life. Those which grow in abundance can suggest vigor and strength, as in the image of the withered apple tree reviving to bear fresh fruit, which describes Cambell rejuvenated by his magic ring (IV iii 29). In particular, Mammon's tree parodies the biblical Tree of Life whose fruit and balm preserve Redcrosse (I xi 46–8). These have a *natural* beauty: they are 'rosie red' (their color may also suggest redemption through Christ's blood; Hankins 1971:118). Unlike

the fruit of the nearby Tree of Knowledge which brought death, they give 'happie life to all.' Their connotations of beauty, vigor, fertility, and divine grace are Spenser's most comprehensive and elaborate example of the apple as an image of goodness and life. As a poet, he would have appreciated Proverbs 25.11: 'A worde spoken in his place, is like appels of golde.'

GEOFFREY G.HILLER

Apuleius

Born c AD 125 in Madaura, North Africa, Apuleius was a Latin writer of considerable interest to Spenser and his contemporaries. As a Neoplatonist and rhetorician, he was approved as a rich stylist by the humanist educators Erasmus and Vives; his work was ransacked for plots, images, and motifs by dramatists, including Shakespeare.

Apuleius' masterpiece, the *Metamorphoses,* translated into English by William Adlington in 1566 as *The Golden Asse,* is a comic 'novel' involving the often bizarre adventures of Lucius, a man transformed into an ass as punishment for his curiosity about witchcraft. Adlington defends the work as 'a figure of mans life [which] toucheth the nature and manners of mortall men, egging them forward from their Asinall forme, to their humane and perfect shape' (ed 1915: xvii). Spenser may also have known *De deo Socratis,* a declamation on the *daimon* or genius of Socrates; the *Apologia,* a self-defense against the charge that he had gained his bride by magic; and the *Florida,* a miscellaneous collection of topics for declamation. One of these topics treats the supremacy of hearing over seeing as a means to truth, a latent theme in *The Faerie Queene;* another interprets Hercules' triumphs as external versions of inner spiritual victories (see Dunseath 1968:53–4). In *De deo Socratis,* Spenser would have found the Platonic view that not only is each man given a genius to guide him through life as a kind of objectified conscience (see Lewis 1964:42; cf Guyon's Palmer), but also that all men are protected by a genius whose concern is the universal 'care/Of life, and generation of all,' like Agdistes (*FQ* II xii 47; see Lotspeich 1932:62). The conclusion of *De deo Socratis* presents a moral summary of the career of Ulysses and his constant companion, Wisdom, who descend into the underworld and return without being transformed by the cup of Circe; these passages are analogous to Guyon's narrow escape from the house of Mammon with its Garden of Proserpina and his Ulysses-like triumph in the Bower of Bliss (II vii, xii). The *Apologia* provides a brief excursus on Venus as a binary deity, both vulgar (producing the common passions of love and lust in man and beast) and heavenly (leading the soul to purest love free from physical desire). Some incorporation of this double Venus may lie behind Spenser's frequent allusions to Venus and her diffraction into various female figures in *The Faerie Queene* and the *Fowre Hymnes*.

At the center of *The Golden Ass* (Books 4–6) is the story of Cupid and Psyche, a narrative of sin, suffering, and redemption, or (less religiously) of error, separation, and reunion. Psyche undergoes her trials with patience and resourcefulness, qualities which, together with the grace of divine intervention, bring about her marriage and apotheosis. From the sixth century on, this tale had been allegorized as a story of the soul and

heavenly desire or, according to Boccaccio, of the soul and pure Love (*Genealogia* 5.22; see Lotspeich 1932:104). Spenser refers explicitly to the tale in *Muiopotmos* (see D.C.Allen 1968:26–31), and was fascinated by it primarily because it embodies problems of sexuality, male power and female fear, and the resolution of these tensions in the ritual of marriage. Psyche's experience is a rite of passage to a more responsible and sexually awakened level of womanhood (Katz 1976). She is thus an appropriate teacher of 'true feminitee' to Amoret, making her daughter Pleasure Amoret's companion (*FQ* in vi 50–1). The trials of separation and the tensions of sexual passion and their transcendence in marriage are the chief contributions of Apuleius' Psyche to the character of Britomart and also to the facets of her womanly development in Belphoebe, Amoret, and Florimell (Hamilton 1961a:138–69).

Since Apuleius' tale of Cupid and Psyche seems to epitomize the larger pattern of his story, Spenser may have drawn on other parts of Lucius' adventures in order to illustrate the twists and turns of passion. Socrates' mutilation by the sexual sorceress Meroe resembles the wounding of Amoret by the sorcerer Busirane (III xii 20–1). Pastorella's capture by bandits (VI x 43) finds analogies in the career of Charite, another suffering heroine (whose career interested Ariosto), to whom the tale of Cupid and Psyche is told. Most important, Spenser's account of Britomart's visit to Isis Church (v vii) may borrow details from the description of Cupid's palace in Adlington's translation of Apuleius; and his story of her relation to Isis may be modeled in part on Lucius' commitment to that goddess, whom Apuleius also associates with equity (Graziani 1964a:378). (See also *demons.)

J.J.M.TOBIN

Apuleius ed 1915 (Loeb Classical Library) is a rev ed by S.Gaselee of Adlington's translation of *The Golden Ass*. The *Apologia* and *Florida* appear together in the translations of H.E.Butler 1909 (Oxford). P.G.Walsh 1970 *The Roman Novel* (Cambridge) has the best discussion of Apuleius. He is treated as an allegorist in the iconographical tradition by E.H.Gombrich 1972 *Symbolic Images: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance* (London) pp 34–5, 46–55; and Wind 1958:19, 61–2, 236–8. The fullest discussion of the religious aspects of the conclusion of the novel is in Apuleius ed 1975. See also Phyllis B.Katz 1976 'The Myth of Psyche: A Definition of the Nature of the Feminine?'*Are-thusa* 9:111–18; and Alexander A.Scobie 1978 'The Influence of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* in Renaissance Italy and Spain' in *Aspects of Apu-leius' 'Golden Ass'* ed B.L.Hijmans, Jr, and R.Th.van der Paardt (Groningen) pp 211–30. For the English tradition, see J.J.M.Tobin 1984a 'Apuleius and Milton' *RPLit* 7:181–91; and Tobin 1984b *Shakespeare's Favorite Novel: A Study of 'The Golden Asse' as Prime Source* (Lanham, Md).

Aquinas, Thomas

(c 1225–74) Spenser locates the moral argument of *The Faerie Queene* within the philosophical system of 'Aristotle and the rest' (Letter to Raleigh), thereby testifying to the continuity of the tradition of scholastic Aristotelianism. Although new commentaries on the works of Aristotle appeared throughout the course of the sixteenth century, the old commentaries by Thomas Aquinas were repeatedly printed. Aquinas' continuing high reputation, unmatched by that of any other medieval commentator on Aristotle, derives from that exceptional lucidity and precision which earned for him the title 'Expositor' and gave rise to the adage that where Thomas was silent, Aristotle was mute.

Recent scholarship has shown that scholasticism and humanism are not essentially opposed. Scholasticism not only survived the impact of humanism in the 1520s and 1530s but subsequently experienced a strong revival. In England, this revival is reflected in the theology studied at Cambridge, which was at once scholastic and Protestant. One consequence was the increased authority of Aquinas' *Summa theologiae* (1265–73). It became a central part of the philosophical tradition on which Spenser draws, and it sheds light on several problems in the moral design of *The Faerie Queene:* holiness as a moral virtue, the moral range of temperance, the identity of justice and courtesy, and constancy as a culminating virtue.

Holiness or religion is the first of Spenser's moral virtues because faith is the foundation of virtue (*ST* 2a2ae 161.5 *ad* 2) and religion is a confession of faith through certain external signs (2a2ae 94.1 *ad* 1). Holiness is said by Aquinas to be essentially identical with but notionally distinct from religion, the most excellent of the moral virtues (2a2ae 81.6, 81.8). The distinction corresponds to that between the elicited and commanded acts of religion (2a2ae 81.4 *ad* 2). By the virtue of religion is strictly understood the elicited acts of religion, whereas holiness includes the acts commanded by religion as well (and, especially in the Legend of Holiness, acts of fortitude).

Spenser's notion of temperance distinguishes between a specific virtue (ie, one determined by its own special object, as temperance by the desires and pleasures of touch) and a general virtue (ie, one possessing a quality that is common to virtue in general, as the moderation that is signified by temperance is common to virtue in general; *ST* 1a2ae 61.4). Within the specific virtue of temperance, Aquinas classifies twelve distinct virtues: shamefastness, the sense of honor (both integral parts of temperance), continence, gentleness, clemency, humility, studiousness, modesty in outward bodily movements, modesty in dress (seven potential parts of temperance), abstinence, sobriety, and chastity (three species or subjective parts of temperance; 2a2ae 143). These virtues together constitute the moral subject matter of the Legend of Temperance.

At the meeting of Artegall and Calidore, Spenser writes that They knew them selves' (*FQ* VI i 4). The mutual recognition of his knights of Justice and Courtesy expresses the essential identity of the virtues they represent, for legal justice is virtue complete in relation to one's neighbor, and courtesy or *honestas* is virtue complete in itself (*ST* 2a2ae 58.5, 145.1).

In Book vii, Spenser proceeds to constancy, and thus to the summit of moral virtue, for constancy is included by Aquinas under the Ciceronian magnificence (*ST* 2a2ae 128 *ad* 6). By the virtue of constancy, Spenser understands that the perfection of virtue in performing great deeds lies in planning them and carrying them through with firmness of purpose to the end.

Milton said of Spenser that he was ‘a better teacher then *Scotus* or *Aquinas*’ (*Sp All* p 215). It is no idle comparison, for the poetic aptness of Milton’s words is matched by their philosophical relevance.

GERALD MORGAN

Aquinas ed 1964–81; William T.Costello 1958 *The Scholastic Curriculum at Early SeventeenthCentury Cambridge* (Cambridge, Mass); F.Edward Cranz 1978 The Publishing History of the Aristotle Commentaries of Thomas Aquinas’ *Traditio* 34:157–92; Kristeller 1956; Kristeller 1974; Moloney 1953; Gerald Morgan 1981 ‘Spenser’s Conception of Courtesy and the Design of the *Faerie Queene*’ *RES* ns 32:17–36; Morgan 1986a The Idea of Temperance in the Second Book of *The Faerie Queene’ RES* ns 37:11–39; Morgan 1986b ‘Holiness as the First of Spenser’s Aristotelian Moral Virtues’ *MLR* 81:817–37; Charles B.Schmitt 1975 ‘Philosophy and Science in Sixteenth-Century Universities: Some Preliminary Comments’ in *The Cultural Context of Medieval Learning* ed John Emery Murdoch and Edith Dudley Sylla (Dordrecht, Holland) pp 485–537; Schmitt 1983a; Schmitt 1983b.

Arachne

(Gr ‘spider’) In *Muiopotmos,* Spenser rewrites Ovid’s story of the tapestry-weaving contest between Arachne and Minerva (*Metamorphoses* 6.5–145) to explain the hereditary hatred that the spider Aragnoll has for the butterfly Clarion. In Ovid’s version, the tapestry of Minerva (Pallas Athena) is a vision of the order, dignity, and justice of the gods. It shows her victory over Neptune in a contest to determine the name of Athens; the contest is judged by a council of gods headed by Jove, and the olive tree that signals Pallas’ victory is a symbol of peace and harmony. In the corners of the tapestry she weaves four stories that exemplify divine justice, as warnings to those who, like Arachne, challenge the authority of the gods and are transformed as punishment. Arachne’s tapestry, by contrast, presumes to challenge the authority of Pallas and to indict the gods for sexual riot and injustice. In her tapestry Jove, Neptune, Phoebus, and Saturn undergo a series of metamorphoses to deceive, seduce, or rape various mortals. As an artist who refuses to acknowledge her debt to the goddess Pallas, Arachne asserts a human perspective; and the spider into which she is transformed becomes an ironic symbol of the autonomous imagination spinning its works out of itself.

Spenser’s Arachne is a ‘presumptuous Damzel’ who ‘rashly dar’d’ to defy Pallas (269–70). This characterization is like Ovid’s and is typical of allegorizations of the story since the fourteenth-century *Ovide moralisé*. Arachne is one of the defeated proud whose likeness Dante sees in the pavement of *Purgatory* 12.43–5. Reversing Ovid’s order, Spenser begins his story with a description of Arachne’s tapestry. He follows Ovid closely in picturing Europa’s abduction by Jove in the form of a bull (the only one of

Arachne's stories he keeps), but adds details from Ovid's earlier, fuller account of Europa (*Met* 2.873–5). Although he closely translates Ovid in portraying Pallas' story of her contest with Neptune, he omits the warning stories she weaves into the corners of her tapestry. Instead, he has Pallas weave among the olive leaves a picture of a butterfly of such delicacy and verisimilitude that Arachne immediately knows she has lost the contest. This butterfly in effect replaces Pallas' stories of divine justice in Ovid's poem, but it reminds us ironically of Venus' unjust transformation of the innocent Astery into a butterfly earlier in Spenser's poem (Brinkley 1981); it also anticipates the final element in Spenser's tapestry, the view of Clarion trapped in Aragnoll's web, 'His bodie left the spectacle of care.' Perhaps not by coincidence, Astery is also the name of one of Jove's victims in Arachne's tapestry (*Met* 6.108).

Ovid's contest has no clear winner. Pallas, angry at Arachne's success in portraying the gods' misdeeds, rips Arachne's tapestry, strikes her head with a shuttle, and then in pity transforms her into a spider as she tries to hang herself. In Spenser's poem Arachne's own envy poisons her and induces her metamorphosis: 'Yet did she inly fret, and felly burne,/And all her blood to poysonous rancor turne' (343–4). Ovid describes Arachne's metamorphosis objectively; Spenser stresses the repulsive and venomous qualities of the spider: 'And her faire face to fowle and loathsome hewe,/And her fine corpes to a bag of venim grewe' (351–2).

Spenser translates Ovid's comment that neither Pallas nor Envy could find a flaw in Arachne's tapestry (6.129–30), but he adds a significant detail about Envy's venom: 'Such as Dame *Pallas,* such as Envie pale,/ That al good things with venemous tooth devowres,/Could not accuse' (301–3). Although it is somewhat illogical to say that Pallas could not fault Arachne's work, this characterization of Envy anticipates the description of Arachne at the moment she is metamorphosed and echoes the account of her offspring Aragnoll, whose 'bowels so with ranckling poyson swelde,/That scarce the skin the strong contagion helde' (255–6). The poisonous envy of Arachne and Aragnoll relates them to the personification of Envy in the house of Pride, who chews 'Betweene his cankred teeth a venemous tode,/ That all the poison ran about his chaw' (*FQ* I iv 30), and to the 'Venemous despite' of the Blatant Beast (VI xii 41). Envy and the Beast are both backbiters of poets; by extension, so are Arachne and Aragnoll.

Envy plays a pivotal role in *Muiopotmos* (Bond 1976). Ladies of the court envy Clarion's beautiful wings (105–6), which are themselves the result of the nymphs' envy of Astery for her skill in gathering flowers (124). The nymphs slander her by telling Venus that Cupid has secretly aided her; Venus, anxiously remembering Cupid's secret love of Psyche, transforms Astery into a butterfly whose wings have the colors of all the flowers she once gathered. The narrator comments ironically that 'none gainsaid, nor none did…envie' Clarion's feeding on the pleasures of the fields (152). In fact, Clarion is caught in an overdetermined web of ironies, cosmic and otherwise (Anderson 1971a). He is unaware that his 'cruell fate is woven even now/Of *Joves* owne hand' (235–6), and that Aragnoll's web of envy and hatred is already waiting for him in the garden. Spenser explicitly associates fate with the spider's web in *The Faerie Queene* when Agape visits the house of the Fates and is dismayed to see her sons' 'thrids so thin, as spiders frame' (IV ii 50). Later, the personified Detraction, companion of Envy, 'faynes to weave false tales and leasings bad' (v xii 36).

Muiopotmos has been interpreted as 'an allegory of the wandering of the rational soul into error,' with Aragnoll as the satanic figure traditionally associated with the spider (D.C.Allen 1968:31). In such a reading the web is an image of the fallen human condition, thematically similar to the 'wandring wood' at the threshold of *The Faerie Queene* (I i 13). The web-net is a recurrent image in Book II, explicitly associated with Arachne in the house of Mammon and the Bower of Bliss. Early in the book Archimago plots against Guyon: 'Eftsoones untwisting his deceiptfull clew,/He gan to weave a web of wicked guile' (i 8). Archimago's 'clew' is perhaps 'an allusion to the ball of thread which led Theseus out of the labyrinth. Instead of a guide through a maze, Archimago's untwisted clew forms a web to enclose the knight' (Hamilton in *FQ* ed 1977:172). As a version of that labyrinth which is a central archetype in *The Faerie Queene* (Fletcher 1971:24–34), Arachne's web seems to have for Spenser the same ambivalence as the labyrinth: threatening and entrapping, but also artistic and beautiful.

Both allusions to Arachne in *FQ* II have ominous connotations, but they differ in tone. The web that hangs from the arches in Mammon's 'house of Richesse' is obviously sinister: '*Arachne* high did lift/Her cunning web, and spred her subtile net,/Enwrapped in fowle smoke and clouds more blacke then Jet' (vii 28). The web suggests a satanic trap ready to ensnare anyone who reaches for the house's gold; it is like the fiend who follows Guyon with claws held ready to kill him if he transgresses the Stygian laws (27). The smoky, dirty web may imply that the gold is never used, and it reminds us of the earlier description of Mammon himself, dressed in 'coate all overgrowne with rust' and 'darkned with filthy dust' (4). Personifying the spider as Arachne evokes the contest with Pallas and reminds us of her traditional association with pride and envy. Arachne is an appropriate emblem for the tempter Mammon.

The association of Acrasia's veil with Arachne's web is equally sinister in implication, but it also creates a sense of extraordinary beauty: 'More subtile web *Arachne* cannot spin,/Nor the fine nets, which oft we woven see/Of scorched deaw, do not in th'aire more lightly flee' (II xii 77). The veil in which she is 'arayd, or rather disarayd,' both conceals and reveals. A similar ambiguity appears in the texture of the tapestry in the house of Busirane, where the gold interwoven with the silk both hides and shows itself (III xi 28). The gold-snake simile at the end of the stanza is as sinister as the allusions to Arachne, but the dominant impression created by Spenser's treatment of the tapestry is his admiration of its art. He never forgets that Arachne was a superb artist, and it may have pleased his etymological fancy to note the derivation of both *text* and *textile* from the Latin *texere* (Bond 1976:149). Perhaps he saw Arachne's web as an image of his own poem.

Yet the veil-web comparison in the Bower, beautiful as it is, implies that Acrasia is 'the spider in the web' (Hamilton in *FQ* ed 1977:296). The labyrinth is often symbolized by a web with a spider at its center, and the spider is one of the images of the 'Terrible Mother' archetype (Neumann 1963:177, 233). This negative version of the Great Mother figure is often represented as a witch or enchantress with the power to fetter, emasculate, or transform men. Homer's Circe, for example, one of Spenser's models for Acrasia, first appears singing and moving to and fro before a great web (*Odyssey* 10).

The Palmer counters Acrasia's Arachnean web with his own 'subtile net' (II xii 81), analogous to the net with which Vulcan trapped Venus and Mars, and which Ovid says surpasses the art of the spider's web (*Met* 4.178–9). Spenser reverses Ovid's comparison

when he says in *Muiopotmos* that not even Vulcan's net can match Aragnoll's 'curious networke' (361–74).

CALVIN R.EDWARDS

Erich Neumann 1963 *The Great Mother: An Analysis of the Archetype* 2nd ed (New York).

Arcadia

Virgil mentioned the Greek province of Arcadia in only two of his *Eclogues* (7.4, 26; 10.26, 31–3), but it became identified almost immediately as the generic site of pastoral poetry (Snell ed 1953:281–309). Combining the historical Arcadia with the ideal landscape of Greek pastoral poetry (as in Theocritus' *Idylls*), Virgil created an extremely malleable fiction capable of reflecting both the negative results of contemporary political policies (Eclogues 1 and 9) and the messianic prophecy of an imperial golden age (Eclogue 4). Moreover, he extended Arcadia's political implications to other literary forms. In his *Georgics,* he suggests that social ideals can be achieved only through systematic effort analogous to farming; in *the Aeneid* (8.313–27), the Arcadian king Evander lays the symbolic foundation of the Augustan empire by establishing the citadel of Rome, and provides a model for Aeneas in the story of Saturn's Golden Age.

In the Neo-Latin eclogues and vernacular pastoral of the Middle Ages, allusion to Eden and the parable of the good shepherd reinforced Virgil's practice, turning social commentary in the direction of dream vision or satire. By the sixteenth century, pastoral's 'representative anecdote' (Alpers 1982)—the shepherd piping while his sheep graze—was a utopian image as well as a literary stance, generically defined by pastoral poetry but not limited to it in application (Frye 1970:109–34, Levin 1969). In Elizabethan England, it accommodated the contemporary political situation of a peaceful empire, agrarian economy, and female ruler while reinforcing Protestant rhetoric (Montrose 1983). Thus the relatively 'feminine' language of pastoral tended to displace the traditionally martial political idiom (Yates 1975). Pastoral infiltrated the Petrarchan lyric, epic, romance, and drama; and the political significance of the fiction of Arcadia was evident in public pageants and royal entertainments (eg, Sidney's *Lady of May*), which transformed the gardens of the nobility's great houses into models of the state.

Sidney's *New Arcadia* integrated myth, literary convention, and pageantry to define the pastoral community's potential for political anatomy; Spenser's more fragmentary use of the Arcadian fiction parallels Sidney's. *The Shepheardes Calender* and later *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* recall different versions of the pastoral world to satirize church and state, to dramatize an ideal relationship between ruler and country, to reflect Colin Clout's psychological condition, and to comment on the ethical and social functions of poetry. In *Colin Clout* and *The Faerie Queene,* Spenser adopts the naive persona of shepherd-poet to create an illusion of external and objective observation of the epic world; the result is typically Arcadian, an ambivalent mixing of encomium and

criticism (Cain 1978). There is only one explicit recreation of a shepherd society in *The Faerie Queene,* but some version of Arcadia also forms the thematic, symbolic, or narrative focus of each book of the epic: Eden (I xi–xii), the Bower of Bliss (II xii), the Garden of Adonis (III vi), the garden of true friendship at the Temple of Venus (IV x 21–8), the Golden Age (v proem 1–9), Meliboe's community of shepherds and Colin Clout's retreat at Acidale (VI ix–xi), and finally Arlo Hill (VII vii) with its pageantry of cosmic politics. These provide paradigms for the operation of the larger fiction, in which Fairyland represents—simultaneously or in sequence—contemporary or histori-cal England, romance world, or allegorical landscape (Iser 1980). They define emblematically the goal of each separate heroic quest, and more important, they define 'by ensample' the utopian 'governement such as might best be' which is a stated goal of the poem (Letter to Raleigh). (See also **Faerie Queene,* geography of.)

ELIZABETH A.POPHAM

Paul J.Alpers 1982 'What is Pastoral?' *CritI* 8:437–60; Curtius ed 1953:183–202 'The Ideal Landscape'; Wolfgang Iser 1980 'Spenser's Arcadia: The Interrelation of Fiction and History' Center for Hermeneutical Studies, Protocol 38 (Berkeley); Montrose 1983; Panofsky 1955:295–320 '*Et in Arcadia Ego:* Poussin and the Elegiac Tradition'; Shore 1985; Bruno Snell 1953 'Arcadia: The Discovery of a Spiritual Landscape' in *Discovery of the Mind: The Greek Origins of European Thought* tr T.G.Rosenmeyer (New York) pp 281–309.

archaism

Most speakers of the language even today have on call a number of words known to be 'old' and felt to have a special dignity—words such as *forsake* 'desert' or *tide* 'time' which have somehow escaped the taint of modern life and are set apart for the more solemn occasions and for the expression of elevated thoughts. The literary device of archaism draws its strength from this common feeling about language, though the forms it takes and the purposes it has been made to serve vary from writer to writer. Of all English poets, Spenser is the best known for his archaizing, and words such as *eath* and *forworn* are still to be found in dictionaries of modern English with the label 'Spenserian.' They are kept in the dictionaries because Spenser is generally (and rightly) thought to have given us much of what we recognize as the traditional diction of older English poetry. One of the pleasures of reading his works is to see how and why he weaves in the old with the new, though we need always to remember that many words which seem archaic now were not so then: *emprise, guerdon, wain*—these and many others like them may have seemed quite ordinary to the sixteenth-century reader.

The deliberate use of 'old' words is not uniform throughout Spenser's poetry. They are, for instance, common enough in *The Faerie Queene* and are especially conspicuous in parts of *The Shepheardes Calender;* but they contribute less to the distinctive style of

certain other poems such as the *Amoretti,* where Spenser hardly goes further than did some of his contemporaries in drawing on the verbal effects of earlier poets. In the rural dialogues of *The Shepheardes Calender,* the obsolete language has the dramatic function of suggesting a rough, unhewn simplicity in the characters even though their speech is not devoid of learned terms. E.K. observes that 'olde and obsolete wordes are most used of country folke' (*SC* Epistle), and it is hard now to distinguish archaism and dialect on philological grounds (though some scholarly attempts have been made at doing so). In their literary effect the two things conveniently combine in the context of the pastoral poem: then, as now, the countryman's ways of speech were felt to be both pure and 'old.'

In *The Faerie Queene,* the effect of the old language is quite different: it serves not to suggest rugged honesty and earthiness but rather to evoke an ideal world of the past which is the setting of the poem. E.K. again provides evidence when he says that old and obsolete words also 'bring great grace and …auctoritie to the verse' (*SC* Epistle). The more technical terms of chivalry belong here since inevitably these had become antiquated with the waning of courtly customs, and words such as *gage, joust,* and *ventail* are old in a quite different sense from that in which rural dialect is old. But Spenser also draws on the language of English medieval writings (especially the romances) for many words of more general meaning which had already been replaced or were at least going out of fashion in his day. Some of the commonest are *dight* 'adorn,' *eftsoons* 'at once,' *eke* 'also,' *hight* 'is called,' *list* 'desire,' *mote* 'must,' *stour* 'conflict,' *weet* 'know,' *welkin* 'sky,' *whylome* 'formerly.' Such words later came to be associated with the elevated themes of romance and poetry. They have served the imagination of generations of readers by giving an instant verbal access to an idealized past.

The question of how accurately Spenser has followed his medieval exemplars is of more than philological interest. Some later archaizing poets (Chatterton is the bestknown example) indulge in pseudo-archaic forms, even creating spurious 'old words.' At times Spenser misinterpreted the language of older writers: he uses *yede* as an infinitive ('to go,' eg *FQ* II iv 2) when it was really a past tense; *dernely,* which he uses in the sense 'dismally' (at II i 35), properly meant 'secretly' in Middle English (cf III xii 34). Yet such genuine errors must seem few when we recall that there were as yet no scholarly texts of early English writers, and that reliable dictionaries or other etymological aids to them were nonexistent.

Spenser's archaism is not merely a matter of opting for an outdated vocabulary: spelling, inflection, and grammar play their part too. English orthography was in an unsettled state in the sixteenth century; and in the texts that we have, it is hard to know how much of the spelling represents his preferences, and how much is merely the printer's habit. But the variable state of English spelling meant that a writer could, if he wished, give a whole range of words an antique look: an example is the occurrence of Germanic-type spellings in the Spenser text even for words patently of French origin (*despight, quight,* etc).

In its inflections, too, the language was in a state of flux. Spenser can, for instance, equally well write 'he thinks' or 'he thinketh'; and though we can now say which one of these was to survive as the modern form, it is uncertain whether *thinketh* was felt to be archaic or specially poetic in his time. With other inflections there can be no doubt. The normal infinitive and presenttense plural form of the verb *to know* was then *know* or *knowe* (with the final *-e* not pronounced). In using the form *knowen,* Spenser restores a

typical Chaucerian ending, and at the same time helps himself to an extra syllable to make his verse scan. This typical Middle English *-n* inflection is often attached (quite unhistorically) to foreign loanwords, as in *atchieven, displeasen*. The best known of all his archaizing devices, the past participle prefix *y-* (going back to an Old English *ge-*), is also found with foreign as well as native *stems: yclad, yglanced, ymet, ytold*. Outdated inflectional forms serve to help him in his rhyme scheme; for example, he uses the old uninflected plural form *brother* to rhyme with *another,* and the form *skyen* 'skies' to rhyme with *shyne*. Metrical reasons may often be found for other obsolescent forms in his text: *muchel* 'much,' *n'ould* 'would not,' *sith* and *sithens* 'since,' *withouten,* and so on.

Lines such as 'Fast did they fly, as them their feete could beare' (v viii 39) show patterns of inversion which we should now associate with an older poetic style; but they may well have seemed to be within current verse conventions to Spenser's contemporaries, and not markedly old-fashioned. There are other grammatical patterns which certainly would have looked archaic, such as *ne…ne* 'neither…nor,' and the use of *gan* with the infinitive (*gan look* 'began to look,' or simply 'looked'). In some phrases, such as 'one the truest knight alive' (I iii 37), there may even be a conscious embedding of Chaucerian syntax.

In following his models Lydgate and Chaucer (repeatedly identified by E.K. as a source of old words), Spenser was felt by Sidney to have gone too far in his experiments (ed 1973b:112); and the famous rebuke by Jonson, that '*Spencer,* in affecting the Ancients, writ no Language' (ed 1925–52, 8:618), expressed a distaste for Spenserian devices felt by some writers in the earlier part of the seventeenth century who (outside the pastoral at least) had come to prefer a poetic style closer to the common usage of their own day.

But Spenser's archaism is no doubt in part a deliberate tactic. The glosses to *The Shepheardes Calender* serve to advertise as well as explain the old words in it. Spenser was living at a high season of experiment in the vernacular when the English language was generally admitted to stand in need of enrichment. One way of achieving this was to draw on its past, and there was a role for the poet in thus making the language anew. Similar experiments were taking place in France (with the poets of the Pléiade) and in Italy, and justification for retaining obsolescent words was to be found in the theory of du Bellay as well as in the practice of Virgil. Yet any such conscious experimenting with language on Spenser's part comes second to an instinctive imitation of admired masters—the very popularity of Chaucer had kept near-obsolete words alive in poetry. Spenser did not distort the language by favoring the forms of the past, but his archaism served to perpetuate an already traditional vocabulary.

Poets of later generations were to make grateful use of what was old in Spenser's language. Milton uses characteristically Spenserian items such as *areede* 'counsel,' *beldame, maugre, unweeting,* and *yclept,* especially in his early poetry, though he passes by the more extreme forms of dialectal archaism, and the older morphological and syntactical oddities which Spenser had pressed into service. The 1679 folio edition of Spenser's works appends 'A Glossary, or An Alphabetical Index of Unusual Words Explained.' From the selection of words felt to be in need of explanation in eighteenthcentury editions of Spenser's poetry (*baleful, bevy, doughty, seare,* etc), we can know that, for the common reader at least, the comprehensibility of his language was by then on the wane. For instance, the introduction to *The Second Part of Mr. Waller's*

Poems (London 1705) contrasts the language of Spenser and Edmund Waller (who wrote some 60 years after) by saying that Waller's 'Language, like the Money of that time, is as Currant now as ever; whilst the other's words are like old Coyns, one must go to an Antiquary to understand their true meaning and value' (Atkinson 1937:189). But this increasing unfamiliarity with Spenser's language provides in turn the necessary background to the deliberate and widespread revival of Spenserian (and pseudo-Spenserian) words and spellings by Keats, Coleridge, Byron, and other writers of the Romantic period.

NOEL OSSELTON

John W.Draper 1919 'The Glosses to Spenser's "Shepheardes Calender"' *JEGP* 18:556–74; Gans 1979; Bernard Groom 1955 *The Diction of Poetry from Spenser to Bridges* (Toronto); Ingham 1970–1; R.F.Jones 1953; Johan Kerling 1979 *Chaucer in Early English Dictionaries* (Leiden); McElderry 1932; Partridge 1971; Pope 1926; Renwick 1922; Rubel 1941; Spenser *SC* ed 1895; Wrenn 1943; S.P.Zitner 1966 'Spenser's Diction and Classical Precedent' *PQ* 45:360–71. See also lists in Atkinson 1937:203–6 and Carpenter 1923:295–8.

Archimago

This evil magician of *FQ* I and (briefly) II first appears after, and symbolically out of, the defeat of Error. Initially he is an emblem of hypocrisy, with his book, rosary beads, and the appearance of piety implied in his knocking of 'his brest' in imitation of the penitent publican of Luke 18.13 (I i argument, 29; Ripa 1603:200 *Hippocresia* 'Hypocrisy'). Part of his larger significance is explained by his name, revealed at 43: he is the arch image-maker, the fabricator of dreams, also the arch-magus or primal magician. Since Renaissance magi operated largely through their own and their subjects' imaginations, however, these two roles in fact merge: he is the magician who induces images of delusion within the imaginations of all fallen human beings, reminding us of the idolatry of the natural imagination (Nohrnberg 1976:126–7, 130; D.P.Walker 1958). Thus, as a supposed hermit, he 'lives in hidden cell' (30), where *cell* suggests the *cellula phantastica,* the front ventricle or compartment of the brain which was understood to house the imagination or fantasy (II ix 50–2).

(See **Archimago** Figs 1–4.)

The quality of Archimago's magic emerges at I i 36, where he seeks from 'His Magick bookes…mighty charmes, to trouble sleepy mindes,' curses heaven, and invokes terrible Daemogorgon (see *Var* 1:190–2). In consequence of his 'spelles,' 'Legions of Sprights …like little flyes' emerge from the nether world. The word *Legion* is chosen advisedly, to allude to the man possessed with demons, whose 'name is Legion' (Mark 5.2–13; in 1629, Francis Quarles refers to 'accursed *Archimagoes* booke/(That cursed Legion)' *Sp All* p 179). While the simile of the flies, which harks back to Error's brood who are

compared to gnats at i 23, reminds us that flies were emblems of the deceptive power of the imagination (II ix 51), it also identifies Archimago in passing with 'Beelzebub the prince of devils' (Matt 12.24) and lord or 'master of flies' ('A Brief Table of the Interpretation of the Propre Names' appended to 1560 Geneva Bible). Significantly, Archimago selects 'the falsest twoo' spirits to aid him in his intention to 'abuse [Redcrosse's] fantasy' (I i 38, 46), for the evil dyad denies Una's integrity and makes Archimago the begetter of Duessa-Fidessa, who appears in the narrative at ii 13 as an indirect consequence of Redcrosse's dreams. Archimago's books of black magic with their spells are symbolically linked with Error's 'vomit full of bookes' (i 20) as the opposite of Fidelia's Bible 'Wherein darke things were writ, hard to be understood' (x 13). With her 'larger spright,' Fidelia can move mountains (20). Spenser here touches on the difference between magic and miracle and between black magic and white magic, which was fundamental to Reformation theological polemic and led inevitably to the association of Roman Catholicism with black magic. More particularly, the fact that popes were identified as necromancers suggests that Archimago is a necromantic papal Antichrist. *Pathomachia* (1630; *STC* 19462; *Sp All* p 180) contains a passing reference to 'Archimago the Jesuite.' Hence his appearance as a fatherly 'aged Sire, in long blacke weedes yclad' (i 29) parodically anticipates that of the faithful and virtuous Palmer of II i 7, in part a white magician.

As an heretical Catholic enchanter with hints of the papal necromancer about him, Archimago is descended from the Simon Magus of Acts 8 and the miracle-working false prophet who opposes Christ, the knight 'Faithful and true' of Revelation 19.11–20. But as the arch image-maker, the grand hypocrite rejoicing in his deceptions, he is the offspring of Satan, who 'in several shapes…goeth about to seduce us…and is so cunning that he is able, if it were possible, to deceive the very elect' (Burton *Anatomy of Melancholy* 3.4.1.2; see Mark 13.22). It is fitting that the arch dissembler should present such a plurality of personae and possess so many literary antecedents. To the sources already named should be added the magician hermit of Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* 2.12–15 and the enchanter Ismeno from Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*. To the list of his personae should be added that of Una, one of whose colors, black, he appropriates as he also appropriates her sadness (I i 29; cf 4); and also that of Contemplation. It is aged Contemplation, who also lives in a hermitage (x 46; cf i 34), who finally displaces Archimago's illusions and evil spirits with a vision of angels and the heavenly Jerusalem (x 55–7). Also, Archimago's hermitage is near a crystal stream 'Which from a sacred fountaine welled forth alway' (i 34); this stream is all too seductively proleptic of the enervating fountain and 'streame, as cleare as cristall glas' of vii 6 as well as being a parody of Fidelia's 'Christall face' (x 12) and the 'river of water of life, cleare as crystal' in the heavenly Jerusalem (Rev 22.1). In the poem's overall structure, Archimago's dwelling is answered by the hermitage of VI v 34–5.

Archimago's role as deceiver is elaborated further in I ii II where he adopts Redcrosse's attire for his own, 'so pretending to a faith he has not' (Nelson 1963:175) and recalling the papal 'beast [from] out of the earth' disguised as the Christological lamb (Rev 13.11 and Geneva gloss). At ii 10, he also becomes Proteus, simultaneously the emblem of man's almost infinite power over his mortality through celebrating his mutability (Pico, Orphic *Conclusiones* 28: 'Whoever cannot attract Pan approaches nature and Proteus in vain' ed 1572–3, 1:107) and the wily, sophistical sea god, magician

of chaos. Archimago's Protean metamorphoses into bird, fish, fox, and dragon suggest his magical command over the four elements of air, water, earth, and fire. The fox and dragon are traditionally Satanic, too, though Ovid observes that Proteus can change himself into a serpent (*anguis, Metamorphoses* 8.734), as does Virgil (*draco, Georgics* 4.408). Guileful Malengin is similarly Protean at *FQ* v ix 17.

Archimago appears before Una disguised as Redcrosse at I iii. His allegorical identity as the principle of lawlessness is confirmed, however, when he succumbs in battle to lawless Sansloy (35–9). A simile identifies Archimago with 'fierce *Orions* hound' (31), the destructively scorching Dog Star, associated with Proteus by Virgil in *Georgics* 4.425–7. (Paradoxically, Orion itself is the constellation of winter storms: *Aeneid* 1.535, Geneva gloss to Job 38.31). Having established his world of delusive images—a world which has more than a passing similarity to that of the 'daedale' poet himself—Archimago officially disappears from the action of Book I, leaving his work to be done by the surrogates he has generated. When he reappears at I xii 24 as the messenger bearing Fidessa/Duessa's letter of accusation, his disguise is swiftly penetrated. At the beginning of Book I, he could successfully create an illusion of marriage (i 48). Now, at this moment of betrothal which has its source in the marriage of Revelation 21, we enter a period of apocalypse where evil itself is unmasked and comically and festively bound (xii 35–6; see also Rev 20.1–3).

Yet Archimago rebounds in Book II, for evil will finally be defeated only at the end of time, and Spenser's land of faerie is rec-ognizably our fallen world in which That cunning Architect of cancred guile… work[s] mischiefe' (i 1–2), by deceiving temperate Guyon with an apparently violated Duessa and inducing him to fight Redcrosse. Specifically, Archimago releases wrath in Guyon just as he had induced rage in Redcrosse (I ii 5; II i 13, 25), though temperance is victorious over Archimago's mischief and the Palmer, who has been displaced temporarily by the enchanter, returns (II i 31).

Archimago's other appearances in Book II are less significant. Trompart and Braggadocchio deceive him with their boasts of prowess, and he flies away to obtain Arthur's sword for the braggart knight (iii 11–19; in 19, Archimago is compared to 'The Northerne wind' since the north is connected with evil: Isa 14.13, Jer 1.14). At vi 47–51, he again parodies the Palmer's *gravitas* and good counsel (cf Ripa 1603:85–6 *Consiglio*) as he stands by the Idle Lake of *accidie* (sloth) 'in an auncient gowne' with his 'hoarie locks [crowned with] great gravitie' and cures irascible Pyrochles' burning by the application of 'balmes and herbes': 'And him restor'd to health, that would have algates dyde.' Thus he preserves the principle of wrath and discord and mimes the infernal Aesculapius' attempt to cure Sansjoy at I v 36–44, though in fact Archimago saves Pyrochles only in order that he might be destroyed by Arthur (II viii 18–52). In this canto, Archimago actually confronts his benevolent double the Palmer and, bearing Arthur's sword, parodies the solar prince himself. His moment of glory is, however, as brief as it is illusory. After the deaths of Pyrochles and Cymochles and the consequent restoration of Guyon and Guyon's reunion with the Palmer, Archimago flees, fittingly accompanied by discordant Atin. We never meet him again, though he is mentioned at III iv 45; he is dispersed into the other evil characters, and especially evil or ambivalent magicians, part of the 'eternal invisible powers' operating throughout the poem (I.G.MacCaffrey 1976:32). This dispersal was recognized, for instance, in 1609 by Joseph Wybarne, who

saw the Antichrist 'figured' in *The Faerie Queene* by '*Archima-gus, Duessa, Argoglio* the Soldane and others' (*Sp All* p 120).

DOUGLAS BROOKS-DAVIES

Brooks-Davies 1977; Brooks-Davies 1983; Giamatti 1968; Giamatti 1975; Hamilton 1961a; Kermode 1964–5; Nelson 1963; Nohrnberg 1976; D.P.Walker 1958; Waters 1970.

architecture

Spenser's treatment of buildings is never really pictorial; he never seems to have set out to imagine structures that are visually or even conceptually coherent or historically accurate. Hence when Scudamour and Glauce approach the house of Care, they see 'a little cottage, like some poore mans nest' (*FQ* IV v 32). Inside, however, they find a place big enough for seven giant smiths to labor at a giant forge. It would seem that Spenser first invented characters and actions, and then supplied building features to accommodate them. For his details, he calls on the tradition of architectural description that begins in Homer (especially *Odyssey* 7, describing the palace of Alkinoos), and runs through Virgil and Ovid and the romances of the Middle Ages to Boiardo, Ariosto, Marot, du Bellay, and Sidney. In this tradition, authors use architectural details—often directly imitating or alluding to earlier works—to convey social, moral, or psychological information about the characters who inhabit the buildings. Particular details in Spenser's poetry have been traced to medieval and Renaissance sources, and to the Bible (especially the Temple of Solomon, and the New Jerusalem of Rev 21), but the tradition encourages an eclectic approach, and none of his structures owes its essential character to any single source (Hard 1934).

Most of Spenser's architectural details are medieval, a fact that may express a conscious archaism (Girouard 1963), but also reflects the actual world in which he lived. For centuries the building practices passed on from master to apprentice changed little, so that the houses of ordinary people retained similar characteristics whether built in 1350 or 1550 (Mercer 1975). In any case, Spenser gives few details about such buildings as Corceca's 'cotage small' (*FQ* I iii 4) or Meliboe's 'cottage clad with lome' (VI ix 16); they have doors, roofs, and rooms—and that is all we know. Since virtually no churches were constructed in sixteenth-century England (Summerson 1953:99–100), the ecclesiastical architecture Spenser saw was overwhelmingly medieval. But he does not specify individual features of most of the churches and chapels in *The Faerie Queene;* when he does, they are usually too general to be stylistically significant. Isis Church, for instance, is 'Borne uppon stately pillours' and 'arched over hed' (v vii 5); whether the pillars are classical or Gothic, the arches round or pointed, he does not say. The chivalric character of the poem means that many of the buildings are castles, most fully represented by the house of Alma (II ix). For all the anthropomorphic symbolism which makes it an allegory of the human body, it has the main features of traditional fortified

dwellings: wall, gate, porch, portcullis, barbican, hall with kitchen and storage areas (‘offices’ in the usage of the time) on one side and private apartments (‘solar’) on the other.

Change did occur in the houses of the gentry, extensively remodeled or built new in great numbers during the sixteenth century. Although Henry VII and Henry VIII commissioned important building projects, during the rest of the century royal patronage was scanty, and the important work was done for great courtiers and entrepreneurs. The transfer of patronage may be reflected in *Mother Hubberds Tale:* the upstart Fox ‘lifted up his loftie towres’ while ‘the Princes pallaces fell fast’ and the ‘auncient houses’ and ‘olde Castles’ of the traditional peerage decayed (1173–9).

The most ubiquitous development, an emphasis on façade and in particular on external symmetry, occurred as the shift from feudalism toward capitalism changed the manor house from a place for defense to a place for show, expressing economic and social rather than military power. Of this change there is no unequivocal sign in Spenser’s work, unless perhaps in the account of the house of Pride, with ‘goodly galleries farre over laid,/Full of faire windowes’ (I iv 4). Abundant glass was a feature of most of the new Tudor houses, from Henry VII’s Richmond onward; for this reason, suggestions that in Pride’s palace or Panthea’s ‘bright towre all built of christall cleene’ (I x 58) Spenser has some specific model in mind—Hampton Court, Burghley House, Wollaton—seem doubtful (Hard 1934:306, McClung 1977:103). Galleries, long well-lit rooms used for recreation and to display pictures and other possessions, were also included in many new houses and added to existing houses like Penshurst and Haddon. It may be significant that in *The Faerie Queene* these items of conspicuous consumption appear only in the homes of dangerous women such as Lucifera, Malecasta, Radigund. We cannot be sure because any particular architectural detail will take its moral tone from its context. Lucifera’s ‘loftie towres’ (I iv 4) symbolize pride, as many other elements of the passage make clear. The ‘stately Turret’ of the house of Alma reaches equally high but expresses only a legitimate aspiration: it ‘likest is’ to the ‘heavenly towre’ God built for his own dwelling (II ix 47). Similarly, the most up-to-date kind of architectural décor in the poems—the Manneristic tapestries and wall-paintings like those which Tudor patrons bought or commissioned from continental artists—mostly ornament Spenser’s morally dubious rooms. But the moral differences between the murals in the house of Alma (II ix 53) and the tapestries of Busirane (III xi 28–46) arise from subject matter, not style or medium.

Spenser’s use of architecture is epitomized in the Temple of Venus (IV x). The ensemble (moat, bridge, fortified gate, gardens, and temple proper) derives from the *Romance of the Rose* and other medieval dream visions, and most of the terms (‘Corbes,’ ‘pillours,’ ‘roofe’) are stylistically neutral. The significant exception is the ‘Doricke guize’ of the bridge’s pillars (stanza 6). This may refer to the English enthusiasm for the classical orders articulated in John Shute’s *First and Chief Groundes of Architecture* (1563) and widely expressed in building of the time through the application of classical pillars and pilasters to otherwise non-classical structures. The temple itself is compared (x 30) with the Temple of Diana at Ephesus and with the Temple of Solomon (given a generally classical appearance in the illustrations of the Geneva and other sixteenth-century Bibles, but depicted as Gothic in many prints and paintings); its ‘hundred marble pillors’ (37) could come from Vitruvius, but also from medieval romance, the *Hypnerotomachia poliphili,* or Winchester Cathedral. Although the flavor is generally

pagan, no particular style or even form can be envisaged because Spenser nowhere supplies the necessary visual pointers, does not tell us whether the pillars are columns or pilasters, fluted or smooth, skinny or fat, whether the building is round or square or rectangular. The effects are achieved more by the accumulation than by the logical interrelation of the details, and while those may be less exotic than some specified in *Orlando furioso* or *Huon of Bordeaux,* the whole does not finally give more 'sense of the actual' (Hard 1934:302) than do the medieval and classical authors on whose architectural descriptions Spenser modeled his own.

DAVID EVETT

Alan T.Bradford 1981 'Drama and Architecture under Elizabeth I' *ELR* 11:3–28; Buxton 1963; Dundas 1965; Mark Girouard 1963 'Elizabethan Architecture and the Gothic Tradition' *ArchitHist* 6:23–39; Girouard ed 1983; Hard 1934; William A.McClung 1977 *The Country House in English Renaissance Poetry* (Berkeley and Los Angeles); Eric Mercer 1962; Mercer 1975 *English Vernacular Houses* (London); Summerson 1953.

Areopagus

The Court of ancient Athens, the name was adopted by what seems to have been an informal Elizabethan literary coterie centered around Philip Sidney. Its members included Grevilie, Dyer, Harvey, Daniel Rogers, Thomas Drant, Spenser, and perhaps others. Little is known about their meetings.

In a letter to Harvey of October 1579, written from Leicester House (*Two Letters* I in *Var Prose* p 6), Spenser announced that

> the twoo worthy Gentlemen, Master *Sidney,* and Master *Dyer,* [who] have me …in some use of familiarity…have proclaimed in their *areiōi pagōi,* a generall surceasing and silence of balde Rymers, and also of the verie beste to: in steade whereof, they have by authoritie of their whole Senate, prescribed certaine Lawes and rules of Quantities of English sillables, for English Verse: having had thereof already greate practise, and drawen mee to their faction.

Harvey replied enthusiastically on October 23, 'Your new-founded *areion pagon* I honoure more, than you will or can suppose: and make greater accompte of the twoo worthy Gentlemenne, than of two hundreth *Dionisii Areopagitae'* (*2 Lett* 2 in *Var Prose* p 442). Spenser had stressed the very strong recommendation he had given to Sidney and Dyer of Harvey's abilities, and Nashe later allowed Harvey membership in the Areopagus, though suggesting he was a latecomer: 'that same *Areopage*…a forreyner newe come over' (Nashe ed 1904–10, 3:43). On 14 January 1579, Daniel Rogers sent a

poem to Sidney in which he describes Sidney's friends as 'a happy band of like-minded fellows *[iucunda caterva sodales],* from whose close friendship a pious love is generated. Among them in holy virtue Dyer excels, steward of judgment and butler of talent; next comes Fulke, dear offspring of the House of Greville. With them, when leisure hours permit these pious studies, you discuss the ultimates of the law, of God and of the good' (Latin text in van Dorsten 1962:179). Rogers seems to have been seeking admission to this clearly informal group and may well have been associated with it for a brief period.

This Areopagus was not an academy in the formal European sense, like the various French or Italian literary and scholarly academies, or even an informal though recognized group like the Pléiade (the group of French poets which included Ronsard and du Bellay). Although Sidney and Harvey knew of these institutions and their purposes, the Areopagus seems rather to have been an literary gathering of poets and patrons who met to share common ideas, probably including ideas for revitalizing English poetry. It existed, if at all, for only a short time. The group may have first come together around October 1579. Rogers, who by September 1580 was a captive in Germany, and who was in Ghent in January 1579 (van Dorsten 1962:68, 179), may have visited London in mid-1579; Greville was in Ireland by II May 1580 (*Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts* [1575–88] 2:254); Spenser left London for Ireland around 9 July 1580 (Judson 1945:72); and Harvey left London (in disgrace) to return to Cambridge in January 1581 (Harvey ed 1913:39–40). The members of the Areopagus, then, could have met regularly only for about nine months.

In describing the objectives of the group, Spenser implies that they had adopted Drant's rules for quantitative verse. Those rules are lost; but his scheme appears to have been based, at least in part, on principles borrowed from the rules of classical prosody, whereas Harvey advocated working out a system based upon actual English pronunciation. While these various schemes no doubt encouraged writers to look more closely at English prosody, none was successful. The Areopagus' interest in classical meter, however, suggests a wider purpose. To judge from the writings of those apparently associated with the group, they were in favor of an enhanced status for the *doctus poeta* (the learned poet), they approved of the position of the poet as 'senator' or legislator of literary taste, and they were enthusiastic about all experiments to relate the modern poet to classical antiquity. Their interests were consonant with E.K.'s elaborate commentary on *The Shepheardes Calender,* which creates an image of Spenser as the new Virgil, worthy of full-scale philological and critical annotation.

REAVLEY GAIR

For a history of the notion of the Areopagus—for which extravagant claims have been made in earlier scholarship—see Howard Maynadier 1908–9 The Areopagus of Sidney and Spenser' *MLR* 4:289–301; and *Var Prose* pp 479–80. The fullest discussion is in the unpublished PhD diss of W.R.Gair 'Literary Societies in England from Parker to Falkland (c 1572–1640)' (Cambridge Univ 1969).

Argante, Ollyphant

Twin sister and brother giants, children of the incestuous relationship of Typhoeus and his mother, Earth; while still in the womb, the two 'In fleshly lust were mingled both yfere,/And in that monstrous wise did to the world appere' (*FQ* III vii 48). Typhoeus is identified by Thomas Cooper (1565) as 'a great gyaunt, the sonne of Titan…so a great puissant wynde: a whirlwynde,' which suggests the union of Aeolus and Earth that produced Orgoglio, another figure associated with lust (I vii 9).

Argante is the first to appear in the poem: at III vii 37, she is seen carrying the Squire of Dames, 'Whom she did meane to make the thrall of her desire.' When Satyrane attempts to rescue him, he is himself overcome and borne off by her. Later both are rescued by a knight who has been pursuing her and who is identified as the martial maid Palladine. At xi 3–6, Ollyphant is seen pursuing an unidentified young man with similar intent of 'beastly use.' Again, it is not Satyrane whom the giant fears, but the chaste Britomart, 'For he the powre of chast hands might not beare,/But alwayes did their dread encounter fly.' In pursuit of him, Britomart comes to a fountain where she finds the despairing Scudamour (xi 7).

Argante is an alternate name for the lustful Morgana of romance; it may derive from Greek *argos* 'shining' or 'swift,' with a suffix underscoring her gigantism; hence the references to her 'firie eyes,' 'sun-broad shield,' and 'lustfull fyre' (vii 39, 40, 49). Ollyphant appears as 'a greet geaunt' in Chaucer's tale of *Sir Thopas*. The 1590 *Faerie Queene* identifies him as one 'that wrought/Great wreake to many errant knights of yore,/Till him Chylde *Thopas* to confusion brought' (vii 48); in 1596 the reference to Thopas is dropped. The name, which means 'elephant' and was applied specifically to an elephant's tusk (Roland's horn was named Olifant), seems evocative of phallic grossness: Lust in IV vii has comparably elephantine features.

The two giants, representative of monstrous sexual practices, are consistent with Spenser's general depiction of giants as rebels against established order (Lotspeich 1932:63). Virtuous female knights, directing their sexual energies properly, prove the most effective deterrent against them; knights who love frivolously, like the Squire of Dames, or who possess merely natural heroism, like Satyrane, are no match for them.

DAVID O.FRANTZ

Ariadne

Daughter of Minos, King of Crete, Ariadne helped Theseus escape the labyrinth after he had killed the Minotaur, then sailed with him to Naxos where he deserted her. She was found by Bacchus, who married her, giving her the crown of Thetis which he later made into her constellation, the Corona Borealis (Randall 1896).

In Ovid, Theseus' desertion of Ariadne shows the indifference of heroes to the victims incidental to their careers (*Met* 8.172–82). The abandoned Una in *FQ* I iii has been seen as an abandoned Ariadne: compare her lament that the lion is less cruel to her than her knight, and the ass 'More mild in beastly kind, then that her beastly foe,' Sansloy (4, 44), and Chaucer's Ariadne: 'Meker than ye fynde I the bestes wilde!' (*Legend of Good Women* 2198; Nohrnberg 1976:271–2). Spenser directly mentions Ari-adne only once,

when her crown becomes a simile for a 'precious gemme,' Colin Clout's love, encircled by the garland of dancers on Mount Acidale (*FQ* VI x 13); like this vision, Ariadne's crown presents an ideal of order.

Spenser conflates the myth of Ariadne with the battle at the marriage of Hippodamia and Pirithous between the Centaurs and Lapiths, in which Theseus participated. In Spenser, the battle occurs at the wedding of Ariadne and Theseus—which he seems to have invented—and Ariadne's crown, perhaps now a gift from Theseus, becomes a token of their union.

Spenser's revision makes Theseus a true lover and the heroism which disrupts the wedding an instance of those 'fierce warres' which accompany 'faithfull loves' in the poem. An ideal, the marriage of Theseus and Ariadne occurs only in the elusive context of Colin's art as Calidore observes it. When Calidore steps forward to examine Colin's ideal more closely, the vision vanishes; presumably the fiction of a wedding between Ariadne and Theseus must vanish as well, leaving heroic strife in its place. Like Ariadne's crown, their union remains the kind of happy ending which can never be fully sustained in a narrative where the contingencies of heroic strife provide the vehicle for allegory.

ROBERT A.BRINKLEY

Ariosto, Lodovico

(1474–1553) In the long history of Italian chivalric literature, which developed among the populace and was finally converted in the Renaissance to courtly uses, Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* was the second poem by a Ferrarese aristocrat to glorify the Este lords. Based directly on *Orlando innamorato,* by the Count of Scandiano, Matteo Maria Boiardo, a work truncated in its sixty-ninth canto by its author's death in 1494, the *Furioso* was begun around 1505 and reached its final form as a poem of 46 cantos in 1532. In adopting but transforming Boiardo's characters and providing complexly interwoven conclusions to his aborted actions, Ariosto brought to a climax a centuries-old fascination with Carolingian and Arthurian narrative. Boiardo had cast the chaste Orlando—the stalwart Roland of the *chanson de geste*—in the role of inf atuated lover of the enchantress Angelica, strikingly uniting two of the great repositories of narrative in the Middle Ages: the martial Matter of France, associated with Charlemagne's wars, and the romantic Matter of Brittany, associated with Arthurian knighterrantry and enchantments. In plunging the hero into madness resulting from sensual love, Ariosto capped his predecessor's innovation by linking the medieval hero with the Hercules *furens* of classical literature. By repeatedly evoking this third great repository of narrative, the so-called Matter of Rome, and particularly by the seriousness with which he absorbed and domesticated Virgil's *Aeneid,* Ariosto redirected the course of chivalric poetry, effecting a wedding of classical epic and medieval romance. *Orlando furioso* provided Spenser with his most proximate model for *The Faerie Queene;* the continual presence in his imagination of the older poem is readily discernible to any reader who knows both.

The *Furioso* occupies a position of pivotal importance in the transmission and development of epic, particularly Virgilian epic, from the classical period to the Renaissance. Nevertheless, since Boiardo's poem remains relatively unknown to English readers, and since it provides the very foundations upon which Ariosto built his own poetic edifice, a brief look at the *Innamorato* becomes essential. Apart from the novelty of Orlando as lover, Boiardo effects a second important innovation in chivalric romance: he provides a contrast to the undignified portrait of Orlando by inventing another more acceptable hero, the young warrior Ruggiero, son of a Christian mother and infidel father. Though the youth is brought to France as an Achilles-like talisman during the invasion of Charlemagne's realms by Agramante of Africa, he is fated to be converted to Christianity and to marry Bradamante, who is the sister of Rinaldo, Orlando's cousin and rival in love. Here the strain of dynastic praise in Virgilian epic is suddenly renewed in chivalric form, for the fated pair, providentially chosen to initiate a splendid new civilization in northern Italy, will found the Este family. As mythical archetypes of the members of that ducal house, Ruggiero and Bradamante function as romantic equivalents of Aeneas and the much more shadowy Lavinia. Before the *Innamorato* breaks off, the pair have met by chance on a battlefield, fallen in love and plighted their troth, been abruptly separated, and come to the verge of a series of chivalric adventures in a world of magic and marvels.

Boiardo is ultimately responsible for the assimilation, within a fundamentally comicromantic-chivalric poem, of an *Aeneid*-like strain of dynastic praise that runs through Renaissance epic thereafter. He is also the immediate source of other elements characteristic of the *Furioso,* chiefly the multiplicity of its narratives and the vast array of characters. From Boiardo, Ariosto inherits not only the straggling, extensively elaborated tale of the rivalry of Orlando, Rinaldo, Sacripante, and Ferraù for the love of the perpetually elusive Angelica, and the equally long and populous tale of the pagan invasion by Agramante and Rodomonte, but also the barely initiated story of the two dynastic lovers, to which he immediately gives an independent development and a central prominence. As mythical archetypes of the Estensi, Bradamante and Ruggiero are fundamentally Ariostan creations, and they function as literary ancestors of Spenser's Britomart and Artegall, who are types of the Tudors.

Ordered multiplicity is the keynote of the *Furioso's* beginning. In his opening stanzas, Ariosto at once synchronizes and redevelops the three main narratives that the less artful Boiardo had introduced randomly and in succession. He also gives them an epic resonance deriving from Homer and Virgil, marking a clear break from the medieval tradition in which Boiardo worked. Addressing his patron, Cardinal Ippolito d'Es-te, Ariosto announces his own manipulation of the triple subject: Agramante's wrath *(ire)* and his pursuit, amid wars and loves *(l'arme, gli amori),* of his war on the Emperor; the madness of Orlando, resulting from sensual fury; and the heroic acts *(gesti)* of Ruggiero, destined to be Ippolito's ancestor. The implication of the initial four stanzas is that the defeat and expulsion of the infidel and the conversion and marriage of Ruggiero are concomitant and ultimately successful labors.

Ariosto's perspective is without precedent in chivalric romance, and is indeed more proper to epic. He works at once in two distinct times, the chivalric era of Charlemagne and his own newly imperial age of the sixteenth century; his artistic purview captures in a single glance the prophetic past and the accomplished fruits of his own contemporary civilization, which he often praises by direct address, deliberately interrupting his

romance narrative. The historical intrusions are part of a conscious artistic procedure, introducing a specifically Virgilian element almost entirely absent from Boiardo and characteristic, within this romance tradition, only of Ariosto.

The complexity of his handling of the interwoven narratives is reinforced by the complexity of his historical vision, in which the Carolingian myth is buttressed by contemporary reality. Past and present interact continually in the *Furioso:* the fiction provides both a matrix and a mirror of future events, and the poem, ultimately societal in its orientation and address, opens its final canto by hailing the great and learned individuals who compose the poet's audience. Ariosto's continual sense of history climaxing in a transplanted but now flourishing and splendid, if threatened, civilization is evoked repeatedly in *The Faerie Queene*.

The pressure of this background on Spenser contributes not only to the way his poem appears on the page, but to some of its innermost workings as an extended narrative in which heroic, romantic, chivalric, comic, historical, dynastic, and allegorical elements are freely combined. The very shape assumed by *The Faerie Queene* derives ultimately from these developments in Italian narrative of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. As in *Orlando furioso,* which Spenser is recorded as having wanted to 'overgo' (*Three Letters* 3, *Var Prose* p 471), *The Faerie Queene's* action is narrated in cantos and stanzas rather than in the blank verse that, since the time of Surrey's translation of Books 2 and 4 of the *Aeneid,* was the obvious equivalent to the unrhymed hexameters of the ancient epic poets. This verse form represents the survival into learned poetry of popular traditions of medieval Italian narrative, in which the tale is spoken by a minstrel to an audience of townspeople gathered in a public place, the variable length of the delivery being determined by the length of time the auditors could be expected to attend the recital of one of the *canti* or songs. Another line of continuity with change is established by the reflective, hortatory, moralizing, or lyrical proems with which Spenser opens his books. Like Ariosto's, these proems are a survival in highly artistic form of the minstrel's opening invocation of the saints or the Virgin. Significantly, Spenser uses his first proem to invoke Venus and Mars, asserting that his poem will be 'moralized' by fierce wars and faithful loves. This deliberately recalls Ariosto's opening statement which, by linking 'arms' and 'loves,' adds a romantic dimension to Virgil's 'arms and the man I sing.'

The plurality of actions announced here once again links *The Faerie Queene* to the intermediate heroic tradition of the Renaissance rather than directly to its classical ancestors. In contrast to classical epic, with its action centered largely on a single dominant figure like Achilles, Odysseus, or Aeneas, Spenser opts for the simultaneous multiplicities of romantic epic as handled by Ariosto, and (in Books in and IV, at least) for a narrative technique imitated from his Italian model. Derived from medieval French narrative, and masterfully adopted by Ariosto, who describes it (2.30, 13.81) by a metaphor of weaving, the technique of *entrelacement* or 'interlace' involves interleaving separate stories and maintaining them in a state of suspension and incompletion by constantly cutting from one to another at climactic points. Spenser's *Faerie Queene* might be considered one vast interlace, inasmuch as the six completed books are begun on successive days at Gloriana's court and are (ideally) simultaneous and concurrent. A realistic chronology based on the Letter to Raleigh would have each action beginning a day later than its predecessors but running for many days thereafter, during which the other adventures would be simultaneously proceeding. Yet by the time we finally see

Guyon, Redcrosse's adventures are over and done with, and the notion of interlace posited by the Letter is modified or perhaps even canceled.

In a further complication, however, *The Faerie Queene* is arranged not only into Ariostan cantos but also into a proposed twelve books in imitation of Virgil's twelve—books, moreover, that celebrate different virtues in different narrative modes through the actions of a number of different heroes and heroines, who embody those virtues as they are being formed. Characters endowed with particular personalities (Redcrosse characteristically sad and solemn, Britomart humorously impetuous and fiery) are thus vehicles of ideas in ways both similar to and different from those of Ariosto. Here some contrasts are necessary. Ariosto keeps a whole vast world, global in extension, deliberately suspended and incomplete until two main objects have been achieved: the liberation of Paris after the final defeat of the pagans, and the celebration of the dynastic marriage, with which the *Furioso* concludes. In contrast, Spenser begins afresh with every book except the fourth, providing a fundamentally new cast of characters, as well as a new set of actions dictated by the allegory appropriate to the virtue being fashioned. In this tendency to proliferating multiplicity and open-endedness (Arthur's marriage to Gloriana is an endlessly receding objective), *The Faerie Queene* seems closer to romance and its 'sub-generation' of allegory—its tendency to create a constant supply of surrogates for the main characters—than to epic. At the root of this tendency undoubtedly lies the medieval reading of epic characters as allegorical figures, a technique that divides and subdivides a human personality into many 'characters' who represent different, warring aspects of that one personality. Hence, the pressure exerted by classical epic is towards unity of action and character, while the tendency of medieval romance and allegory is towards multiplicity and dispersion; *The Faerie Queene* maintains a perpetual tension between the two.

Renaissance epic is distinguished from its classical ancestors not only by its chivalric dress but predominantly by its tendency to overt allegory. For all their abundance of personality and richness of event, Ariosto's main narrative lines, constantly broken and indefinitely prolonged but ultimately coordinated and congruent, are fewer and more distinct than Spenser's, since they are headed by three heroes to whom the poem's episodes are attached throughout. Orlando heads one narrative line and Ruggiero another; in the third, Ariosto finds a new use for a wise fool, Orlando's cousin Astolfo, who represents the greatest of the poet's triumphs, in turning to allegorical account a simple comic stock character of Carolingian fiction. The resulting triadic plot structure corresponds to Ariosto's initial announcement of his triple subject: first, an intractably sensual lover (Orlando) whose reward at the poem's midpoint is madness; second, a more recognizably human type (Ruggiero) who gains a bride and a new territory in Italy; and finally, a converted buffoon (Astolfo), a wise lunatic of another kind than Orlando, who alone of the poem's characters looks down on the poem's various madnesses from the lunar height of canto 34, and whose leisurely but directed errancies, in counterpoint to Orlando's and Ruggiero's erratic voyages, are ultimately central to the defeat of Agramante. The underlying impulse to unity in the *Furioso* comes from this triadic organization, manifested most clearly in the poem's frequent contrasts among the three male figures. Allegorically, they function on a hierarchical scale of love, love understood in its widest sense; the various rhetorical modes in which their adventures are cast are appropriate to their places on the scale. On an essential level, the *Furioso* contrasts

animal, human, and transcendent love in an art based on the Horatian ideal of laughing seriousness.

Undoubtedly, Spenser was capable of finding meaning for himself in the organization, language, and varying narrative modes of Ariosto's poem. Nevertheless, the *Furioso* came to him, through an intervening critical tradition, as a work interpreted both morally and allegorically, though in ways that failed signally to show how it established its meaning and values through laughter. Various Italian critics interpreted the poem in two ways. The first involved discrete, localized moralizations of characters and episodes; these summary interpretations, obvious and often absurd, appeared at the head of the cantos in various editions from 1542 onwards, and were of an easily dismissable type, often using events and characters as examples to imitate or avoid. The second type, represented by the work of Simone Fornari, was found in independent volumes of interpretation which provided learned and exhaustive, if tediously detailed, readings of such matters as Ruggiero's love for the enchantress Alcina or Astolfo's voyages. These more learned interpretations differ from the former in at least attempting to pursue allegory into the form and structure of the poem, and to reveal it operating on an extended level. Harington gives evidence of knowing both kinds, both in his translation of the *Furioso* and in his appended commentary. Generally speaking, the allegorists may have performed two main services: they revealed Ariosto as operating within a context of learned allegory (which Spenser knew from other sources), and they pointed to his transformation into allegorical symbols of comic and romantic paraphernalia from Boiardo, thereby providing Spenser with a model for his own further transformations of Ariosto. In fact, Ariosto ranged as freely and independently in the *Innamorato* as Spenser did in the *Furioso;* neither of them felt any compulsion to re-create his predecessor's meaning or structure, but each used and recombined elements of the model at will for his own very different artistic purposes. Ariosto's absorption and domestication of the *Innamorato,* a subject to which criticism has been curiously inattentive for centuries, provides an instructive example for the ways in which later epic poets, imbued with their source, absorb Ariosto. But until Ariosto's true relationship to Boiardo is clarified, criticism will continue to assert that Spenser allegorized the romantic epic, a statement that radically falsifies the development of the form and Ariosto's role as an artist within the tradition. Though Spenser and Ariosto wrote very different kinds of allegory, both of them were fully aware that it was in allegory that the epic was essentially rooted.

PETER V.MARINELLI

Alpers 1967b:160–99; Durling 1965; Giamatti 1966; Greene 1963; Marinelli 1987.

Aristotle and his commentators

The authority of Aristotle in the Western world did not end with the Middle Ages, though it became less central and comprehensive. His writings remained an important part of the

body of classical learning that Renaissance humanists sought to know more accurately and completely. It is true that his treatises on logic lost some prestige with the rise of rhetorical humanism in the fifteenth century and after the reforms of Lefevre d'Etaples in 1492 and Peter Ramus in 1543, and his scientific writings were largely discredited by the attacks of Bruno and Bacon and the rise of experimental science in the seventeenth century. But his moral-philosophical writings retained much of their former importance.

Two of them, the *Politics* and the *Nicomachean Ethics,* underpinned inherited social and religious dogmas and were at least starting points for serious Renaissance thinkers. The *Ethics* held an honored place in Protestant humanistic education beginning with Philipp Melanchthon whose *Enarrationes* synthesized the *Ethics* with the Ten Commandments. In England, the Aristotelian ethical tradition culminated in Book I of Hooker's *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1593), a work almost as central to the Anglican theological tradition as Thomas Aquinas' *Summa theologiae* (also founded on the *Ethics*) was to the Roman Catholic. These and other treatises of Aristotle continued to furnish a map of knowledge for Western Europe. Philosophy continued Aristotle's division between the natural sphere, treated in the *Physics* and other works, and the moral, treated in the *Ethics* and *Politics*. The latter works divided moral philosophy into the ethical and political spheres.

In literary criticism, Aristotle's influence began rather than ended or diminished with the Renaissance. The *Poetics,* available in Latin translation in 1498 and in Greek in 1508, became well known with the publication of Francesco Robortello's text, Latin translation, and commentary in 1548. Thereafter the *Poetics,* accommodated to *Horace's Ars poetica* and somewhat to Plato, came to dominate Renaissance critical discussion. Modified and systematized by the Italians, the teaching of Aristotle regained in neoclassical literary theory much of the authority it had acquired in all areas of secular knowledge, after similar adjustments, during the late Middle Ages.

In Spenser criticism, claims for Aristotelian influence on *The Faerie Queene* have undergone the same correctives as have those for Plato's influence. J.J.Jusserand, John Erskine, Viola Hulbert, Josephine Waters Bennett, and particularly Rosemond Tuve were less willing to assume Spenser's direct indebtedness to Aristotle than were William Fenn DeMoss, who read *The Faerie Queene* as a kind of versified *Ethics,* and Ernest Sirluck, who so read Book II (*Var* 2:414–26; Tuve 1966, ch 2; Sirluck 1951–2:73–100). The Aristotelian ethical tradition was not the only one in the Middle Ages. Platonic and Stoic traditions had eclipsed the Aristotelian before the Christian era, and through the writings of Cicero and the Church Fathers were well established in medieval ethical thought long before the mid-twelfth century, when Greek texts of Aristotle came to the West from Constantinople and Latin translations of Arabic texts and commentaries from Moorish Toledo reached Paris and other European intellectual centers. The patristic assimilation of Plato and the Stoics to Christian dogma began almost a millennium before the efforts of the Franciscan Alexander of Hales and the Dominicans Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas to fuse church teaching with Aristotle.

The work of these syncretists was encouraged by a papal edict of 1231 allowing the use only of those works of Aristotle purged of error, thus relaxing a recent edict of the Paris Council of 1210 which had banned his natural philosophy entirely. The most important of these, Thomas Aquinas, wrote not only theological treatises but also commentaries on Aristotle's works, including the *Physics, Metaphysics, Ethics, De*

anima, Posterior Analytics, and part of *De interpretatione*. Intent on purifying Aristotle textually as well as theologically, Aquinas gained the services of the young Flemish Dominican scholar William of Moerbecke, who translated almost all of Aristotle's works from the Greek into Latin. William was indebted in turn to the examples of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, translator of the *Ethics,* and his student Roger Bacon. The three centuries separating Aquinas and Spenser yielded hundreds of commentaries on the *Ethics* alone.

In the commentaries, the Aristotelian tradition of the virtues blends with the Platonic-Stoic tradition of the four cardinal virtues and their branches descending from Cicero through Macrobius, Martin of Braga (Pseudo-Seneca), Alanus de Insulis, Aquinas, the anonymous *Speculum morale,* and scores of lesser medieval theorists, When Spenser in the Letter to Raleigh cites 'Aristotle and the rest' in support of his treatment of magnificence as a subsuming virtue (see *magnanimity), he is acknowledging his indebtedness to what he regarded as a coherent tradition of ethical thought deriving ultimately from Aristotle but augmented and refined by many learned successors. For Spenser, among the most important contemporary interpreters of moral philosophy were the Italian syncretists Giraldi Cintio and Alessandro Piccolomini. Cintio's *Tre dialoghi della vita civile* (prefixed to part 2 of *De gli hecatommithi* 1565) and, to a much lesser extent, Piccolomini's *Della institutione morale* (1560) were the sources of Bryskett's *A Discourse of Civill Life* (written c 1586, pub 1606), in which Spenser appears as an interlocutor and which is perhaps the most illuminating contemporary discussion of the ethical theory found in *The Faerie Queene*.

In literary criticism as in moral philosophy, the assumption that modernity had inherited from the ancient world a coherent body of knowledge led some Italian scholars to conclude that contradictions between classical thinkers were only apparent. Accordingly, they set to work reconciling Aristotle with Plato and both with Horace, whose authority in literary theory antedated that of the Greeks in medieval thought. Averroes' twelfth-century Arabic commentary on the *Poetics,* translated by Hermannus Alemanus in the thirteenth century and published in Venice in 1481, omits crucial passages and garbles others, assigning to poetry a didactic function and rhetorical method foreign to Aristotle. This function and method, however, were quite in keeping with what the Middle Ages had drawn from Horace, whose *Ars poetica* assigned to poetry rhetorical aims (pleasure and profit) and criteria (credibility and decorum).

Despite Hermannus' effort, the *Poetics* remained virtually unknown until the sixteenth century, when major commentaries appeared in Latin, by Francesco Robortello (1548), Vincenzo Maggi (1550), Pietro Vettori (1560), and Antonio Riccoboni (1584), and in Italian, by Lodovico Castelvetro (1570) and Alessandro Piccolomini (1575). This succession of commentaries shows, in general, a growing maturity of perception and, correspondingly, a willingness to differ with Aristotle on particular points. The same increasing independence of view appears in eclectic arts of poetry by Antonio Sebastiano Minturno (1559), Julius Caesar Scaliger (1561), and Francesco Patrizi (1586), as well as in polemical discourses on the implications of the *Poetics* for the modern genre of the romance by Cintio (1549), Giovanni Pigna (1554), and Torquato Tasso (1587). The discourses on the romance provided Spenser with theoretical justification for the hybrid form of *The Faerie Queene*. (See Weinberg 1961 for the *Poetics* in Renaissance Italy.)

In England, references in Ascham's *Scholemaster* and in the correspondence of Sir John Cheke indicate some acquaintance with the *Poetics* at Cambridge by the 1540s. Other references appear in the writings of continental scholars residing in England during the 1550s. Aristotle's ideas receive passing notice in critical treatises by Thomas Lodge (1579), William Webbe (1586), and George Puttenham (1589). His authority in criticism was attacked by Bruno in lectures at Oxford in 1583 and in *Eroici furori* in 1585. Sidney's *Defence of Poetry* (1583?) was the first treatise in English to make substantial use of the *Poetics*. Identifiably Aristotelian ideas in the *Defence* include the imitative function of poetry, its superiority to history, its concern with universals rather than with particulars, and the pleasure deriving from the imitation even of unpleasant subjects. Sidney's discussions of the unities and of catharsis, however, show that he did not rise above his Italian contemporaries in his understanding of Aristotle. In a letter to Spenser of 7 April 1580, Harvey remarks that at Cambridge Aristotle is 'muche named, but little read' (*Three Letters* 2, in *Var Prose* p 460). Few Elizabethan allusions to Aristotle's critical ideas prove more than a second-hand acquaintance with the *Poetics* (Herrick 1930:8–34).

Among the features of *The Faerie Queene* commonly attributed to Aristotle's influence, the most obvious occurs in the Letter to Raleigh, in Spenser's division of the extended poem into twelve books on the 'private morall vertues' and twelve more on the political, according to the standard division of moral philosophy based on Aristotle's *Ethics* and *Politics*. In the *Ethics,* however, eleven or thirteen private virtues may be found, but not twelve. This discrepancy has been accounted for in several ways: by adding Arthur's virtue of magnificence to the Spenserian total of twelve to produce an Aristotelian total of thirteen (DeMoss 1918–19); by seeing it as reflecting the strong tradition of twelve Aristotelian virtues among the successors of Aquinas, who divides justice into internal *(circa passiones)* and external *(circa operationes)* to form a total of twelve (Hulbert in *Var* 1:354–6); or by defining 'the twelve private morall vertues, as Aristotle hath devised' as simply such virtues as Aristotle would call private moral (Renwick in *Var* 1:361). The objection that Spenser's inclusion of justice in the first six books as a private moral virtue violates the private-political dichotomy announced in the Letter would have little weight to the educated Elizabethan, who would recall that Aristotle formally treats justice in the *Ethics* (Book 5!) rather than in the *Politics* and that his justice is both personal and political. Likewise, Spenser's assigning magnificence to Arthur as an inclusive virtue 'according to Aristotle and the rest' was evidently not the result of a misreading of the *Ethics* but a choice based on firm medieval precedent (Tuve 1966).

Reflections of Aristotle occur frequently in the text of *The Faerie Queene*. The Aristotelian concept of good as single and of evil as manifold (*Ethics* 2.6) is allegorized in the first episode of Book I, when Una, with Redcrosse, gazes in amazement at the multitudinous cannibalistic brood of the slain Error (i 25–6). With the exception of justice in v ix, temperance is the only virtue of Spenser's series treated in anything like an Aristotelian way as a mean between extremes. The golden mean is implicit in the episodes of Medina's castle (II ii), the castle of Alma (ix 33–44), and the voyage to the Bower of Bliss (xii 2–9), and explicit in occasional expository comment (i 58, ii argument, xii 33). Bryskett, following Cintio, attempts to reconcile the idea of the medial as morally normative with the Christian obligation to abstain from evil: 'And therfore

Aristotle said right well that the meane of vertue betweene two extremes, was a *Geometricall* meane which hath a respect to proportion, and not an *Arithmeticall* meane which respecteth equall distance: so as you must understand that vertue is not called a meane betweene two extremes, because she participateth of either of them both, but because she is neither the one nor the other' (ed 1970:155). Still, the virtuous mean of Spenserian temperance is not, in its moral aspect, Aristotle's balance point between excess and defect but the rejection of Satanic temptation such as Christ's in Matthew 4.1–11, an incident reflected in Guyon's experience in the house of Mammon (II vii) and given epic treatment by Milton in *Paradise Regained*. In its psychological aspect, Spenserian temperance conflates the Aristotelian mean with the Thomistic counterpoising of the irascible and concupiscible passions, in which the passions form a *discordia concors* under the rule and arbitrament of reason (cf II i 58 and *Summa theologiae* la 81.3). Spenser's and Aquinas' concept of the harmonious personality derives less from the *Ethics* than from *De anima* (the primary source of Elizabethan faculty psychology) and Plato's *Republic* (4.441–2, 9.580–1). It is true that Aristotle, like Spenser, remarks in the *Ethics* on the greater difficulty in combatting pleasure than pain (2.3; cf *FQ* II vi 1). Also, the names Phaedria, Philotime, and Acrasia have been attributed to the Greek of the *Ethics* (*Var* 1:356; 2:241, 262). Braggadocchio is, among other things, perhaps a counterfeit of Aristotle's magnanimous man (*Ethics* 2.7, 4.3; *FQ* II iii 10). Nevertheless, Spenserian temperance is indebted not so much to the *Ethics,* which applies the mean to all the virtues, as to the tradition of the cardinal virtues, which restricts it to temperance and assimilates the classical perspective to the Christian.

The description of the Garden of Adonis is probably indebted to *De anima* (2.2) and the *Physics* (1.9) regarding the cooperation of matter and form (*Var* 3:258, 260). Spenser's treatment of the virtue of friendship parallels a long passage in Bryskett that synthesizes Cicero, Plato, and Aristotle (*Ethics* 8.1) on the subject (*Var* 4:291, 293). Spenser's placing of the Book of Friendship immediately before the Books of Justice and Courtesy perhaps reflects Aristotle's conception of friendship as the basis of society, as the principle of concord in the state (*Ethics* 8.1).

Spenser echoes Aristotle's praise of justice as the chief virtue (*FQ* v proem 10). The organization of *FQ* v reflects his division of justice into personal and political, distributive and corrective, and voluntary and involuntary modes, and his distinguishing between law and equity as kinds of justice and between force and fraud as forms of injustice (*Ethics* 5.1–2). The golden mean is reflected in the trial of Duessa at Mercilla's court, where Artegall appears excessive in zeal but deficient in pity and Arthur excessive in pity but deficient in zeal (*FQ* v 9). The *Cantos of Mutabilitie* may owe something to Aristotle's account of changeless bliss (*Ethics* 7.14). Of the minor poems, the *Julye* eclogue of *The Shepheardes Calender* has been thought to teach the mean of moderation in religion, what will later be called the *via media* of Anglicanism (DeMoss 1918–19); but the allegory can be interpreted more naturally as favoring Puritan lowliness.

Although almost all these reflections of Aristotle's moral philosophy may be attributed to medieval and Renaissance intermediaries, Spenser's direct acquaintance with the *Ethics* may be assumed. The same may not be said of the *Poetics*. A phrase such as 'Distraught twixt feare and pitie' (*Time* 579) reflects Aristotle's doctrine of catharsis, but this was a critical commonplace available from any number of contemporary sources. Incidents such as Artegall's discovery of the female identity of Britomart (IV vi) or of the

spurious identity of Braggadocchio (v iii) are too common in romance narrative to prove direct indebtedness to Aristotle's discussion of recognition. Spenser's literarycritical Aristotelianism was likely secondhand and, like his Aristotelian moral philosophy, adulterated by syncretists and systematizers. Most of it derived from the practical application of Aristotle's ideas to the defense of Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*. Sixteenth-century Italian critics, interpreting the *Poetics* as a prescriptive document, had extended Aristotle's 'rules' for tragedy to comedy and epic. Enthusiasts for the new vernacular literature rose to defend *Orlando furioso,* Dante's *Divine Comedy,* and Guarini's *Il pastor fido* against the neoclassical purists, who acknowledged only those genres mentioned by the classical authorities. Ariosto's sprawling poem was vulnerable to the Aristotelian critical criteria of unity and probability, as then understood, and to the Horatian criteria of moral utility and decorum. In this stormy controversy which lasted from about 1550 to 1583, the most significant participants for Spenser were the moderates Giraldi Cintio and Giovanni Pigna, who quarreled but came to similar conclusions, and the elastic traditionalist Alessandro Piccolomini, whose vernacular translation and commentary marked a gain in accuracy over those of Castelvetro and his predecessors.

The defense of romance, though ostensibly Aristotelian, was conducted ultimately on Horatian principles. The diffuseness of romance seemed to violate the Aristotelian requirement of unity. Its use of the marvelous seemed to violate Aristotelian probability. The solution was that Horace had admitted pleasure as one of the aims of poetry. Cristoforo Landino in his edition of Horace's *Opera* (Florence 1482) had declared that variety is a means of pleasure in poetry. Consequently, Cintio could justify the episodic structure of romance narrative—its multiple plots, digressions, disjunctions—as a means of fulfilling this purpose of poetry (*Discorso intorno al comporre dei romanzi* 1549). Furthermore, episodic structure need not, said Pigna, be construed as conflicting with Aristotle's statements about plot if episodes be regarded as separate from the plot proper—as 'accidents' rather than 'essence' of the narrative (*I romanzi* 1554). Heroic poetry permits many actions of many persons (Cintio), especially if, as in the case of the epic, it focuses on the actions of one man (Pigna). Variety, in any case, is more important than unity (Castelvetro). Aristotle's comparison of the poet to the historian was also much quoted in support of the poet's freedom of narrative method (eg, by Minturno, Cintio, and Pigna), as was Horace's observation that the poet may begin his story in the middle of the chronological sequence of events for greater economy and focus.

In defending the use of the marvelous, apologists for romance contended less with Aristotle than with his misconstruction by Italian neoclassical commentators. The latter interpreted Aristotle's definition of poetry as imitation to mean that it imitates previous writers rather than nature and construed his requirement of probability as fidelity to nature (verisimilitude) rather than as internal consistency, which was subsumed under the Horatian doctrine of decorum. Pigna defended the credibility of supernatural elements that agree with the beliefs of the audience. The Christian miraculous, he argued, is acceptable in a Christian era, the pagan in a pagan. Cintio allowed the fabu-lous in digressions if the main action were true. But the central vindication of the marvelous, as of diffuseness, was that it is pleasurable and that, on Horatian authority, pleasure is a legitimate purpose of poetry.

In the introduction to his *Discourse,* Bryskett admits that he envies 'the happinesse of the Italians' who have popularized moral philosophy by translating and commenting

upon Plato and Aristotle (ed 1970:21). Obviously, Aristotle had not been entirely displaced by Plato and Cicero in the intellectual hierarchy of Renaissance moralists but, assimilated with these and other authorities, had taken on new life.

RONALD A.HORTON

A standard modern translation is in Aristotle ed 1984. Schmitt 1983a and Schmitt 1983b give valuable background. F.Edward Cranz 1984 *A Bibliography of Aristotle Editions 1501–1600* rev ed Charles B. Schmitt (Baden-Baden) is the standard guide to the texts in all languages. For a summary of editions published in England, see *STC* (752ff). See also O.B.Hardison, Jr 1970 'The Place of Averroes' Commentary on the *Poetics* in the History of Medieval Criticism,' in *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* ed John L.Lievsay (Durham, NC) pp 57–81; Herrick 1930; E.N.Tigerstedt 1968 'Observations on the Reception of the Aristotelian *Poet-ics* in the Latin West' *SRen* 15:7–24; Weinberg 1961.

On Spenser, see Bennett 1942:229–30; William Fenn DeMoss 1918–19 expanded in DeMoss 1920 *The Influence of Aristotle's 'Politics' and 'Ethics' on Spenser* (Chicago); Erskine 1915; Viola Blackburn Hulbert 1931 'A Possible Christian Source for Spenser's Temperance' *SP* 28:184–210 (rejects Aristotle); H.S.V. Jones 1926 (on Melanchthon's *Enarrationes* and Aristotelianism in Spenser); Jusserand 1905–6; Jerry Leath Mills 1977 'Spenser's Letter to Raleigh and the Averroistic Poetics' *ELN* 14:246–9 (refers 'Aristotle and the rest' to the Averroistic Poetics rather than to the true *Poetics* or the *Ethics*); Sirluck 1951–2; Tuve 1966 (shows how what has been identified as 'Aristo-telian' can also be found in common medieval sources).

Arlo Hill

The location of the debate between Mutabilitie and the gods before 'great dame *Nature'* in the *Cantos of Mutabilitie;* the last of the major settings for moments of mythical and philosophical condensation in *The Faerie Queene.* Spenser introduces Arlo Hill as 'the best and fairest Hill/That was in all this holy-Islands hights,' and goes on to tell *'how Arlo* through *Dianaes* spights … Was made the most unpleasant, and most ill' (VII vi 36–55). His account subtly interweaves native Irish and pagan classical materials.

The geographical original of Arlo Hill is Galtymore, the last and highest peak in a range of mountains that begins two miles north of Kilcolman Castle in County Cork and extends eastward about thirty miles through County Limerick into County Tipperary. The western part of this range is called the Ballahoura Hills, the eastern part the Galty Mountains. Spenser refers to the entire range as 'old father *Mole'* and seems to expect his readers to recall that he had already done so in *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* (57, 104–5). With an elevation of 3018 feet, Galtymore rises well above the surrounding